I Vander Gucht Sculp.

THE

ROMAN HISTORY:

WITH

NOTES

Hiſtorical, Geographical, and Critical;

AND

Illuſtrated with COPPER PLATES, MAPS, and a great Number of AUTHENTICK MEDALS.

Done into ENGLISH, from the Original FRENCH of

The Rev[d] Fathers CATROU and ROUILLÉ.

VOLUME IV.

From the Year of ROME DLII. to the Year of ROME DCVIII.

To which is prefix'd,

A New and Connected SUMMARY of the WORK.

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M.DCC.XXX.

THE

CONTENTS:

OR,

A New and Connected SUMMARY of the WORK.

BOOK XXXVII.

Year of ROME 552. §. 1. THOUGH *Rome*, by the Reduction of *Carthage* in the ſecond *Punic* War, was freed from thoſe continual Alarms ſhe had long been under from that profeſs'd Rival of her Power, and moſt dangerous Enemy, yet was ſhe far from being in ſuch a State of Peace and Security as to ſhut the Temple of *Janus*. Whilſt the Treaty with the *Carthaginians* was executing, the *Conſul Ælius Pætus* was oblig'd to take the Field againſt the *Boii*, who had enter'd and laid waſte the Territories of the Allies of *Rome*. *Oppius*, whom he detach'd with two *Legions* and ſome Auxiliaries to go before him, was ſurprized and ſurrounded by the Enemy near *Mutilum*, in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and loſt ſeven thouſand Men, with his own Life. The *Conſul* advanced to revenge this Defeat; but the *Gauls* diſappearing upon his Approach, he only pillaged their Country, and returned home loaded with more Spoil than Glory. §. 2. At his Arrival, he found the Senate buſied with the Affairs of *Macedon*. They had juſt received Advice, by Ambaſſadors from the *Rhodians*, and from *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, that King *Philip* was ſolliciting the Cities of *Aſia* to unite with him againſt the *Roman* Republick; nor had the Senate forgot the Injuries which the *Macedonian* had done the *Ætolians*, and other *Greeks* in Alliance with *Rome*, nor the Succours he had formerly ſent with *Soſipater* to *Carthage*. A Decree therefore was paſs'd, empowering *Ælius* to name a General to go with a Fleet of thirty eight Galleys into *Macedon*; and *Lævinus* being choſen for the Expedition, he ſailed thither without Delay, from the Port of *Hipponium*. As ſoon as he appeared off the Coaſt, *Aurelius* the *Roman* Commander in *Greece* came to join him, and receive his Orders; and when they had conſulted together, they agreed to write to the Senate, That they thought it neceſſary, in order to prevent *Philip* from making a Deſcent upon *Italy*, and bringing upon the Republick all the Forces of the Eaſt, immediately to declare War againſt him. §. 3. But their Letters did not arrive at *Rome* till new *Conſuls* had been
553. choſen, *P. Sulpicius Galba*, and *C. Aurelius Cotta*, who, the very Day they enter'd upon Office, made a Report to the Senate of the State of Affairs in *Greece* and *Macedon*. *The Conſcript Fathers*, thinking a War with *Philip* to be a Matter of great Importance, ſuſpended their Determination, till Sacrifices were firſt offer'd to the Gods, and their Will conſulted. And now, when they were again aſſembled, the Letters from *Greece* arrived; and at the ſame time a Deputation from the *Athenians*, demanding Succours againſt the Attempts of the King of *Macedon*. The *Conſuls* took this Opportunity to declare that the Gods accepted the Sacrifices which had

251ſt *Conſulſhip*.

252d *Conſulſhip*.

been offer'd, and that the *Aruſpices* found nothing in the Entrails of the Victims but what was favourable to the Republick. So that all theſe Circumſtances together made a ſtrong Impreſſion on the Aſſembly; and they paſs'd a Decree, That Thanks ſhould be return'd to the *Athenians* for their Fidelity; That the *Conſuls* ſhould immediately draw Lots for their Provinces, and that he to whoſe Lot *Macedon* ſhould fall ſhould get the War with *Philip* approved by the People convened *by Centuries*. *Macedon* fell to *Sulpicius*, and the *Centuries* were aſſembled; but there the new War was rejected by a Plurality of Voices. One *Bæbius*, a *Tribune of the Commons*, had revived the old Complaint, and had perſuaded the People that the Nobility, from Party-Views, endeavour'd to hinder *Rome* from enjoying any Repoſe. The Senate were highly diſpleas'd; but as it was the Prerogative of the Commons to determine concerning Peace and War, there was no Remedy, but for *Sulpicius* to aſſemble the People once more, and endeavour to perſuade them by force of Argument. He put them in mind *of the fatal Conſequences which had follow'd upon their delaying to ſend Succours to the* Saguntini, *when threatned by* Hannibal, *as the* Athenians *were now by* Philip. *That their Negligence in the former Caſe had encouraged the* Carthaginian *to paſs the* Alpes, *and invade* Italy; *that conſidering the Friendſhip between him and* Philip, *they might perhaps ſee him again at the Head of another Army, laying waſte their Provinces; that tho' he had been five Months coming from* Spain *to* Italy, *five Days would be ſufficient to bring* Philip *upon their Coaſts; and, that tho'* Hannibal *ſhould not accompany him, yet the* Macedonian *alone was a much more powerful Prince, and more to be dreaded than* Pyrrhus, *who yet had made their Forefathers tremble, even behind their Bulwarks. He further reminded them, That their preſent Security was owing to* Scipio's *being ſuffer'd to carry the War into* Africa; *and in ſhort, that the great Secret of State-Policy was to keep Hoſtilities at a Diſtance, and make War only in an Enemy's Country.* The Arguments of the *Conſul* prevailed, and the *Tribes* all voted for War. §. 4. And now the chief Concern of the Senate was to ſettle the ſeveral Armies which were to act this Year, and no more than ſeven *Legions* were raiſed in all. *Sulpicius* was allowed to ſtrengthen the two *Legions* aſſigned him for the *Macedonian* War, by as many Voluntiers as he could raiſe out of the Troops which *Scipio* had brought from *Africa*; but he was not to force any of them into the Service. Ambaſſadors arrived at this time from *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, King of *Egypt*, now thirteen Years of Age, who having eſcaped in his Minority the wicked Deſigns of his Guardians, had (according to *Juſtin*) put himſelf under the Protection of the *Romans*, and received from them one *Marcius Lepidus* to be his Guardian and Defender againſt the threatned Invaſions of the Kings of *Syria* and *Macedon*. *Ptolomy* was inclined to ſend Succours to *Athens*, which *Philip* was marching to beſiege; but he durſt not undertake any thing till he had ask'd the Conſent of the *Roman* Republick. The Senate returned him Thanks for the Deference he had ſhewed them, and gave this Anſwer to his Ambaſſadors, *That* Rome *was reſolved to ſupport the* Greeks *againſt* Philip; *that ſhe would give* Ptolomy *Notice when ſhe wanted his Aſſiſtance; and that ſhe was fully convinced of his Affection to her.* §. 5. The *Conſul Sulpicius*, not a little pleas'd with the Honours which the Dignity of his Office procured him at *Rome*, and which he could not have in the Field, was very dilatory in ſetting out for *Macedon*, and continually found Pretences to poſtpone it. He would needs vow publick *Games*, and a Preſent to *Jupiter*, as other Generals had done before him, when they enter'd upon important Expeditions: But in this, he met with Oppoſition; for the Republick had not at preſent the Sum neceſſary for the Expence of the *Games*; and the *Pontifex Maximus* declared that no Promiſe could be made to the Gods but of ready Money; and that the Sum vow'd muſt be ſet apart at the time of the Vow. However, this Sentence of the *Pontifex* was over-ruled by the *Pontifical* College, to whom *Sulpicius* appeal'd. It was decreed that the Senate ſhould be free to determine the Expence of the *Games*, and the Value of the Preſent; and this was the firſt time that ever a Vow was made at *Rome* of an indeterminate Sum.

Year of *ROME* 553.

The Romans *reſolve upon a War with* Macedon.

Hamilcar *raiſes an Inſurrection in* Ciſalpine Gaul.

After this, a ſudden Inſurrection of the *Gauls* detain'd *Sulpicius* ſome time longer at *Rome*. *Hamilcar* the *Carthaginian*, whom *Aſdrubal* had left in *Italy*, after his Defeat, was at the Head of them. He ſeized *Placentia*, put many of the Inhabitants to Death, and advanced towards *Cremona*, to ſack it; but the *Cremoneze* ſhut their Gates againſt him, and gave Notice of their Danger to *Furius Purpureo*, the *Roman Prætor*, who commanded five thouſand Men of the Allies in the Neighbourhood of *Ariminum*. *Furius*, before he march'd to their Relief, wrote a Letter to the Senate, deſiring Succours, and acquainting them that the *Gauls* were forty thouſand ſtrong. Upon the Receipt of this Advice, the *Fathers* decreed, that either the *Conſul Aurelius* ſhould put himſelf at the Head of his *Legions* which were encamped in *Hetruria*, and go to the Relief of *Cremona*; or, in caſe he declined it, that thoſe *Legions* ſhould march to *Ariminum* without him, and be commanded in that Expedition by *Furius*, who ſhould ſend his five thouſand Men into *Hetruria*.

Year of ROME 553. *Aurelius* choſe to continue at *Rome*. §. 6. The Senate appointed likewiſe a Deputation to *Carthage*, to complain of *Hamilcar*; and the Ambaſſadors were order'd to require that he ſhould be recall'd home, in order to be puniſhed there, or delivered up to the *Romans*. The ſame Ambaſſadors were alſo directed to go into *Numidia*, with Preſents and a Compliment to *Maſiniſſa* on the Recovery and Enlargement of his Dominions; and they were to ſignify to him, that as *Rome* was entering upon a new War with *Macedon*, it would be very acceptable, if he would ſend the Republick ſome Squadrons of *Numidian* Horſe. *Maſiniſſa* was now in Poſſeſſion of the Capital, together with a great Part of the Kingdom of *Syphax*, who, with his eldeſt Son, had been carried into Captivity. *Vermina*, the ſecond Son of that dethroned King, ſent an Embaſſy to *Rome*, to ſollicit a Reconciliation with the Republick. But tho' the Ambaſſadors did not ask any thing to the Prejudice of *Maſiniſſa*, and only deſired that *Vermina* might receive from the Senate the Title of *King*, and be ranked among the Allies of *Rome*, they received this haughty Anſwer, *An Enemy of the* Roman *People has no Right to demand of them the Title of King, and the Honour of an Alliance with them. Let him firſt obtain a Peace, and a Pardon, and then endeavour to make amends for the Unfaithfulneſs of* Syphax, *and the Attempts of his Son. The greateſt Kings do not obtain an Alliance with* Rome, *but by long and important Services.* Nevertheleſs, it was ſignify'd to the Ambaſſadors, that *Vermina* might have Recourſe to the *Roman* Deputies who were going into *Africa*; that the latter would be empower'd to declare the Conditions upon which the Republick would enter into a Treaty with him; and that if he would have any Alteration made in the Terms they offer'd, he muſt again have Recourſe to the Senate. Such was the Haughtineſs which the *Romans* aſſumed, after the Victories of *Scipio!* §. 7. But this Pride was accompanied with many Virtues; and the Senate gave at this time a ſignal Inſtance of their Equity. The Publick Creditors, who had lent their Money without Intereſt, and were to be reimburſed at three ſeveral Payments, complained loudly for want of the laſt, which had been delay'd on account of the Expences of the *Macedonian* War. The Senate, to do theſe Creditors Juſtice in the beſt manner they could, aſſigned over to them certain Lands, which belong'd to the Republick, and were near the City, at the Rent of one *As per* Acre, ſubject nevertheleſs to a Redemption, whenever the State ſhould think fit. And this was the firſt Inſtance we have in Story of Leaſes granted for long Terms.

The Son of Syphax *ſollicits the Senate's Consent to take the Title of* King, *and is refus'd.*

§. 8. Theſe Tranſactions being at an End, *Sulpicius* left *Rome*, embark'd at *Brunduſium*, and arrived ſafe in *Macedon*. *Philip*, whoſe Deſigns were not only upon all *Greece*, but a good Part of *Aſia* and *Egypt*, had made a League with *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, gained *Achaia*, *Lacedæmon* and *Corinth* to his Intereſt, and had already invaded *Attica*, without any previous Declaration of War. His only Pretext was a Complaint made by the *Acarnanians*, That two young Men of their Nation, who happen'd to be at *Athens* when the Myſteries of *Ceres* were celebrated, and had thro' Ignorance of the Laws intruded into the Temple, without being initiated into thoſe Myſteries, had been put to Death for it by the *Athenians*. §. 9. The *Macedonian* was at the ſame time at Variance with the *Rhodians*, and *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*; they had chaſed him, in his Return with his Fleet to *Macedon*, and had come to an Anchor under the Iſland of *Ægina*. From thence they march'd by Land to the Port of *Athens*, call'd *Pyræeus*, which ſtood at a ſmall Diſtance from the City. The *Athenians* came out to meet them, renewed the Treaty of Alliance with them, and, to expreſs their exceſſive Joy on this Occaſion, created a new *Tribe*, which they call'd *Attalis*, from the King's Name, and made all the *Rhodians* free of *Athens*. After this the latter returned to their Iſland, and *Attalus* to his Fleet, where he loſt Time in Negotiations to bring the *Ætolians* and others into the new Alliance, inſtead of purſuing the King of *Macedon* with his Fleet, and ſhutting up the Ports of *Greece*. §. 10. *Philip*, who knew how to make Advantage of his Enemy's Neglects, loſt no time; but ſending a Part of his Troops under *Philocles* to ravage the Territory of *Athens*, he himſelf, with the other, over-ran all Southern *Thrace*, and the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*. §. 11. From thence he paſſed over the *Helleſpont* into *Aſia*, and laid Siege to *Abydos*, a ſtrong Town on the Streight over-againſt *Seſtos*. But the Inhabitants, aſſiſted by three hundred *Pergamians*, made as brave a Defence againſt him, as the *Saguntins* had formerly done againſt *Hannibal*, in *Spain*; and when *Philip*, after he had beat down a Part of the Wall, refuſed them their Lives and Liberty, as the Terms of a Capitulation, they came to the ſame deſperate Reſolutions with thoſe *Spaniards*. They reſolved to maſſacre their Wives and Children, ſet Fire to the Town, burn their Effects, and die themſelves in the Breach. Animated with this Fury, they made ſo obſtinate a Reſiſtance on the firſt Day's Aſſault, that *Philip* was terrify'd at it, and retir'd from the Attack before Night. And now the Chiefs of the *Abydenians* having Time to reflect on the inhuman Orders they had given, entertain'd Thoughts of

The famous Siege of Abydos.

of applying to the Clemency of the Conqueror, rather than imbrue their Hands in the Blood of so many defenceless Women and Children. But whilst they were deliberating upon it, *Attalus* appear'd with his Fleet at *Tenedos*, not far from the besieged Town, and this revived their Hopes. The *Romans* had sent three Ambassadors to King *Ptolomy*, with Orders to coast along *Greece*, in their Way to *Egypt*, and if possible to come to a Conference with *Philip*, and persuade him to desist from his Hostilities. *Æmilius*, the youngest of them, was on Board the King of *Pergamus*'s Fleet at *Tenedos*, and from thence he went to *Philip*'s Camp, and had an Interview with him, just as he was upon the Point of taking *Abydos*. *I am order'd by my Republick*, said *Æmilius* to him, *to demand an Account of your Proceedings. You have attack'd the King of* Pergamus *and the* Rhodians *our Allies, notwithstanding the Peace concluded between us and you. You extend your Pretensions even to* Egypt, *and the Places belonging to it. Nor is this all: You are come from* Europe *into* Asia, *and are besieging* Abydos. Attica *is become a Prey to your Soldiers, and you have form'd Designs against* Athens. *Are you for Peace or War? If for War, we are ready. If for Peace, submit your Interests and your Pretensions to the Arbitration of the* Romans. This haughty Speech surpriz'd the King of *Macedon*; and at first he excused his Conduct, and threw the Blame of the present Hostilities on *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*. *Be it so*, reply'd *Æmilius* interrupting him, *with regard to* Attalus *and the* Rhodians; *tell me, what have the* Athenians *done to you? What Injuries have you received from the Inhabitants of* Abydos? *Your Ambition alone has been the Cause of their Misfortunes. Philip* was not used to bear Reproaches, he grew haughty in his Turn, and made *Æmilius* this Answer. *You are young, you have a noble Mien, and you are a* Roman. *These Considerations suspend my Resentments, which you have deserved. Go; I pardon you. But take this my last Answer, and report it to your Senate. I am for Peace, and I wish that* Rome *may not violate the Treaty. But if her Ambition makes her my Enemy, I shall have the Gods on my Side, and shall know how to defend myself.* After this Audience, which put an End to all Thoughts of Peace, *Æmilius* was dismiss'd, *Philip* renew'd his Attack, took the Place by Assault, and the *Abydenians* executed their first desperate Resolutions, of killing their Wives, Children, and one another; so that the Conqueror made not one Slave. It is observable, that the Declaration of War by the *Macedonian* was made in Circumstances very like those in which *Hannibal* had declared War with the *Romans* in *Spain*. It was after he had broken a Treaty of Peace that the *Carthaginian* besieged *Saguntum*; the *Saguntins* defended themselves to the last Extremity, as the *Abydenians* had now done; both the one and the other signaliz'd their Fury by a Resolution of the same kind, and perish'd in the Ruins of their native City. Year of *ROME* 553.

§. 12. The Season was now far advanced; and *Philip*, after this prosperous Campaign, retired into *Macedon*. *Sulpicius* was come too late in the Year to attempt any thing against him on that Side; but he had immediately upon his Arrival sent *Claudius Centho* to *Athens* with twenty Galleys and some *Roman Legionaries* to cover the *Athenian* Territories from the Ravages of *Philocles*. *Centho* not only put a Stop to the Hostilities of the *Macedonians*, but took Revenge on the *Chalcidian* Pirates for their Robberies. He sail'd with the best Part of his Squadron, surpriz'd *Chalcis*, pillaged it, beat down the Statues of King *Philip*, burnt all his Magazines, Arsenals, and Engines of War, and then return'd with the Spoil to *Athens*. These were all the Exploits perform'd by the *Romans* this Year in *Greece*.

The Gauls *defeated in* Italy.

§. 13. But in *Italy*, the *Prætor Furius*, at the Head of the Army which the *Consul Aurelius* should have commanded, had he not chosen rather to continue at *Rome*, gained much Glory against the *Gauls*. He defeated them in a * pitch'd Battel, near *Cremona*. Of forty thousand of the Enemy, scarce six thousand escaped. *Aurelius*'s Jealousy was awakened, by this Success. He was vex'd at the having lost so favourable an Opportunity of acquiring Glory, and hoped to repair his Loss in some measure by putting himself now at the Head of the Troops, and finishing the War: But *Furius* had left him nothing to do. The victorious *Prætor* return'd to *Rome*, and in the Absence of the *Consul* obtain'd a Triumph, by a Decree of the Senate. But this was contrary to the Judgment of the oldest Senators; because the Army with which he had conquer'd had not been his own, nor had it fought under his *Auspices*.

* Vid. *p.* 18.

§. 14. The Campaign drew now to an End, and the Time for the Grand Elections approached. Till the *Centuries* met, the Thoughts of the *Romans* were wholly taken up with the Celebration of the *Great Games* which *Scipio* had formerly vow'd, with rewarding the Veterans who had served under that Hero, and with the Affairs of *Spain* and *Africa*. *Lentulus*, who had only been appointed *Pro-Consul* in *Spain* by an extraordinary Commission, and without *Auspices*, was nevertheless decreed an *Ovation*, for his important Services. He was the first who obtain'd this Distinction at *Rome*, when not in any *Curule* Magistracy. The Senate next gave Audience to the Ambassadors who had been sent to *Carthage*, and into *Numidia*, and found no Reason to be dissatisfy'd with the *Carthaginians*, tho' they

Year of *ROME* 553. gave no Anſwer to the Demands made in relation to *Hamilcar*. Indeed it was reported that he had fallen in the Battel of *Cremona*. They ſent a Preſent of two hundred thouſand *Modii* of Wheat to *Rome*, and as much to the *Roman* Army in *Macedon*. *Maſiniſſa* offer'd the Republick a Reinforcement of two thouſand Horſe: The Senate accepted only of one thouſand, and theſe the King tranſported into *Macedon* at his own Expence, and ſent with them two hundred thouſand *Modii* of Wheat, and as many of Barley. As for *Vermina*, he ſubmitted himſelf to the Conditions of Peace which the Ambaſſadors propos'd; and it is probable that he then aſſum'd the Title of *King*, and govern'd that Part of *Maſæſylia* which *Maſiniſſa* had not conquer'd from *Syphax*.

554. §. 15. And now the *Centuries* being at length aſſembled, they elected that *Cornelius Lentulus* who had ſignaliz'd himſelf in *Spain*, and *P. Villius Tappulus* to be *Conſuls*. The Great *Scipio* was choſen at the ſame time one of the *Cenſors*; and, as he deſerved, he was likewiſe placed at the Head of the Senate, and declared *Prince* of it. When the *Prætors*, *Curule Ædiles*, *&c.* were all appointed, the *Conſuls* drew Lots for their Provinces. *Italy* fell to *Lentulus*, and the War of *Macedon* to *Villius*: But theſe two Heads of the Republick imitated their Predeceſſors, continued long at *Rome*, and did not take the Field till it was very late. The *Prætor Bæbius* was ſent to command againſt the *Gauls*, and *Sulpicius*, who from being *Conſul* was now become *Pro-Conſul* in *Greece*, was more intent on ſignalizing himſelf there than he had been the laſt Year. §. 16. As for *Philip*, as ſoon as the Seaſon would permit he aſſembled his Sea and Land Forces at *Demetrias*, a maritime City of *Theſſaly*, which he had made the Capital of his Dominions. He had attempted in the Cloſe of the laſt Campaign to revenge himſelf on the *Romans* for the ſeizing of *Chalcis*, and had endeavour'd to ſurprize them there, but he came too late; they were gone. From thence he turn'd his Arms againſt *Athens*, hoping to find it as ill guarded as the *Romans* had found *Chalcis*; but the *Athenians* had received Notice of his coming, and were prepared. They opened one of their Gates, and marched out to meet him. *Philip*, over-joy'd at an Opportunity of joining Battel, gave his Men only this ſhort Exhortation, *Fix your Eyes on me, and do as I do*. He then fell upon the *Athenians* with incredible Fury, ſtruck Terror into them, made them retire, and purſued them to the very Gate; however he was repulſed in this raſh Enterprize, and obliged to ſound a Retreat. The next Day the Beſiegers made another Sally with greater Advantage, ſo that he decamped and poſted himſelf about three Miles from *Athens*; and before he departed thence he ſignally vented his Rage in that Neighbourhood, he ſpared neither Temples nor Tombs, nor ſacred Groves, nor the Images of the Gods. §. 17. After this, underſtanding that the Diet of *Achaia* was aſſembled at *Argos*, to deliberate on a War with *Nabis*, the ſecond Uſurper of the *Lacedæmonian* Throne, he haſtened thither and offered them his Aſſiſtance, upon Condition that they would furniſh Garriſons for the Cities of *Chalcis*, *Oreos* and *Corinth*. But the *Achæans* perceiving that his Views were to embroil them with the *Romans*, declined his Offers. Upon this he return'd into *Attica*, renewed his Devaſtations there, and then retired into *Bœotia*. §. 18. About this time the *Pro-Conſul Sulpicius* came out of his Winter-Quarters, and encamped between *Apollonia* and *Dyrrhachium*, on the Banks of the *Apſus*, a River of *Macedon*. *Apuſtius*, whom he ſent out with a Detachment to ravage the Enemy's Country, took ſeveral Places by Aſſault; and when the *Romans* had thus penetrated into *Macedon*, ſeveral petty Kings in the Neighbourhood, who had been formerly in Alliance with them, came to viſit the *Pro-Conſul* and offer their Services; amongſt the reſt, *Pleuratus*, *Bato* and *Animander*. The laſt was order'd to engage, if poſſible, the *Ætolians*, who ſtood neuter, to join the Forces of the Republick. *Attalus* had Orders ſent him to wait at *Ægina* for the *Roman* Fleet; and the *Rhodians* were order'd to arm with all Speed, and join in the common Cauſe. §. 19. The Irruption of the *Romans* into *Macedon* brought *Philip* home to defend his own Country. At his Return he took all the Meaſures for that Purpoſe which became an able General; and as a Diet of the *Ætolians* was now actually aſſembled at *Naupactus*, he ſent Ambaſſadors thither to procure an Accommodation with them. *Furius Purpureo* went thither on the Part of the *Romans*, and ſome Envoys from *Athens* repaired likewiſe to the ſame Place. *Damocritus* preſided in the Diet as firſt Miniſter of the *Ætolians*. It is ſuppoſed that he was bought by *Philip*, and that for this Reaſon he directed that the *Macedonians* ſhould be heard before the *Romans*; but his Pretext was, that the Alliance between *Philip* and *Ætolia* was yet freſh, and had been but lately concluded. The Speech made by the *Macedonian* Ambaſſadors was full of Invectives againſt the *Romans*, whom they treated as perfidious Barbarians of an inſatiable Ambition; they enlarged upon their Proceedings at *Rhegium*, *Capua*, and *Tarentum*, as Inſtances of their Treachery and Cruelty; and they preſs'd the Diet to renew their Friendſhip with *Philip*. The *Athenians*, who ſpoke next, effaced the Impreſſion of this Diſ-

253d *Conſulſhip.*

Philip *makes a fruitleſs Attempt upon* Athens.

The Achæans *reject his Offers of Service againſt the Tyrant of* Lacedæmon.

The Ætolians *refuſe to join with* Philip *or the* Romans.

course. They expatiated upon the Inhumanity and unpardonable Impiety of the *Macedonian*, who in his barbarous Method of making War had shewn no Regard even for the Sanctuaries of the Gods, or the Sepulchres of the Dead. They then extolled the Bravery and Piety of the *Romans*; and in Conclusion exhorted the Assembly *to join in the common Cause of the two most formidable Powers, that of Heaven, and that of* Rome. After this *Furius Purpureo* was heard. His Speech turn'd chiefly on a Justification of the *Roman* Conduct, with regard to the three Cities mentioned by the *Macedonians*. He insisted on the Moderation and Lenity of the Republick in the Affair of *Carthage*, and return'd the Reproaches of Cruelty upon *Philip*; and lastly, he advised the Assembly to lay hold of the present Opportunity of renewing their Confederacy with the *Romans*, unless they chose rather to perish with *Philip* than conquer with *Rome*. The Diet were upon the whole inclined to favour the *Romans*; but *Damocritus* suspended their Determination, by declaring that nothing which related to Peace or War could be determined out of a general Diet, which this was not. The artful *Greek* made a Merit with his Countrymen of his Address in this Affair, pretending that his Design was only to gain Time till the War was begun, that they might have an Opportunity of joining the strongest Side. Year of *ROME* 554.

§. 20. These Negotiations did not retard the military Expeditions of *Sulpicius*, nor the Preparations of *Philip*. All the Forces of the latter were now at *Demetrias* in *Thessaly*. He gave the Command of his Fleet to *Heraclides*, with Orders to guard the Coast, and he marched himself with the Land-Forces to meet the *Pro-Consul*, who had entered his Territories in that Part which lay next to *Illyricum*. Skirmishes soon happened between some flying Squadrons of both Armies. *Philip*, to encourage his Troops, by shewing them that his Regard for them extended beyond their Death, would needs take particular Care of the Burial of those of his Men who were slain in the Action; and he order'd them to be brought to the Camp. But this had a quite contrary Effect to what the King proposed; the Soldiers were terrify'd when they beheld the large and dreadful Wounds made by the *Roman* Sabres in the Bodies of their Companions. *Philip* is said to have been surprized at the Sight himself. He was sensible of the Difference between the Weapons of the *Romans*, and those of the *Greeks*, which generally made but small Wounds. To make up for this Disadvantage in point of Arms, by Numbers of Men, he recall'd to his Camp a Detachment he had sent under his Son *Perses* and his Governours, to guard the Passes of *Pelagonia*, and hinder *Pleuratus* and the *Dardani* from entering *Macedon*.

§. 21. *Philip*'s Army was now considerable, consisting of twenty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse; and he came and posted himself within two hundred Paces of the *Roman* Camp. The third Day *Sulpicius* offer'd him Battel; but the *Macedonian* judg'd it not proper to venture a decisive Action, till he had study'd the Enemy, and their Manner of fighting. To this Purpose, he first detached a small Party to skirmish, and these being worsted, the next Day he sent out all his Cavalry and light-armed Infantry, under *Anaxagoras*, but with no better Success.

Philip *defeated by* Sulpicius.

§. 22. In a third Action*, near *Octolophum*, whither *Sulpicius* had removed his Camp, the King, pursuing too eagerly his Advantages in the Beginning of the Fight, had like to have lost his Life.

§. 23. This ill Success, and the Intelligence he receiv'd, that *Pleuratus* King of the *Dardani* had enter'd *Macedon*, in order to join the *Romans*, made him resolve to leave his Post; he decamp'd in the Night, without the *Pro-Consul*'s perceiving it. *Sulpicius* pursued him, forced his Way into *Eordœa*, thro' some narrow Passes, where the *Macedonian* endeavoured to stop him; having lived there a while upon free Quarter, and gained some new Advantages, he return'd to *Apollonia*, from whence he first set out, and there deliver'd up the Army to the *Consul Villius Tappulus*, who was arrived from *Rome*. But now the Veteran Soldiers who had served under *Scipio*, and had enter'd the present Service as Voluntiers, grew impatient to return to *Italy*, and enjoy some Repose; and they demanded in a very mutinous Manner to be dismiss'd. The *Consul* could not deny their Request to be reasonable; but he reprov'd them for their seditious Manner, bid them return to their Colours, and promised to procure the Senate's Consent to their Discharge. The Season of the Year, which was far advanced, and the Discontent of the Soldiers, would not suffer *Villius* to undertake any thing of Moment this Campaign.

* Vid. *p.* 30.

The Ætolians *take Part with the* Romans.

§. 24. When *Philip* found that he was no longer pursued by *Sulpicius*, and that the *Consul* gave him time to breathe, he took Advantage of the Opportunity, and marched against the *Ætolians*, who at length had taken Part with the *Romans* as the strongest, and, jointly with *Animander* King of the *Athamanes*, had made an Irruption into *Macedon*. He defeated them, and obliged them to retire into their own Countries. *Anaxagoras*, whom he had detach'd against the *Dardani*, commanded by their King *Pleuratus*, had the same Success.

§. 25. As to Sea-Affairs, *Apustius*, to whom the *Pro-Consul Sulpicius* had given the Command of the *Roman* Fleet, had early in the Year sailed from *Carthage*, joined the Naval Force of

Year of *ROME* 554. King *Attalus* off the Coaſt of *Argolis*, and ſailed thence to the Port of *Athens*; which ſo elevated the *Athenians*, that they behaved themſelves in the moſt ridiculous manner. To expreſs their Reſentments againſt King *Philip*, they paſſed a Decree to deſtroy the Statues of him and his Anceſtors, which they had before worſhip'd, break down their Altars, degrade their Prieſts, and aboliſh the Feſtivals which had been ſacrilegiouſly inſtituted to their Honour, ordering that the Prieſts for the future ſhould pronounce Curſes againſt *Philip* and the *Macedonian* Armies, in their religious Aſſemblies, *&c.* §. 26. The united Fleets, after ſome ſucceſsful Expeditions on the Coaſts of *Macedon*, *Theſſaly* and *Eubœa*, and having receiv'd a Reinforcement of twenty *Rhodian* Galleys, ſailed back to the *Pyræeus*. *Apuſtius* left thirty of his Ships there, and with the reſt returned to *Corcyra*, as *Attalus* did to *Aſia*, after ſome Stay in *Attica* to celebrate the Feaſt of *Ceres*. §. 27. *Philip* alone continued ſtill to keep the Field, but after a fruitleſs Attempt to take *Thaumacia* in *Theſſaly*, an exceeding ſtrong Town ſituated on a Rock, he return'd to *Macedon*, to make Preparations for the next Campaign; and the *Conſul Villius* ſpent the Winter in *Apollonia*.

The Athenians *expreſs their Reſentment againſt* Philip *in a ridiculous Manner.*

§. 28. The other *Conſul*, *Lentulus*, who remained in *Italy*, and ſhould have headed the *Legions* appointed him againſt the *Gauls* who were not yet quell'd, choſe rather to ſtay at *Rome*, tho' there was then no Buſineſs before the Senate of ſufficient Moment to detain him. All was quiet on the Side of *Africa*. The *Carthaginians* indeed, who at this time made their firſt Payment according to the Stipulation, gave a freſh Inſtance of their ill Faith, by ſending Money which had too much Alloy. It wanted a fourth Part. The *Quæſtors* diſcover'd the Deceit, and obliged the *Carthaginian* Agents to borrow Money at Intereſt to make good the Deficiency. But neither this, nor the puniſhing ſome Robbers who had plundered a Temple of *Proſerpine*, were Affairs of Conſequence enough to require the Preſence of the *Conſul*. Nevertheleſs he did not ſtir from the City until *Bæbius* the *Prætor* of *Gaul*, who with the Senate's Conſent had put himſelf at the Head of the *Conſular* Army and march'd againſt *Hamilcar*, had in a raſh Enterprize loſt ſeven thouſand Men. He then haſtened to the Camp, reproach'd *Bæbius*, and diſmiſs'd him with Ignominy. In the firſt Ages of the Republick ſo bad a General would not have eſcaped unpuniſhed: But *Rome*, ſince her Grandeur and Conqueſts, was become more indulgent; ſhe even connived at the Negligence and Dilatorineſs of the preſent *Conſuls*.

BOOK XXXVIII.

§. 1. IT was not cuſtomary at *Rome* to raiſe any Perſon to the *Conſulate* till he had previouſly paſs'd thro' the three *Curule* Magiſtracies; theſe were thought to be Offices the Exerciſe of which form'd Men for the ſupreme Dignity, and gave them an Opportunity of ſhewing their Capacities for it. Great Oppoſition was therefore made by two *Tribunes of the People* to the Proceeding of the *Comitia* for the grand Elections, which were now held by *Lentulus*. Two of the Candidates were *Quinctius Flamininus*, and *Sext. Ælius Catus*. They had neither of them been in the *Prætorſhip*, and the former, who was but thirty Years of Age, had never been ſo much as *Ædile*. The Affair at length devolved upon the Senate, who knew the Merit of the two Candidates. *Flamininus* had ſignaliz'd himſelf in War, and *Ælius* was an able *Civilian*. As therefore the *Tribunes* had only Cuſtom and no Law on their Side, the *Fathers* decreed that the *Centuries* ſhould be free to chuſe the two Candidates in queſtion; and they were accordingly elected and proclaim'd *Conſuls*. §. 2. The firſt Buſineſs of theſe new Magiſtrates was to introduce into the Senate the Ambaſſadors of King *Attalus*. They came to complain of *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, who had invaded the Territories of their Maſter; and they requeſted that the *Romans* would either ſend ſome Troops to guard his Dominions, or allow *Attalus* to carry back his own Fleet to defend them. *Antiochus* was ſecretly in League with *Philip*, and the Senate were not ignorant of it; but they thought it adviſable in the preſent Juncture to diſſemble their Reſentment. They anſwered therefore, that the *Romans* being in Alliance with *Antiochus*, they could not aſſiſt one Friend againſt another, neither would they forbid *Attalus* to employ his own Fleet in his Defence; that the Republick did not pretend to exerciſe a tyrannical Power over her Allies; and that to ſerve *Attalus* they would ſend an Embaſſy to the King of *Syria* to diſſuade him from purſuing the War. Accordingly this was done, and *Antiochus* comply'd. §. 3. The War of *Macedon* fell by Lot to *Flamininus*, and that of *Italy* to *Ælius*. *Cato*, who was at the ſame time appointed *Prætor* of *Sardinia*, made himſelf remarkable for his Frugality, Auſterity of Life, and ſtrict Juſtice in puniſhing Offenders. His only Amuſement was that of hearing the Inſtructions of the Poet *Ennius*, from whom he learnt the *Greek* Sciences.

555. *254th Conſulſhip.*

Cato *is choſen* Prætor *of* Sardinia.

He

He baniſhed the Uſurers from his Province, and reduced the Intereſt upon Loans almoſt to nothing. §. 4. *Flamininus* did not imitate his Predeceſſors by delaying to ſet out for his Province; he was a Man of great Bravery, Probity and Politeneſs, and had taken *Scipio* for his Model. If there was any Fault in his Conduct it was in endeavouring after too exact a Copy of that Hero. With eight thouſand Foot and eight hundred Horſe, all choſen out of the Troops which had ſerved under *Scipio*, he ſailed from *Brunduſium*, and landed ſafely at *Corcyra*. §. 5. *Philip* had already left his Winter-Quarters, and having taken Meaſures to pacify his own diſcontented Subjects and ſecure the *Achæans* in his Intereſt, had poſted himſelf very advantageouſly on a River which ran thro' a narrow Valley between two Mountains, about ten *Stadia* from *Apollonia*. The Situation of his Camp was ſo ſtrong, both by Art and Nature, that it ſeem'd impoſſible to force him there. §. 6. *Charops*, one of the Chiefs of the *Epirots*, who was in the Intereſt of *Rome*, had given the *Pro-Conſul* an Account of the Place where the *Macedonians* were poſted; and *Villius*, who was advanced with his Army within five Miles of the King's Camp, had gone in Perſon with a Guard to take a View of it. He was deliberating whether it would not be better to march about and enter *Macedon* the ſame Way *Sulpicius* had done the laſt Year, when *Flamininus* arrived and took upon him the Command of the Army. A new Council of War was then held, and the brave *Conſul* determin'd to drive the *Macedonian* out of his Entrenchments. The great Difficulty was, how to put his Deſign in Execution. Forty Days were already ſpent in fruitleſs Contrivances; and this Reſpite gave *Philip* Hopes of procuring a Treaty of Peace. By the Means of ſome Chiefs of the *Epirot* Nation he obtain'd an Interview with the *Conſul*. *Flamininus*, who firſt made his Pretenſions, demanded nothing in favour of the *Romans*: He only required that *Philip* ſhould reſtore to the *Greeks* all the Cities he poſſeſs'd of theirs, with an Equivalent for the Effects he had taken out of them. The King did not refuſe to ſurrender the Cities which he himſelf had taken from the *Greeks*, but was unwilling to part with thoſe which his Anceſtors had conquered; and he offer'd to ſubmit himſelf to the Arbitration of neutral Powers, who ſhould judge of the Injuries the *Greeks* had ſuffer'd from him. The *Conſul* briskly replied, That there was no Need of ſuch an Arbitration; That as he was the Aggreſſor, he ought to repair all Damages. *What Cities then*, ſaid *Philip*, *would you have me reſtore? All* Theſſaly, anſwer'd the *Roman*. At theſe Words the King could no longer reſtrain his Paſſion, and reply'd, *What more*, Conſul, *could you have demanded of me if you had conquered me?* This ſaid, he immediately broke off the Conference, and went away. Nay he was ſtrongly inclin'd to play his Machines on *Flamininus*, and overwhelm him with Darts. §. 7. The next Day Hoſtilities began, but with little Advantage to either Side. At length the *Conſul* detach'd a Party of four thouſand Foot and three hundred Horſe, under the Guidance of a Shepherd whom *Charops* had ſent to him for that Purpoſe. This Fellow knew all the Paths and By-Roads over the Mountains into *Macedon*; and he undertook to lead the Detachment, which was to march only by Moon-light, in three Days time to the Top of a Mountain which over-look'd the *Macedonian* Camp. They had Orders to give the Signal by Fires, when they had gained the Poſt appointed them. The Stratagem ſucceeded, the *Conſul* the third Day boldly enter'd the narrow Paſſes, and attack'd the Enemy's Lines in the Valley, while the Detachment came down like a Torrent from the Mountain, and took them in Flank. The *Macedonian* Army was routed, and *Philip* was one of the firſt that fled. He at length ſtop'd upon a little Hill about five Miles from the Place of Action, and finding the Ways ſo cloſe and difficult that the *Romans* could not purſue him further, he there waited for his fugitive Troops, and when he had rallied them retired into *Theſſaly*, having loſt only two thouſand Men. Thus the *Romans* opened themſelves a Way into the flat Country; and this Victory produced other ill Conſequences to *Philip*. The *Ætolians* and *Athamanes* renew'd their Ardour againſt the *Macedonians*, and entering *Theſſaly* different Ways, made great Havock and Devaſtation in that unfortunate Country. §. 8. *Flamininus*, followed by his victorious *Legions*, took his Way through *Epirus* in Purſuit of the King, and by his Humanity and Moderation captivated the Affections of the People, and entirely effaced the Impreſſions they had receiv'd of the *Roman* Cruelty and Avarice. The Report likewiſe of the diſintereſted Behaviour of the *Conſul*, who in his Conference with *Philip* had demanded nothing in favour of the *Romans*, convinced the *Greeks* that *Rome* was not their Enemy. *Flamininus* at length enter'd *Theſſaly*, and took ſeveral Towns there garriſoned by *Macedonians*. *Philip* had retired to the famous *Vale of Tempe*, from whence he ſent Succours to the Cities in his Intereſt. §. 9. Whilſt the *Conſul* was bringing the Northern Part of *Theſſaly* into Subjection to the Republick, his Brother *L. Quinctius*, whom he had made Admiral of the Fleet, being join'd near the Iſland of *Andros* by *Attalus*'s Fleet of twenty four Ships from *Aſia*, and that of the *Rhodians* conſiſting of twenty, laid

Year of ROME 555.

The Conſul Flamininus *forces the Entrenchments of* Philip.

He captivates the Greeks *by his Virtues.*

Year of *ROME* 556. Siege to *Eretria* and *Caryſtus*, maritime Cities of *Eubœa*, and when he had carried theſe Places, enter'd the *Saronic* Gulph, and appear'd before *Cenchrea*, one of the Ports of *Corinth*. §. 10. The *Conſul* was already come from *Theſſaly*, and had inveſted this proud City. The two Brothers carried on the Siege both by Sea and Land. *Cenchrea* was taken by *Quinctius*'s Marines; but *Corinth* itſelf being garriſoned by ſome of the choiceſt of the *Macedonian* Troops, and by thoſe *Roman* Deſerters who had formerly gone over to *Hannibal*, (and whoſe Eſcape he had ſecured when the Peace was made) the *Conſul* was forced to raiſe the Siege after he had made a Breach in the Walls. It was now time to think in what Part of *Greece* he ſhould paſs the Winter; and he pitched upon *Phocis*, as being not far from *Ætolia* and *Theſſaly*; the Port of *Anticyra* on the Gulph of *Corinth* ſeemed a proper Harbour to receive his Fleet, and he reſolved likewiſe to winter his Troops in that City. He turned his Arms therefore that way, and *Anticyra* ſurrender'd, after a ſlight Defence. He took likewiſe *Ambryſſus*, *Hyampolis* and *Daulis*; and whilſt he lay before *Elatia*, he formed a Scheme to bring over *Achaia* to the *Roman* Intereſt. §. 11. The Government of the *Achæans* was now in the Hands of *Ariſtænus*, a Man well-affected to *Rome*. The *Conſul* therefore judg'd this a favourable Opportunity to gain that Nation, and committed the Execution of the Deſign to his Brother *Quinctius*, who was yet at *Cenchrea*. *Quinctius* ſent a Deputation to them, with Offers to put *Corinth* under the Juriſdiction of *Achaia*, as it had formerly been. This was a tempting Propoſal, and the Diet was aſſembled. *Cleomedon* appeared there as Ambaſſador from *Philip*, and preſs'd them to a Neutrality; *L. Calpurnius* ſpoke on the Part of the *Romans*; the Envoys from King *Attalus*, the *Rhodians*, and the *Athenians*, were likewiſe heard. The next Day the Aſſembly met to debate the Matter without admitting the foreign Miniſters. But they could not come to any Reſolution; they fear'd both the *Romans* and *Philip*, and they were under Obligations to the latter. They had not even the Courage to declare their Sentiments, tho' preſs'd to it by *Ariſtænus* the Preſident. There was univerſal Silence in the Aſſembly. At length *Ariſtænus* in a long Harangue repreſented to them the Situation of their Affairs, and urged the Neceſſity of their joining the *Romans*, who he ſaid were in a Condition to force them to the Compliance they had condeſcended to requeſt. §. 12. But this Diſcourſe did not bring the *Achæans* to any Agreement among themſelves. The Diſputes grew warm, mutual Reproaches were utter'd, and the ten Chiefs of the Deputies were equally divided. The Diet was to ſit but one Day longer, and that was ſpent in Contention. In the End the Deputies from *Dymæ*, *Megalopolis*, and ſome of thoſe from *Argos*, roſe up, and left the Aſſembly. Theſe three Cities were under particular Obligations to *Philip*. The reſt of *Achaia* follow'd the moſt prudent Advice; they made an Alliance with the *Athenians*, *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, but deferr'd declaring their Confederacy with *Flamininus* till the Return of ſome Ambaſſadors ſent to *Rome* to get it approv'd. §. 13. Nevertheleſs the *Achæans*, for their own Intereſt, immediately lent Aſſiſtance to the *Romans* to reduce *Corinth*. The City was attack'd on the Side of *Cenchrea* by *Quinctius*, at the Gate *Sicyon* by the *Achæans*, and on the Side of the Port *Lechæum* by *Attalus*. It was at firſt hop'd by the Confederates that a Difference would ariſe between the Garriſon and the Inhabitants, and that they ſhould thereby become Maſters of the Place: But *Androſtenes* who commanded the Place for *Philip* had gained the Affections of the *Corinthians*, and being powerfully ſupported by the *Roman* Deſerters, and by a Reinforcement of fifteen hundred Men, under *Philocles*, one of King *Philip*'s Generals, he obliged the Beſiegers to drop their Enterprize. After this, *Philocles* did not remain unactive, but march'd away and appeared before *Argos*, where the *Achæan* Diet had placed a Commander named *Æneſidemus*, who was faithful to the *Roman* Intereſt; but the Inhabitants being in the Intereſt of *Philip* took Arms, and obliged the Governour to capitulate. *Æneſidemus* obtain'd Leave for the Garriſon, conſiſting of five hundred Men, to march out; but he continued there himſelf, with a few Clients about him, after the Soldiers were gone. *Philocles* ſent to ask him *why he tarried, and what he intended to do?* To which the brave *Achaian* anſwer'd, *To die in the Place committed to my Care.* Upon this, *Philocles* order'd ſome *Thracians* to ſhoot their Arrows at him, and he fell dead upon his Buckler. §. 14. During the fruitleſs Attempt of *Quinctius* upon *Corinth*, the *Conſul* was buſy in the Reduction of *Phocis*; and at length took *Elatia*, and retired for the Winter to *Anticyra*. *Philip* ſent thither to demand a ſecond Interview with him. Some Attempts were made in the Conference towards an Accommodation; but as *Flamininus* inſiſted reſolutely on the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Liberty of all *Greece*, the *Macedonian* again flew off. We are not told the Particulars of the Terms propoſed by *Philip*, but thinking that he offer'd enough, he ſent an Embaſſy to *Rome*, in Hopes that the Senate would be ſatisfy'd with them. The *Conſul* ſent a Deputation thither likewiſe to prevent an Accommodation, and to get himſelf continued in the Management of the War, and

He gains over the Achæans to the Intereſt of Rome.

he ſucceeded in both, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. §. 15. The time of the Elections now drew near, and *Ælius*, who had done no great Matter in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, was called home to aſſemble the *Centuries*. A little before his Return a Conſpiracy was form'd at *Setia* in the Country of the *Volſci*, by the *Carthaginian* Hoſtages who reſided there, and the Slaves that attended them. They laid a Scheme to ſeize this Place and two more Towns, having firſt drawn the Slaves who lived in thoſe Towns, and were very numerous, into their Meaſures. But the Secret was diſcovered; and the unexpected Arrival of *Cornelius Merula* the *Prætor* of *Rome*, with two thouſand Men, put an effectual Stop to their Deſigns. Year of ROME 555.

255th Conſulſhip. §. 16. The *Comitia* being aſſembled, *C. Cornelius Cethegus* and *Q. Minucius Rufus* were choſen *Conſuls*. The Republick thought fit at this time to increaſe the Number of *Prætors* to ſix, by creating two new ones for the Government of *Spain*, which ſhe now divided into two Provinces, by the Names of *Hither Spain* and *Further Spain*. The *Conſuls* being both ambitious of conducting the War in *Macedon*, were very deſirous of drawing Lots for that Province. But this Motion was oppoſed by two *Tribunes of the Commons*, who repreſented to the People the ill Conſequences which might attend the recalling *Flamininus* from *Greece* in the midſt of his Succeſſes, as well as the Unreaſonableneſs of letting another reap the Fruit of his Labours. Theſe Diſcourſes made ſuch an Impreſſion upon the People that the *Conſuls* themſelves conſented to leave the Matter to the Determination of the Senate. The *Fathers* ordered that he ſhould continue in his Employment in Quality of *Pro-Conſul*, and that no other Commander ſhould be ſent to act againſt *Philip*, till the People thought fit to recall him. They granted him alſo a Recruit of five thouſand Foot, three hundred Horſe, and three thouſand Seamen and Rowers; and left him his Brother *Quinctius* to command the Fleet under his Direction. Laſtly, *Sulpicius* and *Villius* were ſent to ſerve in his Army as Lieutenant-Generals. As for the two *Conſuls*, they were both order'd into *Ciſalpine Gaul* againſt *Hamilcar*, who ſtill headed the Revolt there. 556.

Flamininus *continued General in* Greece.

§. 17. *Flamininus*, who knew nothing of what was doing at *Rome*, and had ſome Apprehenſion of being recall'd, was very deſirous of concluding a Treaty with *Philip*, that he might have the Glory of advantageouſly finiſhing the War before he left his Province. The King demanded a Conference, and tho' the *Roman* pretended at firſt an Unwillingneſs to grant it, he at length conſented, and the Place of Conference was appointed. On the *Maliac Gulph* ſtood a City, call'd *Nicæa*, near which was a Strand where the Water was deep enough for Galleys to come very near the Shore. *Philip* came to this Place by Sea, in one of his Ships of War, convoyed by five *Felucca's*; and he had on board with him his two Secretaries of State, and ſome of the greateſt Lords of his Court. With *Flamininus* came the Ambaſſador of King *Attalus*, *Aminander* King of the *Athamanes*, *Ageſimbrotus* Admiral of the *Rhodian* Fleet, *Phæneas* General of the *Ætolians*, and the two chief Magiſtrates of *Achaia*, *Ariſtænus* and *Xenophon*. *Flamininus* came on foot to the Sea-ſhore; and *Philip* continued in the Prow of his Ship, which lay at Anchor. *Why don't you come aſhore*, ſaid the *Pro-Conſul? we ſhall hear one another better. Which of us do you fear? The Gods only*, reply'd the Monarch haughtily, *can terrify me. But I ſuſpect thoſe about you, particularly the* Ætolians. *The Danger is equal on both Sides*, rejoined *Flamininus*, *there is always ſome Hazard in Conferences with Enemies. No*, reply'd *Philip* briskly, *the Danger is not equal. Would the Loſs of a* Phæneas *be equal to that of a* Philip? *Another* Prætor *for* Ætolia *might eaſily be found; but the Want of a Great King in a State is not ſo eaſily ſupplied.* After this both Parties remained in a profound Silence. The *Pro-Conſul* expected that *Philip* would have firſt explain'd himſelf, and have declared what he was willing to give for a Peace. But the *Macedonian* ſaid to him, *It is your Buſineſs to begin; Peace is a kind of Merchandize, and you are to ſet your Price upon it.* Then *Flamininus* anſwer'd, *I have but one Word to ſay with regard to the Intereſts of my Republick, Reſtore to her all the Places you have invaded in* Illyricum *ſince the laſt Peace made in* Epirus. *Surrender up our Deſerters. Evacuate the Cities you have conquered from the* Egyptians *ſince the Deceaſe of King* Ptolomy Philopator. *Satisfy all the juſt Pretenſions of our Allies, and immediately leave* Greece. *If you refuſe to comply with any one of theſe Conditions, all the Miſeries of War will be the Conſequence.* Then the Miniſter of the King of *Pergamus*, and the Deputies of the Allies made ſeverally their Demands. *Phæneas* and *Alexander* ſpoke on the Part of the *Ætolians*. The former inſiſted, as the *Pro-Conſul* had done, on *Philip*'s evacuating all *Greece*. But *Alexander*, who was eſteemed a fine Speaker, went further, and addreſſing himſelf to the King reproach'd him with *Inſincerity in Treaties*, *Cowardice in War*, *and Cruelty in ravaging* Theſſaly *and other Places which had ſubmitted to him.* The *Macedonian* was highly exaſperated at this Diſcourſe, and bringing his Ship nearer the Shore, made this angry Reply. *What an Orator and what Rhetoric have we here? The audacious* Alexander *may have been taught to harangue in a Theatre, but he knows nothing of the cruel Exigencies to which Kings and Generals are ſometimes reduced, with reſpect to*

A Conference between Philip *and* Flamininus.

Year of ROME 556.

their Subjects and Allies. Sometimes the Circumstances of Affairs oblige them to sacrifice much to the common Good. It was with Regret that I ravaged Thessaly, *but I had Reasons of State for so doing.* The King was going on when *Phæneas* interrupted him and said: *Let us have fewer Words and more Business done, you must either conquer, or obey us.* To which the King replied with a contemptuous Smile, *You are very clearsighted for a blind Man. Phæneas* had indeed weak Eyes; but this Jest was very unbecoming the Dignity of a King. *Philip* naturally loved Raillery, a Fault which Education had not been able to correct. At length he assumed a more serious Air, and having given a distinct Answer to each of the Deputies, which consisted chiefly of Recriminations, he desired that they would give him their several Pretensions in writing, and he promised to consider them. *I am alone*, said he, *and have none to assist me with their Counsels.* To which the *Pro-Consul* answer'd, *I am not in the least surprised at it, you have deprived yourself of all your Friends.* The King was stung with this Reproach, and could only put on a forced Smile. Mutual Promises were given, that the Conferences should be continued the next Day in the same Place. *Philip* retired with his Fleet, and *Flamininus* returned to his Camp. §. 18. The next Day *Philip* desired, that in order to cut off a thousand frivolous Disputes, the Conference might be between him and *Flamininus* only. This was agreed to, and then *Philip* came ashore with two of his Confidents; and went a little apart from the rest with the *Pro-Consul*. The King offer'd to give up *Pharsalus* and *Larissa* to the *Ætolians*, but refus'd to restore *Thebes* to them. He offer'd likewise to restore *Paræa* to the *Rhodians*, but reserved *Jassos* and *Bargylia*. He promised to surrender *Argos* and *Corinth* to the *Achaians*, and to restore to King *Attalus* the Ships and Prisoners he had taken from him. But when *Flamininus* upon his Return to the Deputies made this Report, they all raised a great Clamour, which *Philip* hearing, concluded that his Proposals were rejected. He desired therefore a third Interview the next day, at another Place not far from *Nicæa*. They met accordingly, and then the King exhorted the Heads of the Nations not to be averse from a Peace, and proposed to refer all Differences to the Arbitration of the *Roman* Senate. The *Ætolians* opposed this Motion, but it was at length agreed to, and Deputies were sent to *Rome* from the King, the *Pro-Consul* and all the Confederates. §. 19. All the Deputies arrived at *Rome* much about the same time. Those of the Allies were first heard in the Senate, and they insisted chiefly on the Necessity of obliging *Philip* to give up *Demetrias* in *Thessaly*, *Corinth* in *Achaia*, and *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*. These three Places he had called, *The Fetters of Greece*. The Senate were strongly prejudiced by what was urged on this Head, so that when *Philip*'s Deputies were admitted, and their Orator began a studied Harangue, *the Fathers* interrupted him and said, *without so many Preambles, tell us in two Words, will the King of* Macedon *give up* Corinth, Chalcis *and* Demetrias? The Ambassadors were surprised at this Question, and in Confusion answered, that their Master had given them no Instructions as to that matter. Upon this they were dismissed, and a Decree was passed giving full Powers to *Flamininus* to pursue the War with the utmost Vigour, unless the *Macedonian* would yield those three Places. §. 20. *Philip* finding his Hopes frustrated, turned his Thoughts wholly to the War; and as it was of great Importance to him to preserve *Argos*, and yet difficult to do it, because it was in the Heart of *Achaia*, he treated with *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon* upon this Head. *Philip* agreed to put *Nabis* into Possession of the City upon Condition of its being restored to him in case he survived the War. But *Nabis* was no sooner Master of the Place, than he plundered all the Inhabitants, committed the most barbarous Cruelties; and in order to preserve his new Possession entered into a Treaty with *Flamininus* (who at his Request came from *Phocis* for that Purpose) and furnished the *Pro-Consul* with six hundred *Cretans* to act against *Philip*. §. 21. With this Reinforcement, *Flamininus* appeared before *Corinth*, and affected to shew his *Cretan* Troops to the *Corinthians*. This was to let them understand that the *Lacedæmonians* were come over to him; and *Philocles* the Commander of the Place gave him Hopes in a Conference, that he would soon surrender it to him, and join the Confederates. The *Pro-Consul* therefore well satisfied with his Expedition, returned to *Anticyra*, and spent the rest of the Winter there. As for *Nabis*, being proud of his Alliance with *Rome*, and his Affairs calling him home, he resolved to evacuate *Argos*; but before he left it he brought his Wife *Apega* thither to practise a new sort of Robbery upon the Women, which he could not so well execute himself, because they did not appear among the Men. When they came to Court, she admired their Jewels and rich Clothes, and by using good Words with some, and threatning others, entirely stripped them of all their Finery.

The Senate rejects the Proposals of Philip *for a Peace.*

The Treachery and Cruelty of Nabis *Tyrant of* Lacedæmon.

§. 22. As soon as the Return of the Spring invited the Armies to take the Field *Flamininus* left his Quarters, and under a Guard of only one *Manipulus* advanced towards *Thebes* in *Bœotia*, accompanied by King *Attalus*. The *Pro-Consul* however had order'd two thousand *Hastati* to follow him at some Distance. These were hid by

by the Hills about *Thebes*. *Antiphilus* the Governor of the Place ſeeing the *Roman* General approach with ſo ſmall a Guard came out to meet him; and all the Inhabitants, out of Curioſity to ſee what paſt, ran either to the Ramparts or out of the Gates, moſtly without Arms. When they ſaw the two thouſand *Haſtati* appear, they thought themſelves betray'd, but diſſembled their Uneaſineſs, and *Flamininus* careſſed the Inhabitants, and gave them leave to hold the Aſſembly of the People which had been appointed for the next Day, to deliberate whether they ſhould adhere to *Philip*, or take Part with the *Romans*. There was now indeed no room for Choice; for the *Romans* were by this time in Poſſeſſion of the Ramparts. *Attalus* ſpoke firſt, but in the midſt of his Harangue fell into an apoplectick Fit. The *Pro-Conſul* ordered him to be taken Care of, and put on board a Galley which carried him to *Aſia*, where he died at ſeventy one Years of Age, leaving his Crown to his eldeſt Son *Eumenes*. This unforeſeen Accident ſuſpended a little the Deliberations of the *Thebans*; but in the End they enter'd, with all *Bœotia*, into a Confederacy with *Rome*. §. 23. The *Pro-Conſul* having now no Enemies behind him, marched into *Theſſaly*, in Purſuit of *Philip*; §. 24. And the two Armies coming near each other in the Neighbourhood of *Pheræ*, a City of *Magneſia*, a Skirmiſh enſued, in which the *Romans* had all the Advantage. The two Generals ſeem'd as it were by Conſent to judge this a very improper Place for a pitch'd Battel, it being cover'd with Trees, ruined Houſes and Gardens, and therefore both march'd, tho' by different Roads, and without meeting or ſeeing one another, to the Plain of *Cynocephalæ*. §. 25. Here they came to a general Action *, *Philip*'s Army conſiſted of about twenty one thouſand Men, and that of the *Romans* was not much more numerous. The *Macedonians* were entirely defeated, eight thouſand of them being killed on the Spot, and five thouſand taken Priſoners. The *Romans* loſt but ſeven hundred Men. After this Victory the *Pro-Conſul* marched away and encamped under *Lariſſa*, and *Philip* ſheltered himſelf in the *Vale of Tempe*. §. 26. What increaſed the Misfortune of the King's Defeat, was another Battle which his General *Androſtenes*, whom he had left in *Corinth* with ſix thouſand Men, loſt juſt at the ſame time in *Achaia*, againſt *Nicoſtratus* the *Prætor* of that Nation.

Year of *ROME* 556.

Philip *defeated by* Flamininus *in the Plain of* Cynocephalæ.

**Vide* p. 73.

§. 27. But now while the *Pro-Conſul* lay with an Army near *Lariſſa*, the *Ætolians* by their Vanity gave him great Uneaſineſs. They had indeed bore a good Part in the late Action of *Cynocephalæ*, but in their Songs which they diſperſed over all *Greece* they aſcribed all the Glory of the Succeſs to themſelves. *Flamininus* took it ill to have his Reputation leſſened among the *Greeks*; and while his Reſentments were yet Warm, three Envoys came from *Philip* under Pretence of aſking a Truce to bury the Dead, but in reality to ſollicit a Peace. The *Pro-Conſul* received them, and gave them their Anſwer without conſulting the Chief of the *Ætolians*. He was glad of ſuch an Opportunity to mortify their Vanity, and they were ſo provoked, that they ſpread a Report that he was bribed by *Philip*, and was betraying the common Cauſe; but in Truth the *Pro-Conſul* had more honourable Motives than Avarice to hearken to *Philip*'s Propoſals. *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *the Great*, King of *Syria*, who had been always a Friend to *Philip*, was preparing to come into *Europe*, and *Flamininus* was therefore willing to conclude a Peace with the *Macedonians* before his Arrival. §. 28. The Place appointed for the Conference was the Paſs which leads into the *Vale of Tempe*: And now the *Pro-Conſul* ſhewed ſo much Regard for his Allies as to deſire all the Chiefs of them to be preſent at it. Nay before he entered upon a Treaty he called them together in Council, and aſked them upon what Terms they thought it might be proper to grant the *Macedonians* a Peace. *Amynander* King of the *Athamanes* modeſtly deſired nothing more than Protection for his Dominions. But the *Ætolians* with great Warmth and Haughtineſs inſiſted on the dethroning of *Philip* and ruining his Dominions, as the only Means to ſecure the Liberty of *Greece*. The *Pro-Conſul* anſwered, that it was never the Intention of the *Romans* to carry things to ſuch Extremity; that upon the firſt Appearance of Submiſſion their Anger always ceaſed; that brave Men are courageous in Action, but loſe their Animoſity after Victory: And he concluded with declaring in the Name of all the Officers of the *Roman* Army, that, with the Conſent of the Senate, he would grant a Peace to *Philip* on the Terms which had been offered him. The next Day the King of *Macedon* appeared at the Congreſs with an Air of Submiſſion ſuitable to his preſent Circumſtances, and without any Preamble declared: That he accepted the Articles he had hitherto rejected, and referred all other matters to the Arbitration of the *Roman* Senate. Upon this a Truce was granted him for four Months to negotiate a Peace at *Rome*; but *Flamininus* demanded his Son *Demetrius*, and ſome other Lords of his Court for Hoſtages, and alſo two hundred Talents, upon Condition nevertheleſs, that both the Money and the Hoſtages ſhould be reſtored to him if the Peace did not take Place. The *Macedonian* complied, ſent away his Ambaſſadors, and retired into his own Dominions.

Philip *ſubmits to the Terms of Peace propoſed by* Flamininus.

Year of ROME 556. §. 29. In *Italy* the War with the *Gauls* being in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, and carried on by the *Conſuls*, gave the People more Concern than that of *Macedon*, but their Fears were ſoon quieted. §. 30. For *Cethegus*, who marched againſt the *Inſubres* and *Cœnomani* obtained a complete Victory over them on the Banks of the *Mincius*. Thirty five thouſand of thoſe *Gauls* were ſlain in the Action, and five thouſand ſeven hundred made Priſoners, among the reſt their General *Hamilcar*. *Minucius* the other *Conſul* had no Opportunity of coming to a pitched Battle with the *Ligures* and *Boii*, againſt whom he commanded, but he over-ran their Country and laid it waſte. §. 31. The News of theſe Succeſſes was brought to *Rome* to the *Prætor Sergius*, who communicated it firſt to the Senate, and then to the People, and both Tribunals ordered publick Thankſgivings in all the Temples of *Rome* for four Days. This *Sergius* was a Man remarkable for his Bravery, and had raiſed himſelf to his preſent Dignity by it. When a private Legionary he loſt his right Hand in his firſt Campaign, and afterwards the Uſe of one of his Legs, yet he did not quit the Service, but fought on Horſeback with his left Hand, and is ſaid to have given mighty Strokes with it. He was the Great Grandfather of the ſeditious *Cataline*.

The Ciſalpine Gauls *defeated.*

§. 32. But the News which came from *Spain* at this time was not ſo advantageous. The *Spaniards* being much diſpleaſed to ſee their Country reduced to the State of *Roman* Provinces had taken Arms. In hither *Spain* the *Prætor Sempronius* had been defeated by the Rebels, and loſt his own Life in the Action; and in *Further Spain* ſeveral Towns had been ſeized by two petty Kings who revolted. There was almoſt a general Diſpoſition to ſhake off the *Roman* Yoke. Indeed the *Spaniards* never ſubmitted quietly to it till the time of *Auguſtus*.

The Spaniards *Revolt.*

§. 33. *Ciſalpine Gaul* ſeemed now to be totally ſubdued, and both the *Conſuls* expected to have been honoured with a Triumph on their Return from the Campaign; but it was granted only to *Cethegus*. *Minucius* enraged at this Diſtinction, and being authorized by Precedents, triumphed at his own Expence on *the Hill of Alba*.

BOOK XXXIX.

§. 1. AFTER the Battle of *Cynocephalæ*, and the Promiſe which *Philip* had made to accept of whatever Terms the Senate ſhould offer him, he waited peaceably in *Macedon* for the Return of his Ambaſſadors. When they arrived at *Rome* the Republick had juſt choſen new Conſuls, *L. Furius Purpureo*, and
557. *M. Claudius Marcellus*. §. 2. The latter being ambitious of going himſelf into *Macedon* to finiſh the War, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the Peace deſired; and being ſeconded by the *Ætolians* in this Oppoſition, had like to have prevailed in the Senate, notwithſtanding that *Flamininus* in Imitation of *Scipio* ſollicited in behalf of *Macedon*, as the other had done in favour of *Carthage*. The Senators being divided in Opinion, the Tribunes brought the Affair before the People; and then the Tribes unanimouſly voted to grant *Philip*'s Requeſt. §. 3. Thus *Marcellus* to his great Mortification was forced to continue in *Italy* with his Collegue *Furius* to renew the War againſt the *Gauls*, who were not yet totally ſubdued, as had been imagin'd. *Flamininus* by a new Decree was appointed to act as General in *Greece* till ſuch time as the Treaty with *Macedon* ſhould be concluded, and for this laſt Purpoſe ten Commiſſioners were ſent thither accompanied by *Philip*'s Ambaſſadors. §. 4. In the mean time the *Pro-Conſul* had ſpent part of the Winter at *Athens*, engaged in numberleſs Affairs; and he ſhewed himſelf to be as great a Stateſman as he had before ſhewn himſelf a Warrior. He was perhaps inferior to *Scipio* in all other Reſpects, but he certainly equalled if not ſurpaſſed him in Addreſs, and the Art of governing Men's Paſſions. He was now to guard againſt all the Artifices of the *Greeks*, to calm their Diſtruſts, appeaſe their mutual Jealouſies, ſtifle their Revolts, humour their Capriciouſneſs and fix their Levity. The *Bœotians* were the firſt who after this Victory over *Philip* ſhewed him the Temper of the *Greeks*. In the firſt Election they made of a Governor they ungratefully preferred *Brachyllas*, a ſworn Enemy of *Rome*, to *Zeuxippus* and *Piſiſtratus*, who had openly declared for her, and they made this Choice even in Sight of the *Roman* Camp. The two latter believing their Ruin certain as ſoon as the *Roman* Forces ſhould be withdrawn from *Greece*, conſpired with the other *Partizans* of *Rome* to aſſaſſinate *Brachyllas*; and the *Pro-Conſul* connived at it. The *Bœotian* Governor was murdered as he was coming from an Entertainment, attended by ſome of the Company: Theſe were at firſt the only Perſons ſuſpected; but in a little time the whole matter was diſcovered by a Slave. *Zeuxippus* made his Eſcape, but *Piſiſtratus* was executed, and all the Odium of the Aſſaſſination fell upon the *Romans*. §. 5. The *Bœotians* in Revenge deſtroyed as many of the *Roman* Soldiers as fell into their

256th Conſulſhip.

Flamininus *continued General in* Greece.

Hands, and threw their Bodies into a Lake to prevent a Diſcovery. The *Pro-Conſul* being inform'd of what paſt, ſent ſome Officers of his Army to require the Murderers to be deliver'd up; and as he had loſt five hundred Men, he demanded of the *Bœotians* five hundred *Talents*, by way of Reparation. But they would not ſubmit to any of his Orders till they were forced to it by ſome Troops which he ſent to ravage their Country. They then engaged the *Achæans* to intercede for them; and the Aſſaſſins being deliver'd up to Juſtice, he remitted four hundred and ſeventy of the *Talents* he had required. Year of *ROME* 557.

The Articles of the Peace with Philip.

§. 6. At length the ten Plenipotentiaries arrived in *Greece* with the Articles of the Peace, as they were drawn up by the Senate. They were as follow, 1. *All the Cities of the* Greeks, *both in* Europe *and in* Aſia, *ſhall enjoy perfect Liberty, and be governed only by themſelves.* 2. Philip *ſhall evacuate all the Places he ſtands poſſeſſed of, and draw his Garriſons out of them before the Celebration of the* Iſthmian Games. 3. Philip *ſhall ſurrender into the Hands of the* Romans *the Cities of* Euromus, Padaſia, Bargylia, Jaſſos, Thaſſos, Myrina, Abydos *and* Perinthus; *and all theſe Cities ſhall be free, and under no foreign Subjection.* 4. *As to the Reſtitution of* Ciam, *the* Pro-Conſul *ſhall notify the Intentions of the Senate to King* Pruſias. 5. Philip *ſhall reſtore to the* Romans *all the Cities he has taken from them, and all their Deſerters.* 6. *He ſhall deliver up all his Ships that have Decks, except five, and one* Hexaremis, *which is too heavy to be of any uſe at Sea.* 7. *He ſhall never have above five thouſand Men in Pay, never make uſe of Elephants in his Armies, nor wage War out of* Macedon, *without the Conſent of the* Romans. 8. *He ſhall pay the Republick a thouſand* Talents, *one half preſently, and the other half in ten Years, at ten equal Payments.* 9. *He ſhall not make War againſt* Eumenes *the King of* Pergamus. 10. *Upon theſe Conditions,* Philip *ſhall continue in peaceable Poſſeſſion of* Macedon, *and ſhall enjoy the ancient Throne of his Forefathers.* Theſe Articles were ſoon communicated to all the States of *Greece*, and they were all pleaſed with them, except the *Ætolians*. Theſe obſerved, that while other Towns were particularly ſpecify'd, no Mention was made of *Corinth*, *Chalcis* and *Demetrias*; and they inſinuated that *Rome* had an Intention to appropriate thoſe Places to herſelf, and thereby become Miſtreſs of *Greece*. Indeed theſe Suſpicions were not ill founded: The Senate had purpoſely omitted them in the Liſt, in order to leave it in the Breaſt of *Flamininus* and the Council of Ten to keep or ſurrender them. Some of theſe Plenipotentiaries were for putting ſtrong Garriſons into them, to be a Curb upon the Natives, and a Guard againſt *Antiochus*: But *Flamininus* oppoſed this Motion, and repreſented to the Council that it was for the Glory of the *Romans* to give up a little Intereſt, and gain the Hearts of the People; and his Opinion at length prevailed. It was decreed that all the *Greek* Cities, both in *Europe* and *Aſia*, ſhould be reſtor'd to perfect Liberty; and that the *Romans* ſhould have Poſſeſſion of *Chalcis*, *Demetrias* and the Citadel of *Corinth* only till the Apprehenſions of *Antiochus*'s coming into *Europe* were over. §. 7. This Decree was ſoon after proclaim'd by a Herald in a vaſt Aſſembly of the *Greeks*, met together from all Parts to celebrate the *Iſthmian Games*. Their Amazement and Joy upon this Occaſion was inexpreſſible, and they admired beyond meaſure the Diſintereſtedneſs of the *Romans*, who propoſed no other Fruit from the Labours and Expences of the War they had carried on in a foreign Country, than the Pleaſure of making others happy. §. 8. Nor did *Flamininus* leave this glorious Work unfiniſhed. The Members of the Council of Ten, which was now diſſolved, took each his Diſtrict, to put the Decree in execution. They reſtored the ſeveral Cities and States to their Liberty and Independency, and reinſtated the Allies of *Rome* in the Poſſeſſion of all thoſe Places which *Philip* had uſurped from them. The *Ætolians* were the only People diſſatisfy'd with the Peace, they had been refuſed ſome Towns which they claim'd, they frequently complain'd of it, and in the End had Recourſe to *Antiochus*.

Antiochus the Great *invades* Thrace.

§. 9. *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *the Great*, was one of thoſe Princes called *Seleucides*. The Founder of this Family, and the firſt who took the Title of *King*, was *Seleucus Nicator*, the Son of *Antiochus*, an Officer in the Army of *Alexander the Great*. *Seleucus* was ſucceeded by his Son *Antiochus Soter*, and he by his Brother *Antiochus the God*. This God being poiſoned by his Wife *Laodice*, was ſucceeded in the Throne by his Son *Seleucus Callinicus*, who left two Sons, the elder of which was named *Antiochus Ceraunus*, and the younger was this *Antiochus* who now engages our Attention. §. 10. His Pretence for coming into *Europe* was to recover Poſſeſſion of *Thrace*, which his Great Grandfather *Seleucus Nicator* had conquered from *Lyſimachus*, and he intended to rebuild *Lyſimachia* which the *Thracians* had deſtroyed, and to make it the Capital of a great Kingdom, which he deſigned for one of his Sons. Upon the News of his Arrival, and of the Enterprize he was upon, ſome of the *Roman* Council of Ten, who had diſperſed themſelves in *Greece*, haſtened to *Lyſimachia*, to diſſuade the *Syrian* from ſettling in *Europe*. He received them at firſt with great Politeneſs, and entertain'd them hoſpitably; but the *Romans* ſoon

Year of ROME 557. provok'd his Pride by thoſe Airs which they aſſumed wherever they came. They told him that his Conduct ſince his coming into *Europe* was diſpleaſing to the Republick, demanded the Reſtitution of thoſe Cities and Provinces to *Ptolemy* which he had taken from him during his Minority, and above all inſiſted on his relinquiſhing thoſe Places in *Philip*'s Dominions which he had uſurped, and which the *Romans*, as the Conquerors of *Philip*, had the ſole Right to diſpoſe of. *What*, ſaid they, *ſhall* Rome *have been at the Expence of the War, and ſhall* Antiochus *reap all the Advantages of it? We might perhaps have connived at your Conqueſts in* Aſia; *but ſhall we ſuffer thoſe which you are come to make in* Europe? *Is not this a Declaration of War againſt the* Roman *Senate and People? You may indeed deny it; but you might as well come into* Italy *and deny that you have any Deſign againſt the Republick.* To this *Antiochus* anſwer'd, *I have long obſerv'd, That* Rome *is very watchful of my Steps, and very regardleſs of her own. Know then, that you have as little Buſineſs to examine what I do in* Aſia, *as I have to controul you in any of your Undertakings in* Italy. He then aſſerted the Juſtice of his Claim to *Thrace*; and the Diſputes grew warm. They would have laſted a great while, if the *Syrian* had not been obliged to leave *Lyſimachia* for another Enterprize which was of more Conſequence to him than this. *A Conference between* Antiochus *and the* Roman *Deputies.*

§. 11. A Report was ſpread that *Ptolomy Epiphanes* was dead. There is Reaſon to ſuſpect that *Antiochus* was in ſecret Intelligence with one *Scopas*, an *Ætolian* Commander in the *Egyptian* Service, who had laid a Plot to take away the King's Life; and that it was his depending on the Succeſs of this Deſign that made him ſo much in Haſte to leave *Thrace*, and ſail towards *Egypt*. But putting in with his Fleet at *Patara* in *Lycia*, he was there informed that *Ptolomy* was living, and that the Traitor *Scopas* had been put to Death. After this, having narrowly eſcaped the Shipwreck of his Fleet near the Mouth of the *Sarus* in *Cilicia*, he return'd to *Antioch*, the Capital of his Dominions, and ſpent the Winter there. Nevertheleſs, he did not drop his Deſign of recovering *Thrace*. He had left his Son *Seleucus* at *Lyſimachia* with a Land Army to finiſh the rebuilding of the City, and defend it. As for the *Roman* Plenipotentiaries, having finiſhed the Peace with *Macedon* they returned to *Rome*, where they found the Affairs of *Italy* in a good Condition; but learnt that the Revolt in *Spain* had been continued with more Warmth than ever.

§. 12, 13. As for *Italy*, the two *Conſuls*, *Marcellus* and *Furius*, had carried on the War with great Succeſs againſt the *Ciſalpine Gauls*, and had entirely deſtroyed two conſiderable Armies of them. §. 14. After this the Republick was employ'd only in puniſhing ſome revolted Slaves in *Hetruria*, and publiſhing ſome new Edicts. The *Pontifices* and *Augurs* were now required, for the firſt time, to pay a Tax towards the Expences of the War; but they were at the ſame time eaſed of one burdenſome Part of their Functions. The *Romans* erected a new Sort of ſacerdotal College, under the Name of *Epulones*, whoſe Office was confined wholly to the Care of the religious Feaſts; the Number of theſe Prieſts in the Beginning was only three, and all choſen out of *Plebeian* Families. *Porcius Læcas* was one of the firſt three. This was he who when he was *Tribune* two Years before got the famous *Porcian* Law paſs'd, which forbad the *Lictors*, under very ſevere Penalties, to whip a *Roman Citizen:* But this Privilege did not extend to the Armies, where the Generals had an abſolute Power of Life and Death. §. 15. The *Romans*, in the enſuing Elections, ſhewed their Gratitude to the *Porcian* Family for this new Law in their Favour. As *Porcius Cato* had countenanced the paſſing of it, they raiſed him to the *Conſulſhip*, with *L. Valerius Flaccus*; and *Porcius Læcas* was made one of the ſix *Prætors*. And now the Senate applied themſelves to the Affairs of *Spain*, which grew very urgent, and reſolved to ſend thither one of the *Conſuls* with an Army. The Conduct of it fell by Lot to *Cato*. But while Preparations were making for his Departure the *Roman* Ladies took a Step which was a perfect Novelty in the Republick. About eighteen Years before, when *Hannibal* was ravaging *Italy*, and the Treaſury was exhauſted, a *Tribune of the People* named *Oppius* had got a Law paſſed to reſtrain the Luxury of Women. It enacted, *That the richeſt of the* Roman *Ladies ſhould not wear above half an Ounce of Gold in Trinkets; that they ſhould no longer wear Habits of various Colours; and that they ſhould not make uſe of Chariots, either at* Rome, *or in the neighbouring Villages, unleſs they were to aſſiſt at a publick Sacrifice in ſome Place a Mile off.* The Ladies had with great Reluctance conformed themſelves to this Law in a time of publick Calamity, but they thought it intolerable to be under the Reſtraint of it now that the Republick abounded with Riches; and they made a great Stir to get it repeal'd. The *Conſulſhip* of the auſtere *Cato* ſeem'd a very improper Time to gain their Point; but their Paſſion for Finery would bear no Delay. They prevail'd with *Valerius* and *Fundanius*, two of the *Tribunes*, to preſent their Requeſt to the *Comitia*, and never was an Aſſembly more divided. The *Capitol* where it was held was full of People crying out for and againſt the Law. Even the Women ran thither contrary to Cuſtom. Neither the Orders of their Husbands, nor the Rules of Decency, nor publick Authority, could

The Roman *Prieſts obliged to pay Taxes.* *The* Epulones *inſtituted.* Porcius Cato *choſen* Conſul. 58. *257th Conſulſhip.* *The* Roman *Ladies obtain the repealing of the* Oppian *Law.*

could keep them at home. They beſet the Paſſages which led from the Capitol to the voting Place, ſollicited the Men as they paſſed, and urged the Juſtice of their Pretenſions. As the Affair was more than one Day under Deliberation, the Women flocked to *Rome* from all the neighbouring Colonies and Towns, and the Number of thoſe in the City hourly augmented; they offered their Petitions even to the *Conſuls* and *Prætors*. But *Cato* was inexorable, he made a long * Harangue to the Aſſembly in behalf of the Law and againſt the Women; on whom he caſt many ſatyrical Reflexions for their appearing in Publick to ſollicit Votes. *In a little time*, ſaid he, *we ſhall ſee them take their Places in the Comitia, determine Affairs of State, and aſpire to the Government of the Republick. Does not their preſent Conduct give Cauſe for theſe Fears? Does it belong to them to intercede for the Preſervation or Abolition of our Laws? They are a Sort of Animals which ought to be chained up. If you give Women the leaſt Liberty, they become inſatiable.* Two of the *Tribunes*, who were of the *Junian* Family, and bore the Name of *Brutus*, ſeconded *Cato* and ſpoke againſt the Petition; but then *Valerius*, who had undertaken to be the Ladies Advocate, pleaded * in their behalf, and urged the Reaſonableneſs of aboliſhing the *Oppian* Law. After having excuſed the Womens appearing in Publick to ſollicit their own Cauſe, he thus proceeded. *In* Oppius's *time*, ſaid he, *all Orders of Men ſhewed their Zeal by lending their Money to the Publick; and they have been all repaid. The Women were likewiſe forced to Part with their Jewels: And ſhall they be the only Perſons who ſhall have ſuffered by the Miſeries of the Times, without Hope of Relief? Were their Ornaments taken from them never to be reſtored? Shall their Huſbands ſhine in Purple, and ſhew their different Offices and Dignities by their different Habits? Shall Children wear the* Prætexta? *Shall the Magiſtrates of our municipal Cities wear it finely laced? Shall the Dead wear it to the funeral Pile, and be burnt in it? Nay ſhall even our Horſes be harneſſed in Purple, and our Wives only forbidden the Uſe of it? And why muſt not they be ſuffered to wear Gold in their Head-dreſſes? Will it ſink the Value of that Metal to ſee it on their Heads or Fingers? Will it not be a Fund of Riches againſt any preſſing Wants of the Publick? It is urged that the mutual Jealouſies which Pomp and Luxury raiſes among Women ſhould by all means be prevented. But what can be a ſtronger Excitement to Jealouſy, than for our* Roman *Ladies to ſee the Women of the neighbouring Cities dreſſed in what Colours they pleaſe, and riding at eaſe in their Chariots, whilſt they are forced to go a foot? The weaker the Sex is, the leſs able to bear this Difference with Temper. All Marks of Honour are for the Men,* Faſces, Lictors, Curule *Chairs, Triumphs. Is it not juſt that the Women ſhould have ſomething to ſet them off? They place their Glory in fine Clothes and Trinkets, a trifling Ambition I'll grant you, but this is their Taſte. A rich Dreſs is to them what a Triumph is to one of our Hero's, and it would be inhuman not to gratify them*, &c. The Debate laſted all the Day, ſo that the Queſtion was not put till the next, and then the Women were more earneſt than ever. They beſet the Houſes of the two *Brutus's*, who were the only *Tribunes of the People* that oppoſed the Abrogation of the Law, and at laſt by their Importunities prevailed upon them to deſiſt. Then the *Comitia* being at full Liberty repealed the *Oppian* Law, and *Cato* was the only Man who diſſented.

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* *Vide* p. 103.

* *Vide* p. 105.

§. 16. But now a nobler Career preſented itſelf to the rigid *Conſul* than a War with Women. He ſet out for *Spain* with a *Conſular* Army, embarked at *Luna* in *Hetruria*, and landed at *Rhoda* [now *Roſes*] in *Catalonia*. From thence he marched by Land to *Emporiæ*, where he was met by the *Pro-Prætor Helvius*, who had juſt obtained a Victory over the *Spaniards*. §. 17. Whilſt the *Conſul* was waiting the Return of the Seaſon to take the Field, Ambaſſadors came from the King of the *Ilergetes*, a Nation well affected to the *Romans*. The King's Son was at the Head of the Deputation, and he demanded only a Detachment of five thouſand *Romans* to ſecure his Father's Dominions againſt the Rebels, who threatned them with a general Devaſtation. *Cato* was perplexed at this Demand. He knew not how to refuſe it, nor yet was it ſafe to divide his Troops and weaken them. He took a whole Night to conſider of it, and at length thought of this Expedient, which has been much applauded by the Ancients. He told the Ambaſſadors he would ſacrifice his own Safety to the Intereſt of their Maſter, and accordingly gave Orders for equipping ſome Gallies to tranſport the Succours deſired. The Rumour of theſe Preparations was ſpread far, the Enemy was ſeized with Terror, and haſtily left the Country of the *Ilergetes*. As for the Detachment which he had embarked, they ſailed a little way, then according to Orders return'd to the Port from whence they ſet out, under pretence of contrary Winds. But thus he gained his Point without dividing his Forces. §. 18. *Cato*'s Troops conſiſting for the moſt Part of raw Soldiers, it was neceſſary to take ſome Pains to diſcipline them, eſpecially ſince they had now to do with the *Spaniards*, who were naturally brave and reſolute, and by their Wars with the *Carthaginians* and *Romans* had learnt the military Art. And indeed the *Conſul* was juſt ſuch a General as his Army wanted. He was himſelf

The artful Conduct of Cato *in* Spain.

Year of *ROME* 558.

himſelf a Pattern to the Soldiers of Vigilance, Sobriety and Aſſiduity in Labour. His Dreſs was always Plain, and he readily expoſed himſelf to the Inclemencies of the Seaſons. His Proviſions were the ſame which the common Soldiers had. When he was to pitch a Camp, he took a Spade and helped to remove the Earth. He was of a ſweet affable Behaviour, and inexorable only to thoſe who diſputed or neglected his Orders. By this Management he quickly put his Troops on the Foot he deſired. When the time came that he thought it proper to march againſt the Enemy, and try the Fate of a general Action, he ſent away his Fleet to *Marſeilles*, that his Soldiers might have no Hopes but in their Bravery. And in this ſame View, when he was come near the Enemy, he took a Compaſs and poſted his Army behind them in a Plain, ſo that the *Spaniards* were between him and his Camp. In the general Action which enſued, he made his admirable Conduct appear by detaching two of his *Manipuli* to ſhew themſelves only in the Flank of the Enemy and keep them in Terror during the Engagement, and by reſerving a whole Legion for an Emergency. With this Legion he forced the Enemy's Camp, after he had firſt routed them entirely in the Field. He then took the Road to *Tarragona*, and was met by great Numbers of Deputies from the neighbouring Cities with Submiſſions. But he pardoned none till they had firſt given Hoſtages. And it was probably at this time that *Cato* employed an Artifice, which put it out of the Power of ſeveral rebellious Cities to take up Arms again. As the Dread of his Name made him reſpected in many Provinces beyond the *Ebro*, he wrote the ſame Day private Letters to the Commanders of ſeveral fortified Towns to demoliſh their Fortifications. This he ordered to be done immediately, and promiſed Favour to none, but according to the Readineſs of their Obedience. Every one of the Commanders was ignorant of the Orders ſent to the reſt; and the Inhabitants immediately beat down their Walls and Towers, ſo that all the Places in whole Provinces beyond the *Ebro* were left defenceleſs, and the *Romans* took Poſſeſſion of them. §. 19. But tho' the *Romans* obtained eaſy Victories over the other *Spaniards*, the *Celtiberians* in *Further Spain*, whom the *Turdetani* had hired into their Service, were more formidable. *Manlius* the *Prætor* who commanded in thoſe Parts did not think himſelf ſtrong enough to engage with them, and therefore deſired the *Conſul* to march his Army thither to his Aſſiſtance. *Cato* was himſelf a little afraid of the *Celtiberians*. He ſent Deputies to their Camp to propoſe three things to them. He offered them, 1. A Pardon from the *Romans* if they would quit the Rebels, and retire into their own Country. Or 2dly, to come to a pitched Battle with them, leaving them the Choice of Time and Place. Or 3dly, to give them double the Pay that they received from the Rebels if they would join the *Romans*. Some of *Cato*'s Officers were offended at this laſt Propoſal, as thinking it ſhameful to buy them off with Money; but the *Conſul* anſwered, *If we are Conquerors we ſhall pay the* Celtiberians *with our Enemy's Money, and if they are overcome with us, they will have nothing to demand.* The *Celtiberians* held a Council upon the Matter, but could come to no Determination; ſo that when *Cato* had once more endeavoured in vain to bring them to a Battle, he returned to his old Camp upon the *Ebro*. In his way he took ſeveral Towns and a prodigious Booty. Beſides the Spoils with which the Soldiers enriched themſelves, the General gave each of them a Pound Weight of Silver; and when ſome of the Officers ſeemed ſurpriſed at this Liberality, he anſwered, *It is better that many of the* Romans *ſhould return home with Silver, than a few only with Gold.* Of all this Wealth he appropriated nothing to his own Uſe, but continued to live in as low and frugal a Manner as the meaneſt Soldier. §. 20. The News of this Succeſs gave great Joy at *Rome*; but cauſed ſome Uneaſineſs to *Cato*'s Enemies, and particularly to *Scipio*, who intended to ſtand for the *Conſulſhip* the next Year, in hopes of being ſent to *Spain* to finiſh the Pacification of that Country, which he had formerly conquered. *Cato* was informed of theſe Deſigns, but ſpoke of the Emulation between himſelf and *Scipio* like a Man of Senſe. *A little Rivalſhip*, ſaid he, *between the firſt Officers of the Republick will only increaſe its Luſtre. So long as the* Patricians *ſhall endeavour to ſurpaſs the* Plebeians, *and the* Plebeians *ardently aſpire to equal the* Patricians *in glorious Actions*, Rome *will be well ſerved.* In ſhort he ſettled *Spain* by his Exploits in ſuch Tranquillity and Order, that the Senate did not think it neceſſary to ſend a new *Conſular* Army thither. He ſailed back with his Troops to *Rome*, and the next Year had the Honour of a Triumph. Upon his Return he became a private Man again, and ſpent his Leiſure in hard Study: he enquired into the Origin of the Cities of *Italy*, and wrote an Account of them; he took Pleaſure in Agriculture and laid down Rules for it: he often pleaded before the Senate and People, and was always ready to ſerve his Country in Arms even as a private Soldier.

Cato *defeats the* Spaniards. *Vide* p. 109

Scipio *is jealous of* Cato's *Reputation.*

§. 21. But now to return to *Flamininus:* Upon the Report of the Plenipotentiaries who had concluded the Peace with *Macedon*, the Senate judg'd it neceſſary that the *Pro-Conſul* ſhould continue in *Greece*; becauſe they ſaw plainly, that ſooner or later

they must have a War with *Antiochus*. And as there was Reason to suspect that *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon* would join him, Orders were sent to *Flamininus*, immediately to attack and ruin *Nabis* if he thought it for the Interest of the Republick. At the same time many Letters came from *Carthage*, giving Advice that *Hannibal* was in secret Intelligence with the King of *Syria*, and was forming Designs against *Rome*. These Letters were sent by some of the *Barcan* Faction, whose Enmity to *Hannibal* was of late increased. He was now chief Magistrate at *Carthage*, and had, by some popular Acts of Justice, highly ingratiated himself with the People. The Great Men who had the Care of the publick Money had embezzled it, so that there was not sufficient to pay the *Romans* their Tribute; and a new Tax was going to be laid for this Purpose: But *Hannibal* prevented the Oppression. He represented to the People, that if they would make an Enquiry after the embezzled Money, they would find enough to pay the *Romans*, without the Burden of a new Imposition. This was just; and hence *Scipio* took Occasion to defend *Hannibal* in the Senate of *Rome*. *The Calumnies*, said he, *which are cast upon this illustrious* Carthaginian, *are only the Effects of those Resentments his Wisdom has drawn upon him. It is beneath the Dignity of the* Roman *People to hearken to them. Is it not enough to have overcome* Hannibal, *without suffering him to sink under the unjust Accusations of those who envy him?* This Discourse did Honour to *Scipio*, but it did not efface the Prejudices against the *Carthaginian*, whose eternal Hatred to *Rome* was well known. The Senate sent an Embassy to *Carthage*, under Pretence of adjusting some Differences between the *Carthaginians* and *Masiniſſa*, but in Reality to watch *Hannibal*'s Conduct. The latter was too sagacious not to penetrate into the Designs of the *Romans*, and therefore contrived to make his Escape the very Evening after he had had a Conference with their Ambassadors. He sailed first to *Tyre*, thence to *Antioch*, and thence to *Ephesus*, where he found *Antiochus*, who was yet wavering between Peace and War. §. 22. In the mean time, the *Pro-Consul* in *Greece* receiv'd the Senate's Orders to turn his Arms against *Nabis*, with a particular Injunction to drive him out of *Argos*, of which the Tyrant had by some Surprize got Possession a second time. However, *Flamininus* either could not or would not do this without the Consent of the Allies. He assembled a Diet at *Corinth*, whereat the Deputies of all the *Greek* Nations were present; and they all consented to the Enterprize he proposed to them, except the *Ætolians*, who threw out some bitter Invectives against the *Romans* for not evacuating *Greece*, and refused their Contingent of Troops. §. 23. When all things were got ready for marching, Ambassadors arrived from *Antiochus*, to propose a Treaty of Alliance with *Rome*. He had doubtless been inform'd at *Ephesus* of the *Pro-Consul*'s Preparations for a new War, and was apprehensive lest the united *Greeks* and *Romans*, should fall upon his Son *Seleucus*, whom he had left with an Army in *Thrace* to rebuild *Lysimachia*. *Flamininus* would enter into no Engagements, but referred the Ambassadors to the Senate, and immediately advanced towards *Argos*. He expected that upon his near Approach there would have been an Insurrection in the Town, by which he should easily become Master of it. Finding these Hopes disappointed, he resolved instead of besieging that Place to march strait to *Lacedæmon*, and crush the Tyrant at once. All Preparations were made for this Attempt, and his Brother *Quinctius* the Admiral of the *Roman* Fleet appeared off the *Lacedæmonian* Coasts with forty Ships of War. §. 24. *Nabis* was struck with Terror at the Approach of these Sea and Land Forces against him. He augmented the Number of his Troops, fortified his Capital, and massacred fourscore of the principal Men in it, whom he suspected of Disaffection to him. §. 25. *Flamininus* having encamp'd his Army at *Amyclæ*, a little Town very near *Lacedæmon*, continued unactive for some time, waiting the Success of his Brother *Quinctius*'s Expeditions on the Coasts of *Laconia*. This Admiral had already seized some Towns there, and at length laid Siege to *Gythium*, a strong City which might be called the Port of *Lacedæmon*, and the Receptacle of all its Riches: But here he met with so vigorous a Resistance that he began to despair of Success; and he would have raised the Siege, if the *Pro-Consul* had not seasonably come to his Assistance with four thousand Men. Upon their Appearance the Besieged immediately capitulated. The Surrendry of *Gythium* broke *Nabis*'s Measures, and made him sue for a Peace; he sent some Caduceatores to desire a Conference with the *Pro-Consul*; which was granted. §. 26. The Place of meeting was in a Plain which lay between *Lacedæmon* and the *Roman* Camp. Each came with only a small Train of Attendants. The King spoke first, and having express'd a Surprize that the *Romans* should turn their Arms against him, when he was not conscious of having provoked them, he then endeavour'd to justify himself with regard to the Tyranny with which he was charg'd by the *Greeks*. The *Pro-Consul* answer'd him roughly, and reproach'd him with Usurpation, Cruelty, and Breach of Faith. The whole Day was spent in Conferences, without coming to any Conclusion. The next Day they were renewed, and then *Nabis* made some

Year of *ROME* 558.

Hannibal *is suspected of holding a Correspondence with* Antiochus.

Scipio *defends* Hannibal *in the Senate of* Rome.

Hannibal *escapes from* Carthage *into* Syria.

Elamininus *marched to besiege* Lacedæmon.

A Conference between Nabis *Tyrant of* Lacedæmon.

Year of *ROME* 558. Propoſals for a Peace; he conſented to give up *Argos*, and reſtore all the Allies their Deſerters; to which he added, that if the *Pro-Conſul* had any other Pretenſions they ſhould be given him in Writing, that he might conſult with his Friends about them: And thus ended the Interview. §. 27. As ſoon as *Flamininus* was return'd to his Camp, he aſſembled the Chiefs of the Confederates; and the greateſt Part of them were for purſuing *Nabis* to the laſt Extremities. But the *Pro-Conſul* had other Views; he wanted to finiſh the Affair with the Tyrant, that he might return to *Rome* with the Glory of having completed the Deliverance of all *Greece*; he was afraid leſt a Succeſſor ſhould come and rob him of ſome Part of the Honour he aſpired to. However, as the Chiefs of the Allies were very obſtinate and importunate, he at length pretended to come into their Opinion; but told them that as the Siege would probably be very long, great Sums would be wanting for Machines, *&c.* to carry it on; and preſs'd them to ſend immediately to their reſpective Cities for what was neceſſary, before the Roads grew bad. This cool'd their Ardour for the Siege at once; they knew the Difficulty they ſhould have to raiſe the Sums propoſed, without alienating the Minds of their People from them by new Taxes, and they left the *Pro-Conſul* at full Liberty to ſettle the Terms of Peace. He then ſent for *Nabis*'s Ambaſſadors, and, among other Articles, propoſed that the Tyrant ſhould evacuate *Argos*; ſurrender immediately to the *Romans* all the Places he had in *Crete*; equip no more than two Brigantnies of ſixteen Oars each; build no Cities nor Caſtles in the Territoreis of another, nor even in his own; give the *Pro-Conſul* five Hoſtages, ſuch as he ſho uld chuſe, of whom his own Son ſhould be one; and laſtly, pay down a hundred *Talents*, and fifty more at equal Payments in eight Years.

The hard Terms of Peace propoſed by Flamininus.

§. 28. Theſe Terms were hard, but *Flamininus* hoped to have them accepted. He was very impatient to return to *Rome*, not only for the Reaſons before mentioned, but becauſe his Reputation began to be eclipſed by that of *Philopœmen*, the then Captain-General of the *Achæans*. This great Man was looked on as the Reformer of Military Diſcipline in *Achaia*; he had changed both the offenſive and defenſive Arms uſed there; he had taught the Soldiers a new Way of forming themſelves, and had accuſtomed them to ſtand firm and keep their Ground in fighting; and above all, he had made the Cavalry invincible. No one ever better underſtood how to draw up Armies, ſeize advantageous Poſts, ſuit his Diſpoſition to his Ground, order Evolutions at a proper Moment and in a regular Manner, make an Attack ſeaſonably, or judge of the critical Time for a Retreat. *Philopœmen* was now in the Confederate Camp; the Soldiers in their Diſcourſes often compared the two Generals together, and the *Roman* had always the Diſadvantage upon the Compariſon. They imputed the *Pro-Conſul*'s Succeſſes to the Bravery of his *Legions*, but they all agreed that *Philopœmen* owed his Victories only to himſelf. But after all, if *Flamininus* was inferior to the *Achæan* in the Art of commanding Armies, he certainly ſurpaſſed him in Juſtice, Eloquence, Moderation, and all the civil Virtues which are the Bands of Society; nor had ever any Man more Addreſs in keeping Nations of different Characters in ſuch a Union as is neceſſary to ſupport a Confederacy. Nevertheleſs, the *Roman* was not eaſy to ſee himſelf out-ſhined by a *Greek* in thoſe Qualities which moſt dazzle the Eyes of the Multitude; and this made him ſo zealous to finiſh the War, and get the Terms he had ſent to *Nabis*, accepted. But when the Tyrant read the Conditions to the *Lacedæmonians* aſſembled in the Market-Place, and aſked them what Anſwer he ſhould give the *Pro-Conſul*, the Multitude cried out, *Give him no Anſwer at all, let us run to Arms. War! War!* Theſe Clamours were very agreeable to *Nabis*, and he immediately prepared to ſuſtain the Siege. *Lacedæmon* was not entirely ſurrounded by a Wall. *Lycurgus* who built it, would have no Fortification for the City but the Bodies of his Subjects. The *Spartan* Tyrants afterwards raiſed ſome Pieces of a Wall at certain Diſtances, yet there were many Openings. In a ſecond Sally which the *Lacedæmonians* made upon the Enemy they were repulſed, and the *Romans* enter'd the Town with the Fugitives thro' thoſe Openings. *Nabis* was ſo terrify'd at this that he thought only of making his Eſcape, but his Son-in-law *Pythagoras* having more Preſence of Mind, ordered the Houſes to be ſet on Fire in all Places where the *Romans* had entered; and this obliged the Beſiegers to retire.

He is jealous of Philopœmen's *Reputation.*

§. 29. Nevertheleſs, the Tyrant was ſo frightned at his Danger that he immediately ſent *Pythagoras* to the *Pro-Conſul*, with an Offer to ſubmit to thoſe Conditions of Peace which he had before rejected with Scorn. *Flamininus* at firſt received the Ambaſſador with Scorn, and ordered him out of his Tent; but *Pythagoras* return'd, threw himſelf at his Feet, and by many Intreaties obtain'd what the other was very deſirous to grant him. As for *Argos*, which was the Cauſe of the War, it had already recover'd its Liberty. The *Argians* had taken Arms, and driven the Garriſon out of the Town. And now *Quinctius* the *Roman* Admiral ſail'd for *Rome* without Delay, to carry the News that *Greece* was entirely reſcued from Slavery. The *Pro-Conſul* ſpent the Winter in *Greece*, and was honoured with the Office of Preſident at the *Nemæan Games*, and with many other Marks of

Nabis *ſubmits to the Conditions of Peace.*

of Diſtinction. But after all, the Joy of the *Greeks* was not complete and univerſal. *Nabis* was ſtill left Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, and this Grievance ſunk deep in the Heart of *Ageſipolis*, the true Heir to that Throne, and of the other *Spartan* Exiles. The *Ætolians* took Advantage of theſe Diſcontents, and attacked the *Pro-Conſul*'s Reputation in all the Diets. The *Roman* in vain replied, that he could not deſtroy *Nabis* without ruining the *Lacedæmonians*; his Mildneſs and Humanity were thought unſeaſonable. However, he was feared and obeyed. When he was about to return to *Italy* he called a Diet at *Corinth*, and there declared, that before his Departure he would evacuate *Demetrias*, *Chalcis*, and the Citadel of *Corinth*, and thereby remove the Suſpicion which the *Ætolians* had entertained of his deſigning to take *Philip*'s Place and lord it over *Greece*. He concluded his Harangue with exhorting the Chiefs of the ſeveral Nations to Concord, as the beſt Security againſt Kings and Tyrants. *Your Paſſions and Partialities*, ſaid he, *are your greateſt Enemies. Obſtinacy in Opinion produces Diviſions. Then Aſſiſtance is called in from abroad, to prevent being forced to give way; and thus through ſlight Contentions the People fall a Prey to Foreigners. Let me then have the Satisfaction of hearing when I come to* Rome, *that I have not been obliging ungrateful Men, and that the Tranquillity I have ſettled among you proves a laſting one.* Theſe laſt Words, which ſeemed to flow from a paternal Affection, drew Tears from the Eyes of ſome of the Aſſembly. The *Greeks* mutually exhorted one another to retain a grateful Remembrance of their Protector, and to reverence his Advice; and as the laſt Teſtimony of their Affection, they ſought for all the *Romans* who were reduced to Slavery in *Greece* and delivered them up to him, to the Number of twelve thouſand; the greateſt Part of them had been Priſoners of War, whom *Hannibal* had ſold. §. 30. After this *Flamininus* returned to *Rome*. [*His triumphal* * *Proceſſion which laſted three Days is deſcribed.*] Year of *ROME* 558.

* *Vide* p. 130.

§. 31. 32. 33. The following Year, in which *Scipio Africanus* and *Tiberius Sempronius Longus* were *Conſuls*, proved barren of Action; excepting a Victory which the latter gained over the *Ciſalpine Gauls*. *Scipio* had hoped either to ſucceed *Cato*, and finiſh the *Spaniſh* War, or to be ſent to the *Levant* againſt the King of *Syria*; but *Spain* was already quieted, and *Antiochus* had not yet openly declared againſt *Rome* by any Act of Hoſtility. §. 34. In the Beginning of the next Year, when *Cornelius Merula* and *Minucius Thermus* were raiſed to the *Conſulate*, three Ambaſſadors came to *Rome* from *Antiochus* to propoſe an Alliance with the Republick. There was at this time no Sovereign in the World better able to vie with the *Romans*. He had three Sons old enough to ſucceed him, and four Daughters marriageable, by whom he might procure formidable Alliances. All the rich Countries in *Aſia* from the Eaſtern Borders of *Media* to *Æolis* and *Ionia* were ſubject to him; and he had lately made himſelf Maſter of *Cœlo-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Judea* and *Samaria*, and in ſhort of all the Aſiatick Provinces quite to *Egypt*. Nay his Pretenſions to *Thrace*, where his Son had juſt rebuilt *Lyſimachia* in the *Cherſoneſus*, were well founded. So powerful a Prince was certainly not to be deſpiſed; yet the Senate would give his Ambaſſadors no immediate Anſwer, but referred them to the ten Commiſſioners who had been formerly ſent to *Macedon*. *Flamininus* was at the Head of this Council, and when the Deputies had repreſented that they did not come from a vanquiſhed and diſtreſſed Prince or People, and demanded a plain and direct Anſwer concerning the Alliance deſired, he told them with an imperious Air, *That* Antiochus *ſhould not be the Friend and Ally of* Rome, *but upon one of two Conditions; that he muſt either refrain from ever ſetting his Foot in* Europe, *or muſt conſent that the* Romans *ſhould ſend Troops into* Aſia *to protect the Liberties of the* Greek *Cities there.* This Demand was very unjuſt, and ill ſupported by *Flamininus*. *Antiochus* had a Right to *Thrace*, *Æolis* and *Ionia* by ancient Conqueſt, and the *Romans* had no Right to ſet Subjects free from their Obedience to their lawful Sovereign. Accordingly the *Syrians* would not acquieſce, and it is not improbable that *Antiochus* made theſe Advances, purely to throw all the Blame of a War upon the Republick. *Hannibal*, with whom he adviſed, undoubtedly inſpired the *Syrian* with a Hatred to *Rome*, and heightned his Confidence. §. 35. This *Carthaginian* had long been endeavouring to engage his Countrymen in Meaſures againſt the *Romans*; and he now made a freſh Attempt to bring them into a Revolt, by the Means of one *Ariſto* a *Tyrian* Merchant whom he ſent to *Carthage*. This Agent was to inform the Friends of *Hannibal*, that *Antiochus* intended to ſend him into *Italy* to revive the War there. *Ariſto* carried no Letters, by which his Buſineſs could be diſcovered, yet his frequent Viſits to the Chiefs of the *Hannibal* Faction made him ſuſpected, and he was cited to appear before the Senate. Some were for impriſoning him as a Spy, but others repreſented the ill Conſequences of ſuch a Proceeding, when they had no Evidence againſt the accuſed; it would be a Diſcouragement to Traders; the *Tyrians* might make Repriſals, and all Foreigners would be offended. Theſe Conſiderations ſuſpended their Determination, and in the mean time *Ariſto* made his Eſcape. But before he went off he uſed a Stratagem to extricate *Hannibal*'s Friends, and render the *Carthaginian* Senate

258th Conſulſhip.

259th Conſulſhip. 559. 560.

Antiochus *aſks an Alliance with* Rome *and is refuſed.*

Hannibal *endeavours to draw* Carthage *into a Revolt.*

Year of *ROME* 560. ſuſpected by the *Romans*. In the Duſk of the Evening he ſtole into the Hall where publick Audiences were given, and over the Preſident's Seat affixed up a Writing which contained theſe Words, Ariſto *had no Orders to treat with private Perſons, but with the Senate of* Carthage. This Writing cauſed a great Ferment, and the *African* Republick thought it proper to ſend an Embaſſy to *Rome*, to inform the *Conſuls* and Senate of what had happened, and at the ſame time to complain of ſome Uſurpations of *Maſiniſſa* on the Lands of *Carthage*. §. 36. *Maſiniſſa* believing he might turn to his own Advantage the Diſcontents between *Rome* and *Carthage*, had invaded that fine maritime Country called *Emporia*, which lay between *Carthage* and his own Territories, and which yielded the *Carthaginians* the Tribute of a Talent a Day. And to obviate the Complaints of the latter at *Rome*, he was before-hand with them in ſending Ambaſſadors thither; to whom he gave particular Orders to increaſe the Suſpicions of the *Romans* with regard to *Ariſto* and *Hannibal*. His Miniſters ſucceeded to their Wiſh in this Deſign, inſomuch, that though the Senate were convinced of the Right which *Carthage* had to *Emporia*, they would not determine the Affair; they thought it good Policy to leave a Matter undecided, which would be a Ground of perpetual Quarrels between the two Parties.

§. 37. The *Prætor* of *Further Spain*, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, ſurnamed *Naſica*, obtained this Year a conſiderable Victory over the *Luſitanians*. *Flamininus* the other *Prætor* came late to his Province; however, he performed likewiſe ſome Exploits. §. 38. In *Italy* there was this Year, what the *Romans* call'd a *Tumultus*, that is a ſudden Inſurrection of all the *Ciſalpine Gauls*. On theſe Occaſions no Citizen of *Rome* was excuſed from taking the Field if required. *Thermus* who marched againſt the *Ligures* acted only on the defenſive. §. 39. 40. 41. 42. But his Collegue *Merula* obtained a complete Victory over the *Boii* near *Mutina*. However he was refuſed a Triumph at his Return to *Rome*, on Account of ſome Miſconduct in the Action. He had not given his Horſe Orders to charge in due time, nor ſent them ſoon enough to purſue the Fugitives. *Marcellus*, one of his Lieutenant Generals, with whom he left the Command of his Army to keep him out of the way, gave the Senate this Information by a Letter. Nevertheleſs the *Conſcript Fathers* would have yielded to the Importunity of the *Conſul*, if two *Tribunes of the People* had not proteſted againſt any Decree in his Favour. *Merula* therefore turn'd his Thoughts wholly to the Buſineſs of the enſuing Elections. It had fallen by Lot to his Collegue to preſide at them, but he had repreſented in a Letter, that he could not leave his Poſt near *Piſa* without endangering the Army. There never was a ſtronger or more juſt Competition between the Candidates for the *Conſulſhip* than now. Of the *Patricians*, *Scipio Naſica*, ſo famous for his Virtue, and who had lately ſignalized himſelf in *Spain*, was ſupported by the Credit of his Couſin German the *Great Scipio*; and *Quinctius* the late ſucceſsful Admiral in *Greece* was recommended by his Brother *Flamininus*: Of the *Plebeians*, *Lælius* the dear Friend of *Scipio Africanus* was one of the Candidates, and *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus* another. It was natural to ſuppoſe that the greateſt Man in the Republick ſhould gain all the Suffrages in favour of thoſe he eſpouſed. But ſtrange as it may appear, *Flamininus* had a better Intereſt than *Scipio*. Time had a little leſſen'd Men's Zeal and Veneration for the Conqueror of *Hannibal*. He had long been Reſident at *Rome*, and his continual Appearance there had ſunk the Admiration of the Publick to bare Eſteem. His laſt *Conſulſhip* had not been very ſhining, and he had beſides diſobliged the Commons by the invidious Diſtinction he had procured the Senators, of ſitting in the *Orcheſtra* at the *Scenic* Shews, apart from the other Spectators. *Flamininus* on the contrary had of late been but little ſeen at *Rome*; his Victories and his Triumph were freſh; he ſollicited in behalf of a Brother who had ſerved well; and beſides all this he had neither aſked nor obtained any Favour ſince his Return from *Greece*. In ſhort *Quinctius* was declared *Conſul* with *Domitius Ænobarbus*, and the *Great Scipio* had the double Mortification of not ſucceeding either for his Couſin or his Friend.

The Roman *Arms proſper in* Spain *and in* Ciſalpine Gaul.

r. 560th *Conſulſhip.*

About this time the Senate put a Stop to a ſort of Knavery which was grown very common at *Rome*. The Intereſt of Money lent by one *Roman* Citizen to another had been reduced to one *per Cent*. but this Law did not reach the Municipal Towns nor the Allies: So that almoſt all the Traffick of borrowing and lending at *Rome* paſs'd under the Names of Foreigners. The *Conſcript Fathers*, to deſtroy ſo miſchievous a Practice, ſummoned all the Foreigners who had Contracts of this Kind with the *Roman* Citizens, to bring them before the Judges, and then they left the Debtors at Liberty to pay Intereſt according to the *Roman* Laws, or according to their Agreement with the Creditors; and thus they defeated this Artifice invented to palliate Uſury.

§. 43. The new *Conſuls* were ſcarcely entered upon their Office when News came of the Defeat of the *Ligures* by *Thermus* now *Pro-Conſul*. He had been drawn by the Enemy into a kind of *Caudian Forks*, and had been reſcued out of the Danger by a Stratagem of the *Numidian* Horſe in his Army. They broke thro' the Enemy,

and by ſetting Fire to their Corn Fields and Houſes cauſed ſuch a Diverſion, that one Paſs was left unguarded, and the *Romans* ſeized the Opportunity, and got out of the Wood. After this *Rome* ſent the *Pro-Conſul* a Reinforcement of four thouſand Foot and two hundred Horſe, and then he obtained a complete Victory over the Enemy. Year of *ROME* 561.

The Ætolians and Nabis raiſe a new Commotion in Greece.

§. 44. But theſe Advantages in *Italy* over the *Gauls* did not leſſen the Attention of the *Romans* to their Affairs in the *Levant*. Ever ſince the Departure of the *Roman* Troops from *Greece* the *Ætolians* had been endeavouring to ſtir up new Enemies againſt *Rome*; and now having choſen one *Thoas*, a factious Man, for their Chief, they reſolved, in a general Diet of the Nation, to ſhake off their Alliance with the Republick, and form a new Confederacy againſt her. To this End they ſent Deputies to *Philip*, *Nabis* and *Antiochus*. §. 45. The *Macedonian* and *Syrian* were not haſty in coming to a Determination; but *Nabis* immediately took Arms and beſieged *Gythium*. Upon this Beginning of a general Commotion in *Greece* the *Conſcript Fathers* ſent three Ambaſſadors, *Villius*, *Sulpicius* and *Ælius* to the King of *Syria*, and *Scipio Africanus* accompanied them without a Commiſſion. His Deſign was perhaps to confer with *Hannibal*, and draw him off from *Antiochus*. The *Syrian* about this time ſaw the Nuptials celebrated between his Daughter *Cleopatra* and *Ptolomy Epiphanes*; he married his ſecond Daughter to *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia*; and offer'd his third to *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, in hopes to draw him thereby from the Intereſt of *Rome*. But *Eumenes* rejected the Propoſal, and choſe rather to adhere to the *Romans*, whom he believed would ſooner or later be the Conquerors. The *Roman* Ambaſſadors landed at *Elea* in his Kingdom.

The Romans ſend an Embaſſy to Antiochus.

Scipio goes to Epheſus to confer with Hannibal.

§. 46. From thence *Scipio* and *Villius* went to *Epheſus*, where *Hannibal* was waiting for *Antiochus*. Their Buſineſs was either to gain the *Carthaginian* General by Careſſes, or to make the King of *Syria* ſuſpect him on account of the good Intelligence that ſhould appear to be between them and him. In the firſt Viſit they reproach'd him tenderly for having left *Carthage* out of fear of the *Romans*, who, they ſaid, had the higheſt Eſteem for him, and they preſs'd him to return Home. After this they were continually with him, prais'd him, and ſooth'd his Vanity. *Hannibal* was pleas'd to have ſo much Court paid him by ſuch Great Men, but he was not caught by it. However, he and *Scipio* convers'd frequently together, and always with much Civility on both Sides. One Day in a publick Place, where many Perſons crowded about them to hear their Converſation, the Diſcourſe happened to turn upon Great Commanders, and *Scipio* ask'd the *Carthaginian*, *Whom he thought the greateſt? Hannibal* immediately declared for *Alexander. And who do you think deſerves the ſecond Place*, continued the *Roman? Pyrrhus*, replied the other; *no Man ever better underſtood how to encamp, or how to draw up an Army; and he was remarkable for Boldneſs above any General in the World.* Thus *Scipio* was twice mortify'd; but ſtill he went on, *And whom do you place next to thoſe two Heroes? Hannibal* named himſelf; and he gave his Reaſons for it. *Scipio* was much ſurprized, yet he only ſmiled, and with great Compoſure ſaid, *In what Place then would you have put yourſelf if you had conquered me?* To which the *Carthaginian* readily replied, *Above* Alexander. This Anſwer was thought an ingenious Stroke of Flattery, and *Scipio* was pleas'd with it. From that time he and *Villius* lodged in the ſame Houſe with *Hannibal*, and their mutual Civilities were improved into a Familiarity. But the *Carthaginian* did not, in this Particular, act with his uſual Sagacity. His Familiarity with the *Romans* muſt naturally give *Antiochus* Umbrage; and accordingly, he no longer confided in him. However, the King did not lay aſide his Projects; hearing that the *Roman* Deputies were waiting for him at *Apamea* in *Phrygia*, he went thither, and gave them Audience. §. 47. The *Romans* were too proud to abate any thing of their firſt Pretenſions; ſo that the Conference between the King and them was warm but not long. The ſudden News which the *Syrian* receiv'd of his Son *Antiochus*'s Death put an End to it. The young Prince was ſuſpected of having been poiſoned by his Father's Orders, who was thought to be jealous of his riſing Merit; and tho' this Calumny had no good Foundation, it was neceſſary for the King to deſtroy it by the Appearances of an extraordinary Grief. The Ambaſſadors were therefore diſmiſs'd without concluding any thing, and return'd to *Pergamus*. The King went to *Epheſus*, and ſoon after ſent for them thither, at the Inſtigation of his Favourite *Minio*, who undertook to anſwer them. What he chiefly urged in Behalf of his Maſter's Pretenſions was, That he had as good a Right over the Liberties of the Eaſtern *Greeks*, whom he or his Anceſtors had conquered, as the *Romans* had over thoſe of the Weſtern *Greeks* in *Italy* and *Sicily*. However, he offer'd to reſtore Freedom to the Iſland of *Rhodes*, to *Byzantium*, and to *Cyzicus*. But the Ambaſſadors were not ſatisfy'd, they ſtill inſiſted on the Liberty of *Æolis* and *Ionia*; and this being abſolutely refuſed, they returned to *Rome* in as great Uncertainty as they came. §. 48. *Antiochus* ſoon after call'd a Council of War of the chief Officers of his Army, as well Foreigners as *Syrian*: *Hannibal* only was excluded.

Year of ROME 561. excluded. The Council knew the King's Inclinations, and were therefore all zealous for a War with the *Romans*. *Alexander* of *Acarnania*, who had formerly served *Philip*, and was now in great Favour with *Antiochus*, assured the King that the *Macedonian* would join him as soon as he landed in *Greece*, and that as the *Ætolians* and *Nabis* had taken Arms, and were ready to assist him, he could not fail of Success. But he advised him to send away *Hannibal* to his own Country. *His Presence there*, said he, *will alone be sufficient to keep the* Romans *in Awe, and increase their Diffidence*. It is probable that the Hopes of commanding the Army himself was what induced the *Acarnanian* to give this Advice. But be that as it will, the *Syrian* from this time resolved to declare War against *Rome*. §. 49. In the mean time, *Hannibal* plainly saw by the King's Behaviour to him, that he had taken Umbrage at his Conduct; and it was necessary to undeceive him. To this End, in a private Audience which he obtain'd with Difficulty, he express'd himself to *Antiochus* in the following manner. *I was scarce nine Years old when I began to be an irreconcileable Enemy to the* Romans. Hamilcar *my Father made me swear upon the Altars, that I would never lay aside my Hatred to* Rome, *but with my Life; and I have ever acted suitably to that Oath. I have made War with these Republicans for thirty Years together, and had not now left my Country, but to keep up the more strictly to my Engagements. It was the earnest Desire of fighting with the* Romans *that brought me to you. If you disdain my Assistance I will go and offer my self to any King upon Earth, that will but employ me against the Republick which I detest. I will be gone from you, my Lord, and leave the Place I ought to have near you, to Courtiers who seek my Ruin only to aggrandize themselves. But at the same time I swear by the* Gods, *and by the* Manes *of* Hamilcar *my Father, that I most sincerely hate the* Romans, *and they me. If you want a Flatterer who shall advise you to Peace, you must not consult me. I seek for nothing but War, and if I can't find it here I will be gone.* He then told the King, that he did not approve the Advice which *Alexander* the *Acarnanian* had given him. *No*, said he, *it is not in* Greece, *but in* Italy *that you should make yourself formidable. The* Romans *are invincible every where but on their own Continent. You must employ the Forces of the* Italians *against the Masters of* Italy. *Indeed any other Nation but the* Roman *would find it difficult to transport Troops into the East. But this Republick will tire you out even here, by her Constancy. Her Troops will overrun these Countries like a Torrent in a few Months. Have not I some Right to teach your Generals how to make War against the* Romans? *They could never reduce me so long as I kept Footing in their Territories. But* Carthage *recall'd me, and I met with a Conqueror in* Africa *who would not have been so fatal to me in* Italy. This Discourse would have made a lasting Impression on *Antiochus*, if the many Flatterers about him, who were jealous of *Hannibal*, had not destroyed it. And it was happy for *Rome* that *Hannibal*'s Design was thus opposed. He would have found some *Bruttii*, *Salentini*, *Lucani* and *Samnites* very ready to join him. The greatest Part of the East of *Italy* would have follow'd his Standards, whilst the *Gauls* in the West would by continual Attacks have obliged the *Romans* to divide their Forces; so that the Republick would have relaps'd into the same Dangers from which *Scipio* had delivered her.

Antiochus *resolves upon a War with* Rome.

Hannibal's *Advice to him.*

§. 50. The *Romans* not knowing what Part *Antiochus* would act, made no Preparations for War till the Return of *Scipio* and the three Ambassadors. But then they began to stir; they sent a Body of Troops under the *Prætor Bæbius* to guard the Eastern Coast of *Italy*, and to be in a Readiness to embark for the *Levant*, if there should be Occasion; and they order'd two Fleets to be fitted out, one for *Sicily*, and the other for *Greece*, whither *Flamininus*, with three Collegues, were likewise dispatch'd, in Quality of Envoys. When they arrived there *Nabis* was yet engaged in the Siege of *Gythium*; and he was continually making Incursions on the Lands of the *Achæans*. *Flamininus* advised them, in a Diet of the Nation, to wait for the Arrival of the *Roman* Fleet, before they took Arms to repulse the Aggressor. Upon this the Assembly were divided in Opinion, and waited impatiently for the Decision of *Philopœmen* who presided in it. But he answered, *It is a wise Institution of ours that our* Prætors *shall not declare their Opinions when the Assemblies are deliberating about War. It is your Business to determine what to do; mine to execute your Orders. And I will take all possible Care that you shall not repent of your Choice, whether it be for War or Peace.* These Words more powerfully inclined the Diet to War, than if the President had openly declared for it; and they made a Decree ordering Troops to be raised immediately, and leaving the Conduct of them to *Philopœmen*. §. 51. And now the first Enterprize of this brave Man was to relieve *Gythium*, and he sailed for that Port with what Galleys he could get together, but not being used to Sea-Affairs, he failed in this Attempt, being defeated within Sight of the Place by the *Lacedæmonian* Fleet. However, he soon repaired his Honour, by two * Victories which by his dexterous Conduct he obtained over the Tyrant at Land. §. 52. Whilst the *Achæans* were carrying on the War against the

* Vid. p. 155, 156.

the *Lacedæmonians*, the Envoys of the *Roman* Republick were busy in visiting the chief Cities of *Greece*. The Inhabitants of *Demetrias* had been informed that the *Romans* intended to restore *Philip*'s Son *Demetrius* to him, and to put him again into Possession of their City, in order to prevent his entering into League with *Antiochus*; and this Rumour was not without Ground. It was with some Difficulty therefore, that *Flamininus* could pacify them. He went thence to the Diet of *Ætolia*, where *Menippus* the Ambassador of *Antiochus* was introduced by *Thoas* the chief Instrument of the *Ætolian* Revolt. The *Roman* in vain endeavoured to dissuade the Assembly from calling the *Syrians* into *Greece*, they passed the following Decree in his Presence. *Let* Antiochus *be invited to come into* Europe *and recover the Liberty of* Greece, *which is oppressed by the* Romans. *Flamininus* demanded a Copy of it, but the *Prætor* refus'd it him with Pride and Insolence; *upon the Banks of the* Tyber, said he, *we will tell you the Purport of it, with all the Forces of* Syria. After this they took Measures to surprize three Cities which were deemed the Bulwarks of *Greece*, *Demetrias* in *Thessaly*, *Lacedæmon* in the Heart of *Peloponnesus*, and *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*. *Diocles*, *Alexamenes* and *Thoas* were the Persons appointed for these Expeditions. §. 53. The first got Possession of *Demetrias* by a Stratagem. §. 54. But *Lacedæmon* was not to be so easily surprised. *Alexamenes* therefore with a thousand Foot, and some young Horsemen pretended to come as Succours to *Nabis*. The *Tyrant* received them graciously; and the *Ætolian* Commander telling him that it would be for his Honour to have his Troops well disciplined, and make a good Appearance when *Antiochus* should arrive, he every Day drew them out and exercised them in a Plain near the Capital; and at one of these Reviews *Alexamenes* assassinated him. Had the Murderer immediately harangued *Nabis*'s Army during their first Surprize, it is probable they would have approved of the Action, because the Tyrant was hated; but the *Ætolians* hastened to plunder the Royal Palace, and the *Lacedæmonians* having time to recover themselves entered the City, massacred all the Pillagers they met, and among the rest the infamous *Alexamenes*. *Philopœmen* took Advantage of this Event, appeared before the Town, and persuaded the Inhabitants to recover their Liberty. Accordingly, *Lacedæmon* from being a Monarchy became a Republick, and was part of the *Achaian* Body. §. 55. As for *Thoas*, he failed in his Attempt upon *Chalcis*; the *Eubœans* were upon their Guard, and having nothing to complain of adhered steadily to *Rome*. §. 56. He went therefore strait to *Antiochus*, and pressed him to delay no longer his coming into *Europe*; and he dissuaded him at the same time from sending *Hannibal* with an Army into *Italy*. He insinuated to the King, that the *Carthaginian* would assume to himself all the Benefit and all the Glory of such an Enterprize; and this falling in with the *Syrian*'s suspicious and jealous Temper, he entirely dropped that Design, to which he was before pretty well disposed. §. 57. And now it being resolved that *Greece* should be the only Seat of the War, the King pitched upon *Demetrias* for the Place where he would first land. Thither he transported himself with only ten thousand Foot, five hundred Horse and six Elephants, an Army very unsuitable to so great a King; but these were all the Troops he had ready. He ordered *Polixenedas* one of his Generals into *Asia*, to fetch thence the rest of his Forces and lead them into *Europe*. Soon after his landing he went to *Lamia* in *Ætolia*, whither he was invited, and a Diet of the Nation was called to receive him. He excused to the Assembly the small Number of his Troops by the Haste in which he came to serve them, and promised fully to answer their Expectations the next Spring. On the other Hand the *Ætolians* complimented him with the Title of *Generalissimo* of all the *Grecian* Armies against *Rome*, and appointed a Council of thirty Persons to whom the King might have Recourse on all Occasions. The first Attempt he made by their Advice was to gain over *Chalcis*. But when the *Ætolians* in a Conference with *Micio* the Chief of the *Chalcidians* talked of *Antiochus* as a Prince come to deliver *Eubœa* from Slavery, the latter seemed astonished; *What Slavery do you speak of*, said he, *and what are the Evils from which you promise us Deliverance?* Eubœa *enjoys the Benefit of her own Laws in Tranquillity, and is under no foreign Yoke*, &c. These Words made the King sensible that this his first Enterprize was fruitless. §. 58. Nor did he succeed better in his Endeavours to bring the Diet of *Achaia* to a Neutrality. His Ministers extolled the irresistible Power of their Master, and talked much of *Cuirassiers* in impenetrable Armour, Horsemen who could fight as well when they turn'd their Backs as when they faced the Enemy, and of a prodigious Multitude of Warlike Nations, whose Names had never been heard of in *Greece*. They represented the Fleets of *Antiochus* as so numerous that all the Ports of *Greece* could not contain them, and that his Wealth was immense. Then the *Ætolians* boasted of their Feats, and of the wonderful Things they had done in the *Macedonian* War, reproaching the *Roman* General with minding nothing but Sacrifices and making Vows, while they only were exposed to Danger. To all this *Flamininus* who was present answer'd with Pleasantry, *Attempts have now been made*, Achæans, *to dazzle your Eyes by the*

Year of ROME 561.

Nabis *is assassinated; and* Lacedæmon *becomes a Republick.*

Antiochus *lands with ten thousand Men in* Thessaly.

Year of ROME 561. *Enumeration of thoſe Nations which are to pour in like a Torrent upon* Greece. *I will tell you what happened once to me. A Friend of mine, a* Chalcidian, *invited me to an Entertainment, in a Seaſon when Game was moſt ſcarce, and yet there ſeemed to be a vaſt Plenty of it at his Table. I was ſurprized at it. Upon which my Friend bid me not deceive my ſelf, for that what I ſaw was nothing more than common Pork. My Cook, ſaid he, has indeed diſguiſed it, and given it different Taſtes and different Names. The Caſe is juſt the ſame with regard to this pompous Enumeration of the Nations that are arming againſt you. In a word, they are all* Aſiaticks, *and however diſguis'd, they are all but one Sort of Men. And as for the* Ætolians, *brave only in Words, can they think to impoſe upon the* Achæans *who know them? But it ſeems nothing is demanded of* Achaia *but a Neutrality. That is, you are invited to become a Prey to both Parties, and to ſuffer all the Evils of War, without ſharing the Advantages of Victory.* This Diſcourſe determined the *Achæans* to adhere to their firſt Confederates, and they declared for the *Romans* without Heſitation. §. 59. Then *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians* ſent an Embaſſy to *Bœotia*, but without Succeſs. However, they gained over the *Athamanes*, by the Means of *Philip* the Brother of the old King's Wife. *Philip* governed the Nation under *Amynander*, and pretended to be deſcended from *Alexander the Great*, and to be true Heir of *Macedon*. The *Ætolians* made him hope that by the Help of *Antiochus* he might one Day poſſeſs that Throne. And now it was eaſy for the *Syrian* to have over-run all *Theſſaly*. Whilſt he was deliberating whether he ſhould do it immediately, or defer it till the Spring, *Hannibal* took the Liberty to tell him that he would loſe theſe eaſy Conqueſts again upon the firſt Approach of the *Romans*, adviſed him to continue unactive till his Troops came from *Aſia*, and preſs'd him once more that he would then divide his Forces, and ſend him with Part of them into *Italy*. He counſelled him likewiſe to let *Philip* of *Macedon* be the firſt Man he treated with. *Gain him*, ſaid he, *to your Intereſt. Or if he be untractable, ſend your Son* Seleucus *by the Way of* Thrace *into* Macedon, *and you will thereby hinder the* Macedonian *from giving any Aſſiſtance to your Enemies. Hannibal*'s Advice was good, but it was his Fate always to ſpeak Truth, and never to be believed. §. 60. The King purſued the more narrow Views of his Courtiers. And now having intercepted and cut off, near the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delium*, a Party of five hundred *Romans*, who were going to reinforce the Garriſon of *Chalcis*, this City opened her Gates to him; *Antiochus* made it his Place of Reſidence, and he became Maſter of all *Eubœa*. *Bœotia* likewiſe joined him ſoon after, and renounced her Confederacy with *Rome*. §. 61. When the Time approach'd for aſſembling the Armies to take the Field, he enter'd the Territories of *Lariſſa*, and while he was waiting the Arrival of his Allies, he took *Philip* the Regent of *Athamania* with him to *Cynocephalæ*, where the Bones of the *Macedonians* kill'd in the Battle, when the King of *Macedon* was vanquiſh'd, ſtill lay unburied. He thought that if this Pretender procured Obſequies to be performed for them, he would thereby gain the Affection of a People over whom he claimed a Right. But this Step ſerved only to irritate the true King of *Macedon*. He gave the *Romans* Notice of the Progreſs *Antiochus* was making in *Greece*; upon which the *Prætor Bæbius* promiſed him that he would ſoon put a Stop to the Invaſions of the *Syrian*. Accordingly, while *Antiochus* was before *Lariſſa*, a Body of *Romans* arrived under the Command of *Appius Claudius*; and upon their Approach he retired again to *Chalcis*. Here he became enamour'd, tho' paſt fifty Years of Age, with the Daughter of a *Chalcidian* named *Cleoptolemus*, in whoſe Houſe he lodged. The Diſproportion of her Age and Condition to thoſe of the King made the Father unwilling to conſent to the Marriage, fearing ſhe would ſoon repent her Advancement to ſo glittering a Station. But *Antiochus* at length made uſe of his Authority, and the Nuptials were celebrated with Regal Magnificence, and with as much Security as in the moſt peaceable Times. And now his Love for the young Queen engroſs'd him entirely, and *Chalcis* prov'd to him what *Capua* had been to *Hannibal*. He ſpent the reſt of the Winter in Feaſting and Rejoicings. His Officers and Soldiers were infected by his Example, and abandoned themſelves to Idleneſs and Debauchery.

He rejects Hannibal's Advice.

He marries the Daughter of a Citizen of Chalcis.

§. 62. But while *Antiochus* was thus aſleep in Pleaſures, *Rome* was very watchful of her Affairs in the *Levant*. Some late Succeſſes of her Arms had made all things quiet in *Spain* and *Italy*, ſo that ſhe was in a better Condition to provide for a War in the Eaſt. A hundred *Quinqueremes* were fitted out to ſcour the Eaſtern Seas; and after the Elections were over, and a Regulation made of the Troops which were to ſerve this Year, War was formally declared againſt *Antiochus*. Then the new *Conſuls*, *P. Cornelius Scipio Naſica*, and *M. Acilius Glabrio*, drew Lots for their Provinces, and *Greece* fell to the latter. When every thing was ready for his Departure, Deputies arrived from the Kings of *Egypt* and *Macedon* with Offers of Money, Proviſions and Troops. It ought not to ſeem ſtrange that *Ptolomy* ſhould declare openly againſt his Father-in-law; his Wife *Cleopatra* had probably informed him of the Plot *Antiochus* had laid to take away his Life by her Means. *Maſiniſſa* likewiſe

2. 561ſt *Conſulſhip. War is formally declared againſt Antiochus.*

likewiſe would have contributed to the Expences of the War. And as for the *Carthaginians*, they not only propoſed to make the Republick a Preſent of Wheat and Barley, and to equip a Fleet at their own Expence for her Service, but deſired her to accept, in ready Money, of the whole Remainder of the Tribute, which they were not obliged to pay but in the ſpace of nine Years. But the *Romans* with Thanks declined all theſe Offers, and would not ſo much as receive any Corn from *Carthage* or the *Numidian*, without paying for it. *Acilius* ſet out for *Greece* in the Month of *May*, and two Great Men attended him in his Expedition: The firſt was *Quinctius* the Brother of *Flamininus*, whom the Republick herſelf appointed to command under the *Conſul* in Quality of Lieutenant-General; and the ſecond was the famous *Cato*. Being tired with a Life of Tranquillity at home, he rouzed up his martial Spirit, and forſook the Exerciſe of his Eloquence at the Bar, to follow Arms. He embark'd to ſerve in the Troops, in no higher a Station than that of *Legionary Tribune*. Year of *ROME* 562.

BOOK XL.

§. 1. WHilſt the *Conſular* Fleet was croſſing the *Ionian* Sea, *Hannibal* endeavoured to rouze *Antiochus* out of his Lethargy. He repreſented to him that his Friends in *Greece* would not be able to ſupport him againſt the *Roman* Forces, and preſs'd him once more to gain *Philip*. He likewiſe gave him a judicious Plan for the Campaign, one Part of which was ſo to diſpoſe his Sea and Land-Forces, as to make the *Romans* believe he deſigned to invade *Italy*. But the *Syrian* Court went upon different Maxims, and the King loſt all his Time in taking ſome Towns of ſmall Importance in *Acarnania*, while *Philip*, in Conjunction with the *Prætor Bæbius*, made Conqueſts in *Theſſaly*, in favour of the *Roman* Confederacy. §. 2. This was the Situation of Affairs when the *Conſul Acilius* landed his Troops, to the Number of twenty thouſand Foot, two thouſand Horſe, and fifteen Elephants. He immediately ſent his Infantry to *Bæbius*, who was encamped near *Pellinæa* in *Theſſaly*; and with his Cavalry he march'd to *Limnæa*, another City of *Theſſaly*, which the King of *Macedon* was beſieging. Both theſe Places ſurrender'd ſucceſſively to the *Conſul* at Diſcretion; and in *Pellinæa* was taken *Philip* the Pretender. The King of *Macedon* in Deriſion called him Brother, ordered him to be ſaluted King, and conducted him to the *Conſul*, who ſent him to *Rome*. Then the *Romans* and *Macedonians* ſeparated, to ſpread the Terror of their Arms in different Parts. The King made himſelf Maſter of all *Athamania*, while old *Amynander* retired with his Wife and Children into *Epirus*. And as for the *Conſul*, he ſoon ſubdued all *Theſſaly*. §. 3. *Antiochus* began now to be ſenſible of the Wiſdom of *Hannibal*'s Advice, but it was too late. He left *Eubœa*, and drew near to *Ætolia*, in hopes of powerful Succours from thence, but he was diſappointed. The *Ætolian* Chiefs could not raiſe above four thouſand Men, and theſe were moſtly their Clients and Vaſſals. To hinder the *Romans* therefore from entering *Achaia*, by the way of *Locris*, he ſeized the Streights of *Thermopylæ*, where three hundred *Spartans*, under the Command of *Leonidas*, had formerly for three whole Days ſtopped a Million of Men, in the Time of *Xerxes*. The Paſs was not above twenty five Foot broad, and bounded on one Side by the Sea, and on the other by Mount *Oeta*. And as the King was not ignorant that *Xerxes* would never have been able to force the *Spartans*, if he had not cauſed ſome of his Troops to climb up the Mountains and fall down from thence upon the Enemy, he detach'd two thouſand *Ætolians* to ſeize the Summits of *Oeta* which were neareſt his Camp. §. 4. However, the *Conſul* reſolv'd to force the *Syrian* in theſe ſtrong Entrenchments; and by the Advice and Aſſiſtance of *Cato* he ſucceeded *. This Brave Man led a Detachment up the Mountain in the Night, and diſlodged the *Ætolians*; and then coming down upon the *Syrians* while the *Conſul* attack'd them below, put a ſpeedy End to the Diſpute. *Antiochus* having receiv'd a Blow in the Mouth with a Stone, turn'd his Horſe about and fled, and his Army was quite diſperſed. *Acilius*, over-joy'd with his Victory, embraced *Cato*, to whom he aſcribed the Glory of it, and ſaid theſe Words to him, which he never forgot, but often repeated, in Honour to himſelf. *You have done the Republick more Service than you have receiv'd Favours from her.* This was the laſt Exploit by which *Cato* ſignaliz'd himſelf in War. He dedicated the reſt of his Life to Civil Affairs. He was an inexorable *Cenſor*, and a rigid Reformer, and apply'd himſelf wholly to regulate the Manners of his Countrymen, who began to be corrupted by their Commerce with the Eaſtern Nations. §. 5. It may be affirmed that *Antiochus* loſt his whole Army in the Action of *Thermopylæ*, and in the Purſuit. The *Romans* took and killed ten thouſand of his Men; and he eſcaped to *Chalcis* with only five hundred Horſe. *Cato* was immediately diſpatch'd to *Rome*, with the

The Conſul Acilius *lands with an Army in* Greece.

He defeats Antiochus *at the Paſs of* Thermopylæ.

* *Vide* p. 176.

Year of ROME 562. News of this Victory; and the Conqueror, to make the beſt Uſe of his Time, enter'd *Bœotia*. The Inhabitants of ſeveral revolted Cities came to meet him, and he every where gave Inſtances of his Clemency and *Roman* Moderation; ſo that the greateſt Part of this Country ſubmitted, and, preſently after, all *Eubœa*. *Antiochus* left *Chalcis* to him, embark'd for *Aſia* with his new Queen, and retired to *Epheſus*. From *Chalcis* the *Conſul* went and laid Siege * to *Heraclea*. The City being taken, after a ſtout Reſiſtance from the *Ætolian* Garriſon, the Soldiers and Inhabitants retired into the Citadel. It was commanded by that *Damocritus*, who had threatned *Flamininus* to appear upon the Banks of the *Tyber* with the Forces of *Syria*. But this Fortreſs was ſoon forced to ſurrender at Diſcretion; and by way of Preliminary the proud *Damocritus* was delivered up to the *Conſul*. §. 6. *Philip* was at this time beſieging *Lamia*, a ſtrong Town about ſeven Miles from *Heraclea*; but upon the Reduction of the latter, the *Lamians* choſe to ſurrender likewiſe to the *Romans*, rather than fall under the *Macedonian* Yoke. Before theſe Sieges, the *Ætolians* had diſpatch'd *Thoas* into *Aſia*, to preſs *Antiochus* to return with an Army into *Greece*. §. 7. But now they turn'd their Thoughts wholly to a fraudulent Peace, and ſent Deputies for that Purpoſe, who preſented themſelves in a ſuppliant Manner before the *Conſul*. *Phæneas* was their Speaker. *All* Ætolia, ſaid he, *being in the utmoſt Affliction for her late Conduct, throws herſelf upon the Honour and Clemency of the* Romans. *Acilius*, to try their Sincerity, demanded that *Amynander* King of the *Athamanians*, and *Menetas* the *Epirot*, who had engaged the City of *Naupactus* to deſert the *Romans*, ſhould be deliver'd up to him. But the *Conſul* had ſcarce finiſh'd, when *Phæneas* briſkly anſwer'd, *You demand more of us, my Lord, than we promiſed. We threw ourſelves upon your Honour, but we did not deliver ourſelves over to Slavery. What you deſire is neither conſiſtent with the Honour of the* Ætolian *Nation, nor with the Laws and Cuſtoms of* Greece. To this *Acilius* haughtily reply'd, *What is it to me, whether my Demands are agreeable to your Cuſtoms and Laws or not? They are agreeable to the Will of the* Romans, *and that's enough. The Vanquiſh'd who are forced to become Supplicants, ought not to expect more. Obey my Orders without Delay, or you ſhall this Inſtant be laid in Irons.* Then the *Lictors* appear'd, and ſurrounded *Phæneas*; but his Collegues repreſenting to *Acilius* that they could not obey his Orders without the Conſent of the *Ætolian* Diet aſſembled at *Hypata*, he was prevailed upon to grant them a ten Days Truce, to bring him a poſitive Anſwer from thence. The Diet were highly provoked at the Preliminaries inſiſted on by the *Roman* General; and while they were in great Perplexity about the Meaſures they ſhould take, one *Nicander*, an active Man, who had gone from *Ætolia* to *Epheſus* and return'd in twelve Days, brought conſiderable Sums of Money from *Antiochus*, and not only ſo, but he made the Aſſembly believe that *Philip* was diſpoſed to favour them, and deſert the *Roman* Cauſe. It ſeems he had been taken Priſoner in his Way home, by a *Macedonian*, and carried before the King, who treated him graciouſly, gave him his Liberty, and bid him be grateful. In ſhort, the Money and the News which *Nicander* brought of *Antiochus*'s mighty Preparations for War, determined the Diet to lay aſide all Thoughts of Peace. The *Ætolians* drew all their Forces to *Naupactus*, and reſolved to ſuſtain a Siege there to the laſt Extremity. §. 8. *Acilius* conſidering that by the Reduction of this Place he ſhould give the finiſhing Stroke to the Conqueſt of *Ætolia*, and for ever enſlave the moſt reſtleſs Nation in *Greece*, march'd thither and inveſted it. §. 9. In the mean time *Flamininus*, who had reſided a good while at *Chalcis*, which he had ſaved from being ſack'd, when taken by *Acilius*, and where he was honoured even to * Adoration, went thence to ſettle a Peace between the *Achæans* and the City of *Meſſene*, and ſubjected the latter to the *Achæan* Diet. He then ſhew'd his dexterous Management in gaining *Zacynthus*, an Iſland in the *Ionian* Sea, to the *Romans*. After the Battel of *Thermopylæ*, the Governour of it for *Philip* had ſold it to the *Achæans*; but *Flamininus* was of Opinion that an Iſland, which only the Succeſs of the *Roman* Arms had made to change its Maſters, belonged of Right to the Conquerors. He therefore ſummoned the Diet of *Achaia*, and thus addreſs'd himſelf to them in a Stile ſuited to the *Grecian* Taſte. *I conſider* Achaia *as like a Tortoiſe, which Nature has guarded with its Shell. If it thruſts out its Head or Feet never ſo little beyond its Armour, it is in Danger of being trod upon and wounded. The frontier Cities which ſurround you,* Achæans, *are your Shell, and your natural Defence. But as to any Acquiſitions of yours beyond the Continent, thoſe are Parts of your State which are expoſed to Inſults, and which you cannot eaſily ſecure.* The *Achæans* were convinced by the good Senſe in this familiar Compariſon, and relinquiſh'd their Pretenſions to the Iſland. §. 10. Whilſt the Siege of *Naupactus* was carrying on, King *Philip* made himſelf Maſter of *Demetrias*, extended his Conqueſts to *Dolopia*, *Aperantia*, and *Perrhæbia*, and was recovering by degrees all the Places which had been taken from him. §. 11. But *Flamininus* was not pleaſed with this Progreſs of the *Macedonian*, whom he looked upon as a more dangerous Enemy than the *Ætolians*. He went therefore to the Camp before *Naupactus*, and reprov'd *Acilius* for having conſented to the Conqueſts of *Philip*.

Antiochus *retires to* Epheſus.

* *Vide* p. 179.

The Ætolians *ſue to the* Conſul *for a Peace.*

They reject the Conditions required and draw their Forces to Naupactus.

* Vid. *p.* 183.

And

And as the Beſieged who were now reduced to great Extremity, had formerly experienced his Clemency, they, upon Notice of his Arrival, ſent Deputies to him to implore his Protection. Accordingly, he became their Interceſſor with the *Conſul*, and obtain'd for them a Suſpenſion of Arms, till they could diſpatch Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, to negotiate a Peace there. The *Epirots* at the ſame time ſent likewiſe thither to excuſe ſome Advances they had formerly made to *Antiochus*; and as it did not appear that they had committed any Act of Hoſtility againſt the Republick, the choſe rather to favour them than draw new Enemies upon herſelf. But the Ambaſſadors of *Philip* were yet more favourably receiv'd than thoſe of *Epirus*. The artful King deſir'd Leave to hang up in the *Capitol* a Crown of Gold of an hundred Pounds weight, in Memory of the firſt Advantage the *Romans* had gained over *Antiochus*; and the Preſent was readily accepted. §. 12. During theſe Tranſactions, *Livius* the *Roman* Admiral was purſuing the War with Succeſs at Sea. *Hannibal* had regain'd his Credit with *Antiochus*, and had rouzed him out of the Lethargy in which he ſeem'd to be for ſome time after his Retreat to *Epheſus*. The King order'd *Polyxenidas* to ſail with a hundred, or (as ſome ſay) two hundred Ships, and give the *Romans* Battel. The two Fleets came to a general Engagement * near the *Ionian* Gulph, and the *Syrians* were totally defeated. §. 13. The News of all theſe Succeſſes in the *Levant* exceedingly heightened the Joy of the People of *Rome*, who were at this time much elevated on account of the Reduction of the *Boian Gauls*, a Work which had been lately completed by the *Conſul Scipio Naſica*. This whole Nation was ſubjected to the *Roman* Dominion, and their Lands ſhared among *Roman Colonies*, ſent thither for that Purpoſe. §. 14, 15. The *Pro-Conſul Thermus* having likewiſe obtain'd a conſiderable Victory over the *Ligures*, Endeavours were uſed by one of the *Tribunes of the People* to have him triumph jointly with *Naſica*; but the Senate granted that Honour to the latter only. This eminently virtuous Man expreſs'd no Deſire of it but for the ſake of his Army, declaring that his having been formerly * adjudg'd worthy to receive the Mother of the Gods, had fully ſatisfy'd his Ambition of Glory. [*His triumphal Proceſſion is deſcribed; as are likewiſe the Ovation of the* Pro-Prætor Fulvius Nobilior, *for his Victories in* Spain, *and the Triumph of* Acilius *the next Year, on his Return from* Greece.]

Year of ROME 562.

The Roman *Admiral gains a compleat Victory over* Antiochus *at Sea.*

* *Vide* p. 187.

The Boian Gauls *totally ſubjected to the Republick.*

Vid. p. 190.

Vid. §. 16. *of the 35th Book.*

262d Conſulſhip.

§. 16. The *Conſuls* choſen for the new Year were *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Lælius*; the firſt the Brother, the ſecond the Friend of the Great *Scipio*. Their firſt Buſineſs was to introduce to the Senate the *Ætolian* Ambaſſadors from *Naupactus*. Theſe Miniſters, who ſeem'd to be inſincere in their Aſſurances of Submiſſion for the future, and avoided giving direct Anſwers to the Queſtions put to them, were offered the Choice of theſe two Things; either to ſubmit implicitely to the Will of the Senate; or to pay the Republick a thouſand *Talents*, and promiſe to declare themſelves Enemies to all the Enemies of *Rome*. But the *Ætolians* would not conſent to either; ſo that the Project of Peace was at an End, and they were order'd to leave *Rome* that very Day, and *Italy* in a Fortnight. §. 17. The next Affair which the Senate had upon their Hands was to ſettle the Provinces of the *Conſuls*. *Lælius* having the Reputation of being the abler General, artfully propoſed to his Collegue, that inſtead of drawing Lots, they ſhould leave the Matter to the Determination of the *Conſcript Fathers*. *L. Scipio* knew not how to decline this Offer; but he deſired time to conſider of it; and then he conſulted his Brother. *Scipio Africanus*, without any Heſitation, adviſed him to accept the Propoſal; and when the Senate ſeem'd unwilling to determine the Affair, and were making Excuſes, he, to their great Surprize, offer'd to ſerve under his Brother in Quality of his Lieutenant. There needed no other Argument; the *Fathers* immediately aſſigned *Aſia* to the two *Scipio's*, as their common Province. Thus the Great *Africanus* ſhewed more Regard to the Honour of his Houſe, than partial Affection to his Friend. It would have caſt a Blemiſh on his Brother, if he had not been judged worthy to engage with *Antiochus*. Beſides, *Lælius* had been a little wanting in Point of Friendſhip, by expoſing his Friend's Brother to an Affront. As for the *Romans*, their Joy was unſpeakably great, to ſee the Great *Scipio* and *Hannibal* once more enter the Liſts. They were now both Subalterns, one under a *Conſul*, the other under a King, and this new Scene drew the Attention of all the Nations.

563.

The Great Scipio *offers to ſerve in* Aſia *as his Brother's Lieutenant.*

§. 18, 19. The two Brothers embark'd at *Brunduſium*, with thirteen thouſand Men, including Auxiliaries and Volunteers, and landed at *Apollonia*; from thence they march'd thro' *Epirus* and *Theſſaly*, and at length arrived before *Amphiſſa*, the Citadel of which *Acilius* was beſieging, having already taken the Town. Hither came ſome Deputies from the *Athenians*, to intercede with the *Conſul* for the *Ætolians* at *Naupactus*. *Lucius Scipio* was at firſt inexorable, notwithſtanding that his Brother join'd his Mediation to theirs; but in the End he was prevailed upon to grant them a Truce to try once more a Negotiation with the Senate of *Rome*. By this Truce the Siege of *Amphiſſa*, which was garriſoned by *Ætolians*, was raiſed, and then *Acilius* reſigned the Command of his two *Legions* to the *Conſul*, and returned to *Rome*.

BOOK XLI.

Year of *ROME* 563. §. 1. ALL *Greece* being now quieted, the two *Scipio's* were at full Liberty to paſs into *Aſia*, which was the chief Object of their Ambition. In order to this, they judged that the ſafeſt Way was to conduct their Forces by Land to the *Helleſpont*, and conſequently thro' *Macedon* and *Thrace*: But they firſt took the Precaution to diſpatch a young *Roman* to *Pella*, where *Philip* reſided at this time, to learn his real Diſpoſitions, and whether the Steps he had taken were like thoſe of a Friend, or of an Enemy. The King had prepared every thing to facilitate the March of the *Romans* through his Dominions; and he came in Perſon to meet the *Scipio's* on his Frontiers. Nothing could be more obliging than his Behaviour, and he accompanied them even as far as the *Helleſpont*. In Return for all theſe Marks of Fidelity, the two Brothers, in the Name of the Republick, remitted him all the Sums which yet remain'd to be annually paid by him, according to the Convention made with *Flamininus*. §. 2. In the mean time, *Livius* the *Roman* Admiral being join'd by the *Rhodian* and *Pergamenian* Fleets, ſailed with the latter from the Port of *Canæ* in *Myſia*, where he had winter'd, to ſecure the Streights of the *Helleſpont*. He beſieged and took *Seſtos*, on the Side of *Europe*, without much Difficulty, and then went and inveſted *Abydos*. (Theſe two Cities ſtood oppoſite one to another, in that Part of the Streight where the Paſſage from *Europe* into *Aſia* is the ſtrongeſt and ſafeſt.) §. 3. But now *Polyxenidas* having repaired the *Syrian* Fleet, and being in a Condition to put to Sea again, deſtroyed by a Piece of * Treachery the greateſt Part of the *Rhodian* Squadron, with its Admiral. §. 4. This Diſaſter obliged *Livius* to raiſe the Siege of *Abydos*, and haſten to defend the reſt of his Ships which he had left in the Port of *Canæ* in *Myſia*. The *Rhodians* ſent out twenty new Galleys under the Command of *Eudamus*, who join'd the *Roman* Admiral at *Samos*. From thence theſe Confederates ſail'd together, and inſulted the *Syrian* Fleet in the Port of *Epheſus*; nay, they offer'd the *Syrians* to go aſhore, and come to an Engagement with them at Land. This Challenge not being accepted, they return'd to *Samos*, and there *Livius* reſign'd his Command to his Succeſſor *Æmilius*. The former was detach'd with a Part of the Fleet to endeavour the Reduction of *Patara* in *Lycia*, a Place which was a great Check upon the *Rhodians*, while in the Enemy's Hands. But *Livius* failed in this Attempt, and ſoon after return'd to *Rome*. *Æmilius*, after he had made a Deſcent near *Jaſſos* in *Ionia*, had Thoughts of revenging the Affront his Predeceſſor had receiv'd before *Patara*; but his Officers remonſtrated againſt the Enterprize, as dangerous to the Allies, who in the Abſence of the *Roman* Fleet would be left to the Mercy of the Enemy; ſo that he return'd to *Samos*, where he was near enough to watch the Motions of the *Syrians*. §. 5. Indeed *Antiochus* on one Side, and his Son *Seleucus* on another, believing that the *Romans* were engaged in the Siege of *Patara*, penetrated into the Kingdom of *Pergamus*; and the latter thinking to take Advantage of *Eumenes*'s Abſence, who with his Fleet had join'd the *Prætor Æmilius*, laid Siege to the Capital. But *Eumenes*, upon the firſt Notice from his Brother *Attalus* of the Danger *Pergamus* was in, ſailed back to the Port of *Elæa*, landed there, and reached his Capital before the Enemy had Notice of his Arrival. The *Roman* and *Rhodian* Fleets follow'd him without Delay; all the Troops they had on Board made a Deſcent, and then the Kingdom of *Pergamus* no longer wanted Forces to defend it. Beſides, News came from all Parts, that the *Scipio's* were advancing by great Marches thro' *Macedon*, would ſoon reach the *Helleſpont*, and be ready to enter *Aſia*. This ſtruck *Antiochus* with Terror; he retired to an Eminence near *Elæa*, and there encamped. From thence he ſent a Deputation to *Æmilius*, deſiring to begin a Treaty with him. *Æmilius* thinking it would be an Honour to him to conclude a Peace before the *Scipio's* arrived, readily hearkened to the Propoſal, and the *Rhodians* were not averſe from it; but *Eumenes* oppoſed it, and by his * Arguments, which were full of *Roman* Spirit and Magnanimity, prevailed to have this Anſwer given to *Antiochus*'s Meſſengers, *That the Council could not determine any thing before the Arrival of the* Scipio's. §. 6. Then the King of *Syria*, leaving his Son to ravage the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, went with his own Army and invaded *Troas*, a Country in the *Roman* Confederacy. *Æmilius*, accompanied by *Eumenes*, ſailed away to defend theſe faithful Allies. *Attalus* continued at *Pergamus*, and there receiv'd a Reinforcement from the *Achæans* of a thouſand Foot, and a hundred Horſe, under the Command of *Diophanes* a very able Captain. This latter, with his ſmall Body of Troops, boldly ſallied out, gained great Advantages over *Seleucus*, and obliged him to retire further from *Pergamus*. §. 7. Nor had *Antiochus* any better Succeſs than his Son. *Æmilius*, ſupported by the Confederate Fleets, forced him to abandon *Adramytteum*, where he had encamp'd; the

Philip *conducts the* Scipio's *thro'* Macedon *and* Thrace *to the* Helleſpont.

* *Vide* p. 200.

Antiochus *deſires to treat with the* Roman *Admiral, before the* Scipio's *arrive.*

* *Vide* p. 205.

the *Syrian* march'd away to *Sardis*. Then the Confederate Fleets ſailed back to *Samos*, where they ſeparated. *Æmilius* continued there to watch the Motions of *Polyxenidas*, *Eumenes* ſailed towards the *Helleſpont* to get every thing ready for the Paſſage of the *Scipio's* into *Aſia*, and *Eudamus* returned to *Rhodes* to get freſh Reinforcements. The laſt receiving Intelligence that a Fleet was coming from *Syria*, under the Command of *Hannibal*, haſtened the Equipment of his Ships, and ſailed away to meet the *Carthaginian*, who was now indeed out of his proper Element. *Eudamus*, with fewer Ships and of leſs Force, entirely defeated him off *Sida*, a maritime City of *Pamphylia*. §. 8. As for *Antiochus*, he ſent a Miniſter, during his Abode at *Sardis*, to engage *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia* to join him; and to this End repreſented to him that the great Point which the *Romans* had in view was in all Places to deſtroy Monarchick Government. But a Letter which *Scipio* wrote to *Pruſias*, and an Ambaſſador which came ſoon after to him from *Rome* effaced all the Impreſſions of *Antiochus*'s Arguments, and fixed him in the Reſolution of keeping a Neutrality. §. 9, 10. So that the *Syrian*'s whole Dependence now was upon his Fleet, and he order'd *Polyxenidas* to engage the Enemy at Sea. He thought it was of more Conſequence to him to be Maſter of the Seas than to guard the Shores of the *Helleſpont*, and hinder the Paſſage of the *Romans* into *Aſia*. As for himſelf, he left *Sardis*, went to *Epheſus*, and from thence marching to *Colophon*, a maritime City of *Ionia*, laid Siege to it. *Æmilius* being joined by ſome *Rhodian* Veſſels, reſolved to attempt the Relief of *Colophon*, but ſail'd firſt to the Iſland of *Teos*, to get a Proviſion of Wine, which was deſign'd for *Antiochus*. Hither *Polyxenidas* came and attack'd him, but loſt fifty two of his Ships in the Engagement, eſcaping with only a third Part of his Fleet to *Epheſus*. The *Romans* loſt but two Ships. §. 11. *Antiochus* might have prevented the Paſſage of the *Scipio's* into *Aſia*, if he had guarded the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, and had encamp'd his Land Forces round *Lyſimachia*. But after this laſt Defeat of his Admiral he took a mad Step. He recalled from *Europe* all the Garriſons which defended the few Places he had there, and he cauſed *Lyſimachia* to be evacuated, tho' that Place alone might have ſtopped the whole *Conſular* Army for a great while. Then he complained of his hard Fate in theſe Words. *I know not what God has infatuated me. Every thing happens contrary to my Expectations. I flatter'd myſelf that* Philip *of* Macedon *would join his Forces with mine. I creep on before the* Romans, *and am their Guide to ſhew them the Way to ruin me.* Hannibal *is at a great Diſtance from me, and is beſieged by the* Rhodian *Fleet in* Pamphylia. *And to complete my Misfortunes,* Polyxenidas *by his Flight has left the* Rhodian *Admiral Maſter of the Seas. Heaven perſecutes me, and I muſt conclude that my Ruin approaches.* Theſe Reflections ſo dejected him, that he raiſed the Siege of *Colophon*, and retired into *Cappadocia* to his Son-in-law King *Ariarathes*. In the mean time *Æmilius* took *Phocæa*, a maritime City on the Confines of *Æolis* and *Ionia*. But all theſe Advantages gained by the *Roman* Admiral at Sea, and on the Coaſts, were only Preparations to the more important Expeditions of the *Scipio's*, who were now upon the Point of paſſing into *Aſia*. The elder of them had at this time the Misfortune to have his Son taken Priſoner by the Enemy. The Youth was by his Father's Orders coming to *Demetrias* in a *Chalcidian* Veſſel, which in the Paſſage was attack'd and taken by a *Syrian* Ship. He was conducted to *Antiochus*, who exceedingly careſs'd him, kept him near himſelf, and ſhew'd him all Marks of Honour that were due to his Birth, and the Reputation of his Father. §. 12. In the mean while, the *Conſular* Army, with the Aſſiſtance of *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, paſſed the *Helleſpont* without Oppoſition, the *Syrians* having deſerted *Abydos*. *Antiochus* upon the firſt Advice that the *Romans* had entered *Aſia*, was ſtruck with ſuch a Terror that he immediately ſent Propoſals of Peace to the *Scipio's*. He offer'd to quit all Places in *Europe*, and many in *Aſia*, and to bear half the Expence which the *Romans* had been at, in the War. But the latter inſiſted on the King's paying all the Expence of the War, reſtoring Liberty to all the Cities of *Aſia* which had been deprived of it, and confining his Dominion within Mount *Taurus*, a Chain of Mountains which begins towards the Weſt of *Lycia*, and ſeparates *Cilicia* from Northern *Aſia*. The Ambaſſador thought theſe Conditions intolerable, and therefore applied himſelf privately to *Scipio Africanus*, to whom he had particular Inſtructions to make his Court, offering him the Reſtitution of his Son, and even a Share of his Maſter's Dominions, if he would be content without the Title of *King*. *Africanus* anſwered, That if the King of *Syria* ſhould reſtore him his Son, it would be a perſonal Obligation which as a Father he would receive with Gratitude; but that if he hoped to corrupt his Fidelity by Promiſes, ſuch Efforts were vain: That as a good Citizen he could neither receive any thing from an Enemy, nor promiſe any thing to him: That *Antiochus* muſt not now expect ſuch eaſy Terms of Peace as he might have had before the *Romans* enter'd *Aſia*. And then he concluded, *All that I can do for him is to pray the Gods that he may never be in the Situation of my Son, and want that Protection which he ſo generouſly gives the Child.*

Year of ROME 563.

The Syrian *Fleet commanded by* Hannibal *is defeated by the* Rhodians.

The Syrian *Fleet commanded by* Polyxenidas *is deſtroyed.*

The Imprudence and Deſpondency of Antiochus.

The Scipio's *paſs the* Helleſpont, *and reject* Antiochus's *Propoſals for Peace.*

And

Year of ROME 563. *And if he would preſerve himſelf from ſo great a Misfortune, let him avoid coming to a pitch'd Battel with the* Romans *on any Account, and accept of a Peace on any Terms. This Advice is the ſtrongeſt Teſtimony I can give him both of my Eſteem and Gratitude.* §. 13. *Antiochus* finding the ill Succeſs of his Embaſſy, turn'd his Thoughts wholly to War. He aſſembled all his Troops, and encamp'd them near *Thyatira* in *Lydia*. Soon after, hearing that *Scipio Africanus* was fallen ſick near *Elæa*, he generouſly ſent him his Son without Ranſom. The Joy of the *Roman* was ſo great on this Occaſion that it gave a Turn to his Diſtemper, and help'd to cure him; and in Gratitude to the King he ſent him this Advice, *That he ſhould by no means hazard a Battel till he heard that* Scipio Africanus *was perfectly recovered, and was return'd to the* Roman *Camp*. Accordingly *Antiochus* declined fighting as much as he could, and retir'd to *Magneſia*. §. 14, 15. But *Lucius Scipio* the *Conſul* being probably ambitious of gaining a Victory in the Abſence of his Brother, and having appointed *Cn. Domitius* to be his Lieutenant, follow'd the *Syrian* ſo cloſe, and preſs'd him ſo hard, that he could not with Honour avoid an Engagement. The King's Army conſiſted of ſeventy thouſand Foot, and twelve thouſand Horſe; and the *Romans* were not thirty thouſand ſtrong. The * Battel was fought near *Magneſia*; *Antiochus* loſt fifty thouſand Men, including Priſoners of War; the *Romans* not above three hundred Foot, and twenty five Horſe. So complete a Victory ſeemed a Prodigy to all the Nations of the Eaſt and Weſt; and tho' the Succeſs was chiefly owing to the Bravery and Conduct of the King of *Pergamus* and his Brother *Attalus*, *Lucius Scipio* gained the Surname of *Aſiaticus*, as his Brother had done that of *Africanus*. And now the King of *Syria* was glad to procure a Peace upon any Terms, and ſent Ambaſſadors to the *Roman* Camp at *Sardis*, to make his Submiſſions. Upon this a Council of War was called, and *Scipio Africanus* was deſired by the *Conſul* to make known its Pleaſure to the Ambaſſadors. He is ſaid to have expreſs'd himſelf in the following manner: *We are ſenſible that it is to the Favour of Heaven we owe our Victories. We are never puffed up by Proſperity; nor does Adverſity deject us. Your Friend* Hannibal *can do us Juſtice in this Matter; he has ſeen us in good and in bad Fortune. And we ſhall now act like ourſelves with regard to* Antiochus; *he ſhall be treated with Moderation. We ſhall demand little more of him now than we did at our Entrance into* Aſia. *Let him give up his Pretenſions in* Europe, *confine his Dominions in* Aſia *within Mount* Taurus, *and pay us fifteen thouſand* Talents *of* Eubœa *for the Expences of the War; five hundred down, two thouſand five hundred when the* Roman *Senate and People ſhall have confirmed the Articles, and a thouſand every Year for twelve Years. Upon theſe Conditions we ſhall leave him in Poſſeſſion of Life, Liberty, and the reſt of his Dominions. But we alſo inſiſt, that he ſatisfy King* Eumenes, *and deliver up to us* Hannibal *the* Carthaginian, Thoas *the* Ætolian, &c. *the Incendiaries who have cauſed our Diviſions; and laſtly, twenty Hoſtages, of whom* Antiochus's *youngeſt Son ſhall be one.* The Ambaſſadors had Orders to refuſe no Conditions; all were accepted, and the Affair concluded; but *Hannibal*, after the Battel of *Magneſia*, had eſcaped into ſome other Part of *Aſia*.

Antiochus *totally defeated in the Battel of* Magneſia.

* *Vide* p. 217, 218, 219.

He accepts the Conditions of Peace impoſed by the Conquerors.

§. 16. But while the *Scipio's* were thus ſettling Peace in *Aſia*, the *Ætolians* in *Greece* took Arms, diſpoſſeſſed *Philip* of *Athamania*, reſtor'd it to its rightful King *Amynander*, and made ſome other Conqueſts on the *Macedonian*. *Rome*, upon an Embaſſy from *Amynander*, confirm'd him in the Poſſeſſion of his Dominions, but ſhe reſolved to puniſh the *Ætolians* at a proper time. §. 17, 18. Soon after the

A new Commotion in Ætolia.

564. Election of the new *Conſuls*, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, and *Cn. Manlius Vulſo*, and before the News of the Victory at *Magneſia* had reached *Rome*, Ambaſſadors came from *Ætolia* to negotiate a Peace; and the better to ſucceed in their Undertaking, they ſpread a Report that the two *Scipio's* had been made Priſoners by *Antiochus* at a Conference, and that the *Roman* Army was routed. Being queſtioned by the Senate concerning their Intelligence, they pretended to have receiv'd this Account from ſome Perſons of their Nation in the *Conſul's* Camp, and putting on an Air of Confidence ſeem'd rather to demand a Peace, than ſue for one. However, theſe Appearances did not leſſen the Magnanimity of the *Conſcript Fathers*. *The* Ætolians, ſaid they with one Conſent, *are yet Friends to* Antiochus, *and this is a ſufficient Reaſon to refuſe them a Peace. Let their Ambaſſadors be gone, let them leave* Italy, *and never return hither without the Conſent of our Generals, whom we ſhall ſend to carry the War into their Country.* §. 19. And now *Aurelius Cotta* the Meſſenger, ſent by the *Scipio's* with the News of their Succeſs, arrived at *Rome*, and brought with him *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, the Ambaſſadors from *Antiochus*, and ſome Envoys from *Rhodes*. *Eumenes* was receiv'd by the Senate with all poſſible Marks of Honour and Gratitude for his Services, and he was preſs'd to declare what Recompence would be moſt agreeable to him. The King for a long time modeſtly declined ſaying any thing in his own Praiſe, or asking any particular Reward, referring that Matter wholly to the Determination of *the Fathers*. But the latter ſtill inſiſting upon it that he ſhould give an Account of his Exploits, and declare his Wiſhes, he at length

263d Conſulſhip.

The Reception of Eumenes *at* Rome.

length comply'd : And having run over his Father's Services and his own, and answer'd the Objections which he foreſaw the *Rhodians* would make, as Republicans, againſt the Increaſe of his Territories, and in favour of the *Aſiatick Greeks*, whoſe Liberty and Independence they would contend for, he thus concluded, *As to my Deſires, ſince I muſt declare them, they are theſe. You have confined the King of* Syria *within Mount* Taurus : *And if* Rome *keeps for herſelf the Country which reaches from thoſe Mountains to the Sea, I ſhall make no Pretenſions to it; it will be both a Pleaſure to me, and a Security to my Dominions to have you for my Neighbours. But if you ſhould deſpiſe ſo diſtant a Conqueſt, and think it will not anſwer the Expence of keeping it, I will venture to ſay that none of your Allies has better deſerved it than my ſelf.* §. 20, 21. The Senate received this Propoſal with Approbation. But when the *Rhodian* Envoys came to be heard, they pleaded ſtrongly for the Liberty of the *Greek* Cities in *Aſia*, as *Eumenes* had apprehended. *Your Victories*, ſaid they to the Senate, *have made you Maſters of a great Number of* Greek *Colonies on this Side Mount* Taurus, *and ſhall they alone not partake of that general Regard for Liberty, which has made you the Deliverers of all* Greece? *Subject as many of the other Nations in* Aſia *to* Eumenes *as you pleaſe; they do not know the Value of Liberty; they have been ſo long accuſtomed to kingly Government that it is ſcarce any Burden to them. But the* Greeks *are full of the ſame Spirit as the* Romans; *they love, nay they adore Liberty; and they expect to receive from you this invaluable Preſent, for which they will be eternally indebted to your glorious Arms. It may indeed be ſaid that theſe* Greek *Cities declared for* Antiochus; *and ſo did many of the* Greek *Nations in* Europe *enter into a League with* Philip *againſt you. Yet you reſtored theſe their Laws and Liberties: And this is all we aſk for the* Aſiatick Greeks. *Can you not deny* Eumenes *what you denied yourſelves? To grant our Deſires, is to give the higheſt Inſtance poſſible of that true Magnanimity which is peculiar to* Roman *Minds.* This Diſcourſe made an Impreſſion on the Senate; they at length determined to ſend ten Commiſſioners into the *Levant* to ſettle all Diſputes there, but declared beforehand, That *Lycaonia*, the two *Phrygia's*, and *Myſia*, ſhould for the future be ſubject to *Eumenes*; but *Lycia*, that Part of *Caria* which was next to *Rhodes*, and a Part of *Piſidia* were adjudg'd to the *Rhodians*. However, in both theſe Diſpoſitions, thoſe Cities were excepted which enjoy'd their Liberty before the War. As for the Ambaſſadors of *Antiochus*, their only Buſineſs was to get the Articles of Peace ratify'd, and this was done. §. 22. And now the *Conſuls* for the Year, *Fulvius* and *Manlius*, left *Rome*. The firſt ſailed for *Greece*, to bring the *Ætolians* to Reaſon, the ſecond to *Aſia*, to complete the Reduction of it. When the *Scipio's* had delivered up the Command of the Army to *Manlius*, they returned to *Rome*, where the *Conſul*, ſurnamed *Aſiaticus*, was honoured with a Triumph. (*The Pomp of it is deſcribed.*) *Africanus* was now a third time choſen *Prince* or Preſident of the Senate. *Æmilius*, the late Admiral in the *Levant*, had triumphed before the Arrival of the *Scipio's*. §. 23, 24, 25. *Fulvius* landed at *Apollonia*, and began his Campaign by laying Siege to *Ambracia*, a conſiderable City on the Borders of *Epirus*. It was in the Hands of the *Ætolians*, and vigorouſly * defended by them; but at length capitulated. And then the *Ætolian* Nation ſent to *Rome* to ſollicit a Peace. The Senate at firſt were ſo enraged againſt theſe turbulent *Greeks* that they would hardly hear the Entreaties of their Ambaſſadors. However, ſome *Athenian* Deputies who appear'd in their Behalf were more favourably received. They had an eloquent Man named *Damis* at the Head of them, and he ſpoke thus. *States are like the Sea. Its natural Situation is to be calm. It is by Impreſſions from other Things that it is moved and agitated. When the Winds blow it riſes; as ſoon as they ceaſe its Waves ſubſide. Thus* Ætolia *was very tractable, till diſturbed by the Winds of Diſſention. She complied with your Deſires, and lent you her Forces to ſubdue* Macedon. *The Weather changed: A* Thoas *and a* Dicæarchus *raiſed a Storm in* Aſia; *and a* Meneſtas *with a* Damocritus *in* Europe; *and preſently the Tempeſt put all into a Commotion. What then will you blame? the Waves, which did not riſe but by the Impulſe of other Things? Subjects, who did not take Arms till they were forced to it? No,* Romans: *Search the Evil to the Bottom, and puniſh the Authors of it; but ſpare the Multitude who are diſpoſed to Quiet and Tranquillity. In ſhort, let not one Storm divert you from ſailing on a Sea, which by facilitating your Commerce may enrich you.* This Diſcourſe ſoftened the *Conſcript Fathers*, and they granted the *Ætolians* a Peace, but upon pretty ſevere * Conditions.

Year of *ROME* 564.

The Rhodian *Deputies oppoſe the Pretenſions of* Eumenes.

* *Vide* p. 231, 232, 233.

The Ætolians *obtain a Peace by the Interceſſion of the* Athenians.

* *Vide* p. 234.

§. 26, 27, 28. During theſe Tranſactions in *Ætolia* and at *Rome*, the *Conſul Manlius* in *Aſia* was marching againſt the *Gallo-Greeks* (or *Galatians*) to revenge the Aſſiſtance they had given *Antiochus* in the late War. They were originally *Gauls* *, who, to the Number of twenty thouſand, had in the time of *Brennus* come from the other Side the *Alpes*, and paſſing thro' *Thrace* had enter'd *Aſia*, and ſettled in an Inland Country beyond *Caria* and *Phrygia*. The *Conſul* was aſſiſted in his long March by *Seleucus* the King of *Syria's* Son, and by *Attalus* the Brother of *Eumenes*;

The Romans *carry the War into* Galatia.

* *Vide* p. 237.

Year of *ROME* 564. and he drew conſiderable Contributions from the petty Kings through whoſe Countries he paſs'd, and who came to pay him their Homages. The *Galatians* upon his Approach left their Towns and Cities in that Country, and retired to the Tops of high Mountains with their Effects and Proviſions. Their Deſign in poſting themſelves in this manner was to tire out the Patience of the *Romans*, by leaving them to languiſh away their Time in deſolate Plains. The *Galatians* had added wide Ditches and Trenches in thoſe Parts of the Mountains which were the leaſt ſteep; but they had neglected to provide themſelves with Darts to throw at the Enemy, thinking the Stones, which are always in great Plenty in ſuch high and dry Grounds, would be ſufficient Weapons to repulſe the *Romans*.

§. 29. The *Conſul* attack'd thoſe of the *Galatians* firſt, who were called *Toliſtoboij*, and were poſted on Mount *Olympus*; he forced their Entrenchments, ſlew great Numbers of them, and took forty thouſand Captives, including Women and Children. §. 30. Among the reſt was *Chiomara*, the Wife of their King *Ortiagon*, a Woman of ſuperior Merit and Accompliſhments. She was brought to the *Conſul*, but he being engag'd in numberleſs Affairs committed her to the Care of a Centurion. This latter, ſtruck with the Queen's Beauty and regardleſs of her Royal Dignity, took an Opportunity, during the Licentiouſneſs of the Soldiers after the Victory, to uſe Violence to her. Then to appeaſe her, or perhaps from an avaritious Motive, he offer'd to reſtore her to her Husband for a certain Sum. He gave her Leave to ſend one of the Priſoners to *Ortiagon* for this Purpoſe; and it was agreed, that two Relations of the Princeſs ſhould come by Night to the Banks of a neighbouring River to receive her. Thither he conducted her at the Hour appointed, and found the two *Galatian* Lords with the Ranſom. But while the greedy Centurion was intent on counting or weighing the Money, the Brave Princeſs ſaid to her Relations: *Strike, and purge the Earth of a Monſter whom I deteſt.* They did ſo, and with one Stroke of a Sabre cut off his Head. *Chiomara* took it up, put it into a Corner of her Robe, carried it with her and threw it down at her Husband's Feet. A ſtrange Salutation, which might well ſurprize *Ortiagon*; and he ſaid to her, *Have you been true to my Bed?* To which the Queen replied, *I call the Gods to witneſs, that if my Body has ſuffer'd the Inſults of a ſervile State, I have reveng'd them. There lies the Head of the infamous Raviſher who robbed us of our Honour.* The King was charmed with the Virtue and Courage of his Wife, and had a greater Affection and Eſteem for her than ever. §. 31. After the Defeat of the *Toliſtoboij* on Mount *Olympus*, the *Conſul* led his Army againſt the *Tectoſagi* and *Trocmi*, poſted on Mount *Magaba*. They laid a Plot to ſurprize him and cut him off, at a Conference between him and their Kings; but he eſcaped this Danger by the Bravery of five hundred of his Horſe who attended him, and by the Precaution of his Officers who ſent a Party to defend him in caſe of Treachery. He then attack'd the Entrenchments of theſe *Galatians* with the ſame Succeſs as he had done the other, and in ſhort, forced the whole Nation to ſue for Peace upon his own Terms. He would not treat with them upon the Spot, but order'd them to ſend their Deputies to *Epheſus*, whither he retired with his Army, Autumn being far advanced, and the Weather beginning to be cold near thoſe Mountains. The *Galatians* obeyed the Commands given them; and to *Epheſus* likewiſe repair'd the Ambaſſadors of all the Princes of *Aſia* with Preſents and Submiſſions.

* Vid. *p.* 240. *The Adventure of* Chiomara *a* Galatian *Queen.*

The Galatians *entirely reduced.*

565. §. 32. As the War with the *Gauls* in *Aſia* was juſt finiſhed, a new one broke out with the *Gauls* and *Ligures* in *Italy*. *M. Valerius Meſſala*, one of the late choſen *Conſuls* was order'd to *Piſa* to watch the Motions of the latter, and *C. Livius Salinator*, the other *Conſul*, to march againſt the former. (*Fulvius* and *Manlius* were continued in their reſpective Provinces as *Pro-Conſuls.*) §. 33. But for ſome time after the Elections, and before theſe Magiſtrates enter'd on their Office, *Rome* was wholly employed in * Acts of Religion, Juſtice and Policy. *Q. Fabius Labeo*, the *Roman* Admiral, had at this time a Triumph granted for only recovering four thouſand *Roman* Slaves from the *Cretans*, though he had fought no Battel, and they had been delivered up to him, upon his bare appearing off the Coaſts of *Crete* with his Fleet, and demanding them. By a *Cenſus* taken this Year, the Number of *Roman Citizens* fit to bear Arms amounted to two hundred fifty eight thouſand three hundred and twenty eight.

264th Conſulſhip.

* Vid. *p.* 246.

§. 34. To return to the Affairs of *Greece*, *Fulvius* had in his *Conſulſhip* eſtabliſh'd all the Cities on the Continent in their ancient Freedom; but he thought that the Iſland of *Cephallenia* would be a very proper Conqueſt to be added to the Demeſns of the Republick. The *Romans* by the Poſſeſſion of it would have a Way open for their *Legions* to *Peloponneſus*, from which it was divided only by an Arm of the Sea about twenty Miles over. He had tranſported his Troops to the Iſland, and made himſelf Maſter of it. And now being *Pro-Conſul* he made it his Place of Reſidence, and from thence gave Laws to all *Greece*. All Diſputes which aroſe between any

any of the *Grecian* Cities or Republicks were brought to his Tribunal, and he was ſole Arbiter of them; ſo that in reality the *Greeks* had only an Appearance of Liberty. §. 35. But now a Conteſt happening between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achæans*, the *Pro-Conſul* thought the Matter of ſo much Importance, that he referred it to the Senate. The *Conſcript Fathers* paſſed an ambiguous Decree, which each Party might interpret in its own Favour, and this occaſion'd the two Republicks to renew their mutual Hoſtilities. *Philopœmen* who commanded the *Achæans* led his Army before *Lacedæmon*, and by ſome Acts of Severity, ſo terrified the *Lacedæmonians*, that they became ſervilely ſubmiſſive. At his Command they demoliſh'd their Walls, renounc'd the Laws of *Lycurgus* which they had obſerved ſeven hundred Years, and ſubjected themſelves to thoſe of *Achaia*. Year of ROME 565.

The Laws of Lycurgus *aboliſhed at* Lacedæmon.

§. 36. The ten Commiſſioners appointed by the Republick to ſettle the Affairs of *Aſia* landed at *Epheſus* with King *Eumenes*. From thence they went to *Apamea*, where the *Pro-Conſul Manlius* met them, and then they all together put the laſt Hand to the Treaty with *Antiochus*. [*It conſiſted of twenty* * *Articles which are given at large.*] §. 37. Then they ſettled the Limits of the Dominions of *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*. *Lycia* and *Caria* were given to the latter; *Lyſimachia* with the *Cherſoneſus* in *Europe*, the two *Phrygia's*, *Myſia*, *Lycaonia*, with *Epheſus* and other Towns in *Aſia* to the latter; and the *Romans* reſerved no part of the conquered Countries for themſelves. They were ſatisfy'd with having ſpread the Glory of their Name, and the Terror of their Arms, and with the immenſe Spoils in Gold and Silver and rich Moveables which they carried away with them. §. 38. But when *Manlius* with his Army had croſſed the *Helleſpont* in their Way home, they were robbed of ſome part of their Treaſure by a Body of ten thouſand *Thracians*, who attack'd them in a narrow Paſs between Woods where the *Romans* could not form themſelves in order of Battel. This Danger eſcaped, with the Loſs only of ſome Spoils, they continued their March through *Theſſaly* and *Epirus*, and at length arrived at *Appollonia* where they were to embark; but the Seaſon being now far advanced, the *Pro-Conſul* paſſed the Winter there.

* Vid. *p.* 251.

265th Conſulſhip.

§. 39. In the mean time *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *C. Flaminius* were choſen *Conſuls* at *Rome* for the new Year, and they ſignalized the beginning of their *Conſulſhip* by an Act of Juſtice, much commended by the Ancients. Two young *Patricians* of great Families had inſulted the *Carthaginian* Ambaſſadors ſo far as to ſtrike them; and upon a Complaint the Delinquents were deliver'd up and ſent to *Carthage*. And now the *Conſuls* were very deſirous of being ſent into *Greece* and *Aſia*; but as theſe Countries were at preſent at Peace, the Senate inſiſted, that they ſhould go to thoſe Places where the Republick had yet Enemies to ſubdue, and obliged them both to march againſt the *Ligures*. *Rome* knew very well that her Troops in *Aſia* had already breathed but too much of that delightful Air, and that they were ſoftened by it. In order therefore to inure her *Legionaries* again to Diſcipline and Conſtancy under Fatigues, ſhe was glad to have a War in a Country, where the Toils of it would be great, and Vigilance abſolutely neceſſary. The *Conſuls* obeyed, and by the Succeſs they met with made all quiet between *Etruria* and the *Alpes*. §. 40. At length *Manlius* arrived from *Apollonia*, advanced to the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, and there, as was uſual, demanded a Triumph of the Senate aſſembled at the Temple of *Bellona*. But this Requeſt met with Oppoſition even from ſome of the ten Commiſſioners, who had been ſent into *Aſia*. They objected, that he had not only undertaken his Expedition againſt the *Galatians* without the Orders of the Republick, but that he had carried on the War more like a Robber than a *Roman Conſul*, and that his Victories were too eaſy to merit any Reward; they inſiſted alſo on his want of Conduct, in ſuffering the *Thracians* to rob him in his return home. *Manlius* pleaded his own Cauſe, he urged that the *Gauls* in *Aſia* having aſſiſted *Antiochus* were proper Objects of the Reſentment of the *Romans*, mentioned the Battels he had won, and excuſed as well as he could his Diſaſter in *Thrace*. After a long Debate a Triumph was at laſt decreed him by a Majority of Votes. §. 41, 42. And now by ſome ſtrange turn in the Humours of the People, there appear'd an almoſt univerſal Spleen againſt the moſt illuſtrious Men in the Republick. Perhaps the *Romans* thought it a refined Policy to humble thoſe in Times of Peace, whom they had exalted in Times of War. In Republican States, Precaution is often carried to Ingratitude and Injuſtice. To have done great Services is ſometimes enough of it ſelf to make a Man ſuſpected. *Cato* had always been a ſecret Enemy to *Scipio Africanus*; and a Man of ſeeming Probity is a dangerous Adverſary. So long as *Scipio* was conſidered at *Rome* as a neceſſary Perſon to the State, *Cato* would not venture to attack him; but the Republick was no ſooner in a Condition to do without him, than he engag'd two *Tribunes of the People*, both *Petilius's*, to cite him to appear before the *Tribes*, and anſwer to a Charge of Miſdemeanors. The *Tribunes* were the chief Managers of the Impeachment, and each choſe his Article to expatiate upon to the People. One made it Matter of Accuſation againſt him, That he had ſpent a whole

Year of ROME 566.

Scipio Africanus *is accuſed before the* Tribes. Vid. *p.* 260, 261, 262, 263.

Year of ROME 566. Winter in Effeminacy and Pleaſures at *Syracuſe*, before he went into *Africa*. Another charg'd him with the Pillage of *Locri*, and the mad Violences of *Pleminius* there; but theſe were only Introductions to the grand Accuſation, which was, *That he had receiv'd from* Antiochus *great Sums of Money to procure him an advantageous Peace.* Evidence was wanting, but the Managers endeavour'd to ſupply this Failure by Conjectures. The Number of his Accuſers who ſpoke ſucceſſively was ſo great, that the whole Day was ſpent in their Speeches; ſo that Sentence was poſtponed to twenty ſeven Days after. In the mean time the *Tribunes* moved in full Senate, that *Scipio* ſhould be obliged to give an Account of the Spoils he had brought from *Aſia*, and produce the Books in which he had ſet down the Sums he had receiv'd from *Antiochus*; and *The Fathers* complied with the Motion. *Scipio* had, on his firſt Appearance before the People, diſdain'd to anſwer the Particulars of the Charge brought againſt him; he had only made his own Panegyrick by the Enumeration of his Exploits in *Spain*, without mentioning his *African* Expedition. And now when the Time came for determining the Affair, it happen'd to be the ſame Day of the Year on which he had obtained the famous Victory over *Hannibal* at *Zama*. He brought his Book of Accounts with him, and having only ſhewed it to the People from the *Roſtra*, he, to their great Surprize, tore it in pieces before them. *On this Day*, ſaid he, Hannibal *was conquer'd and* Carthage *ſubdued. Why then do you trifle it away in hearing idle Declamations? The Gods expect us at the* Capitol. *Follow me* Romans! *Let us go thither and jointly offer up our Vows and Thankſgivings. There entreat* Jupiter, Juno *and* Minerva *to grant you often Generals like me. If you have heaped Honours on my Head for ſeventeen Years paſt, I had deſerved them by my Services.* Inſtantly the *Tribes* began to move, and the whole Aſſembly follow'd him, except the *Tribunes* themſelves and their Domeſticks. Even the *Apparitores* and other Officers, whoſe Buſineſs it was to attend the *Tribunes*, deſerted them. A glorious Triumph for the Accuſed! However he was cited to appear a third time, and then he gave Way to the Storm and retired to his Country-Houſe near *Liternum*, not far from *Naples*. The *Tribunes* proceeded, in order to condemn him as by Default. *Lucius Scipio* appear'd, and alledged that his Brother was ſick; but this did not ſatisfy them; they would not believe it. But now *Tib. Gracchus*, one of their own Body, who had been always an avowed Enemy of the Accuſed, changed his Sentiments on a ſudden, and declared that he would never ſuffer the Great *Scipio* to be condemn'd by Default. *Nay*, ſaid he, *were he at* Rome *I would oppoſe his appearing to take his Trial. What! Shall a Hero, whom Gods and Men have conſpired to advance to the higheſt Pitch of Glory, be expoſed as a Criminal to the Hiſſes of an inſolent Populace? Shall the Conqueror of* Carthage *appear at the Foot of our Tribunal to be reviled there? Did he drive four formidable Armies out of* Spain? *Did he force* Syphax *to wear our Chains? Did he force* Hannibal *to ſue for a Peace? Did he oblige* Antiochus *to retire beyond Mount* Taurus, *only to fall a Sacrifice to the two* Petilius's? *Shall we pretend to triumph over a Man who has been honoured with ſo many Triumphs of the nobleſt Kind? Let him at leaſt find a ſafe Retreat for his old Age in the Port which he has choſen for a Shelter.* This unexpected Declaration from an old Enemy of the *Scipio's* had a great Effect on the reſt of the *Tribunes*. They were afraid that *Gracchus* would proteſt againſt their Meaſures; and therefore told the People, that they would conſider more maturely of the Matter. The *Tribes* were diſmiſs'd, and *Scipio* continued untainted in his Retreat. Whether his Sickneſs were real or feign'd, it is probable that he died ſoon after this Affair in the forty eighth Year of his Age. He is ſaid to have been ſo diſſatisfy'd with the Cowardiſe of the Senate, the Iniquity of the People and the Ingratitude of both, that he deſir'd his Wife *Æmilia*, at his Death, not to carry his Bones to *Rome*. She erected a *Mauſoleum* for him at *Liternum*, and there placed his Statue with that of *Ennius* the Poet, who was probably his faithful Friend and Companion in his Retreat. *Scipio*'s Solitude had not been uneaſy to him. In time of Proſperity he often choſe it for the ſake of free Contemplation, and was the Author of that famous Saying, *I am never leſs alone than when I have no Company.* [*The Character* * *of this moſt accompliſh'd Perſon the Republick ever produced is given at large.*] §. 43, 44. But even the Death of the Great *Scipio* did not extinguiſh the Hatred of the implacable *Cato* to the *Cornelian* Family. Whilſt *Africanus* was alive, he had contented himſelf with privately ſtirring up Enemies againſt the *Scipio's*; but the Eyes of the elder Brother were no ſooner cloſed than he exclaimed openly againſt *Aſiaticus*, the younger. He drew up a Petition to the People, and got it preſented by the two *Petilius's*, *That the* Tribes *would order the Senate to direct an Enquiry concerning what Money had been receiv'd from* Antiochus, *and from the Cities in his Dominions.* This Petition was accepted, and a Decree paſs'd purſuant to it, with an additional Clauſe, *That Enquiry ſhould likewiſe be made after the Money receiv'd from* Antiochus's *Allies.* *Furius Purpureo* got this Clauſe added in order to include *Manlius* in the Proceſs, who was ſuppoſed to have drawn great

* Vid. *p.* 264.

Scipio Africanus *is arraign'd before the People.*

great Sums from the *Galatians*. To proceed in form, it was neceſſary to appoint a Commiſſioner to make theſe Perquiſitions; and the Faction pitch'd upon the *Prætor Terentius Culeo*, whom the Great *Scipio* had formerly deliver'd out of Slavery in *Africk*, but who was nevertheleſs a ſecret Enemy to his Family. *Scipio Aſiaticus* with his *Quæſtor*, and one of his Lieutenants, were all three declared convicted of having receiv'd conſiderable Sums of *Antiochus* to procure for him a favourable Peace, and the *Prætor* condemn'd them to pay large Fines. The two latter gave Security, but *Aſiaticus* ſtill perſiſting that he had accounted with the Publick for all the Money he brought from *Aſia*, and refuſing to give Bail, the Officers were order'd to carry him to Priſon. But then *Scipio Naſica* appealed from the *Prætor*'s Sentence to the People. Whilſt *Naſica* was pleading his Couſin's Cauſe, the *Prætor* order'd the Houſe of the Accuſed to be ſearch'd, and his Goods to be confiſcated. The whole of his Effects was found not to be ſufficient to pay the Fine; and *Naſica* being inform'd of this, took thence an Occaſion to juſtify his Relation. But how much ſoever the People might be affected with his Diſcourſe, the *Prætor*'s Sentence, who was conſtituted Judge of the Affair in the firſt Inſtance, would undoubtedly have been confirmed and executed, if *Gracchus* the *Tribune* had not again diſſented from all his Brethren. *A Name*, ſaid he, *ſo famous in* Aſia *ſhall not be ſtigmatiz'd at* Rome. *Receive then*, Romans, *my proteſt, and don't give Foreigners Occaſion to laugh at the Expence of a Republick which they eſteem and fear.* The Multitude immediately applauded what *Gracchus* ſaid. Truth ſeized their Minds at once, and changed their Affections. Nevertheleſs *Scipio*'s Effects remain'd confiſcated, ſo that he became on a ſudden the pooreſt of all the *Romans*. His Relations and Clients would by Preſents have more than made up his Loſs, but he would accept of nothing more than bare Neceſſaries. One thing was much for his Honour, that among all his Moveables there was nothing found which could be judged to have been brought from *Aſia*. And indeed *Rome* afterwards recognized his Innocence and his Merit, ſent him Ambaſſador to terminate ſome Differences between *Eumenes* and *Seleucus*, the Son of *Antiochus*, and took a Pleaſure to enrich him, inſomuch, that he was in a Condition to celebrate *Games* for his Victory at his own Expence. All the Shame of his Diſgrace fell on the *Prætor Culeo* and the *Tribunes*. As for *Cato*, he only kindled the Fire and diſappear'd when it burnt with moſt Fury; and the People being diſpos'd to think his Intentions good, he loſt little of his Reputation. The *Scipio's*, to expreſs their Senſe of the Obligations they were under to *Gracchus*, married *Cornelia*, the Daughter of the Great *Africanus*, to him. She was the Mother of that famous *Gracchus*, whoſe Virtues are ſo much extoll'd by the Ancients. Year of *ROME* 566.

§. 45. The *Conſular* Year was now near expiring; but this new Zeal of the *Romans* to humble their great Generals was not yet extinguiſh'd. When *L. Fulvius* the *Pro-Conſul*, who had lately reduced *Ætolia*, demanded a Triumph, one of the *Tribunes*, at the Inſtigation of the *Conſul Æmilius*, oppos'd it. However *Gracchus*, who ſeemed to have been born to ſupport Merit wherever he found it, ſtirr'd himſelf again on this Occaſion, and at length perſuaded his Collegue to deſiſt from his Oppoſition; and then the Triumph was granted. Great Numbers of fine *Grecian* Statues were carried in the Proceſſion; the Combats of *Athletæ* were now ſeen for the firſt time in the *Arena* at *Rome*; and the People were likewiſe entertain'd with the hunting of Lions and Panthers.

The Combats of the Athletæ *introduced at* Rome.

BOOK XLII.

§. 1. THE Republick of *Rome* was now arrived to a high Pitch of Grandeur and Power; for though *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Hither* and *Further Spain*, with the Continent of *Italy*, were the only Countries ſhe had reduced into Provinces; yet ſhe was no leſs Miſtreſs in *Greece*, *Aſia* and *Africk*. It may truly be affirmed that all her Citizens were more revered and more powerful than Kings. The latter came to ſollicit the Votes of the meaneſt *Plebeians*, who, in their *Comitia*, determined the Fate of Monarchs, and diſpoſed of Thrones as they pleaſed. Politeneſs and Magnificence were now likewiſe introduced into *Rome*, and the ancient *Roman* Ruſticity was changed into a kind of Luxury. Of this however there was no Exceſs, nor ſcarce any thing of it to be ſeen in private Houſes. But for the Temples, publick Places, *Circus's* and Theatres, the *Greek* Taſte ſeem'd to be tranſported thither. Comedies were now brought to a great Perfection. *Plautus* already equall'd the *Ariſtophanes's* and *Eupolis's* of *Greece*: The *Latin* Tongue was ſoften'd, and Eloquence was ſomething more than Flights and Enthuſiaſm. The Orators began to compoſe their Harangues with Art, to digeſt them into Order, and to conſult Number and Harmony in the ranging of their Words. Nevertheleſs the Happineſs of the 566.

Year of *ROME* 567. *Romans* was not yet complete; the ſettled Tranquillity neceſſary to enjoy the Delights which the whole World procured them, was wanting. The Republick had ſtill two troubleſome Wars to maintain; one in *Liguria*, and another with the revolted *Spaniards*. Providence ſeems to have left the *Romans* theſe laborious Taſks on purpoſe to keep their Virtue in Exerciſe. Since they had breathed *Aſiatick* Air it was viſible that the Contagion of the Country had affected their Manners. The Love of Idleneſs had got the better of that martial Ardour which made them formerly prefer Camps to the City. *Rome* had now new Charms; it was a delightful Abode. The Inhabitants of *Latium* came from all Parts to ſettle there, and uſurped the Privileges of old *Citizens*. The City was ſo much over-ſtock'd with *Latins* that it was found neceſſary to drive out twelve thouſand of them. In ſhort, the Bravery of the *Romans* was in Danger of ſinking into Softneſs and Effeminacy; but the Senate provided againſt it by employing them in rugged unpleaſant Countries, and in difficult Expeditions againſt the *Spaniards* and *Ligures*, during the whole time between the War in *Syria* and the ſecond War with *Macedon*.

§. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. The *Conſulſhip* of *Sp. Poſtumius Albinus* and *Q. Marcius Philippus* was ſpent in making Preparations to ſupport the Authority of the Republick in *Spain* and *Liguria*, and in ſuppreſſing and puniſhing a monſtrous Society of Debauchees which had been form'd at *Rome* under the Name of *Bacchanalians*. Their execrable Ceremonies and flagitious Practices reſembled thoſe of the Children of *Ammon* in the *Valley of Tophet*. *266th Conſulſhip.* *The infamous* Bacchanal. *ſuppreſs'd at* Rome.

568. §. 7, 8. In the Beginning of the following *Conſulſhip* of *App. Claudius Pulcher* and *M. Sempronius Tuditanus* three Commiſſioners were ſent into *Greece* to terminate ſome Diſputes between the King of *Macedon* and the *Grecian* Republicks. *Philip* had been allowed by the *Conſul Acilius* to conquer thoſe Places in *Theſſaly* which were poſſeſſed by the *Ætolians*; but this did not ſatisfy him. The *Theſſalians*, and particularly thoſe of *Perrhœbia*, complain'd to the Senate, that he had ſeized and detained ſeveral Cities which belonged to them. *Philip* had likewiſe made himſelf Maſter of many Towns in *Thrace*, and had tranſplanted great Numbers of the Inhabitants into *Macedon*, in order to re-people it. In ſhort, the *Macedonian* was laying a Foundation for renewing the War one Day with *Rome* herſelf. The Senate did not penetrate to the Bottom of his Deſigns; but yet they thought it neceſſary to humble him. The Commiſſioners choſe the *Vale of Tempe* for the Place where the contending Parties ſhould meet, and the King of *Macedon* had the Mortification to be ſummoned to appear there before three Citizens of *Rome*. The Seats in the Court of Judgment were ſo diſpoſed, that the Commiſſioners ſat uppermoſt, as Judges, the Accuſers next, and *Philip* in the loweſt, as a Criminal. The *Theſſalians* expreſſed themſelves with a good deal of Bitterneſs againſt the King, concerning their Cities which he had uſurp'd, and they concluded with theſe Words, Philip *is like a Horſe that is not broke, and that cannot be govern'd without a ſtrong Rein.* The *Macedonian* was highly exaſperated; and when he had given ſome ſlight Anſwer to the Charge againſt him, he thus went on, *Theſe Slaves who have newly got free from their Chains, are making themſelves amends for the Conſtraint they have been long under, and now let looſe their Tongues in Invectives againſt their Maſter. But the Sun they inſult is not yet ſet.* Theſe Words, which had an Air of Threatening, offended the *Romans*, and they pronounced the following Decree: *Our Will and Pleaſure is, That all the* Macedonian *Garriſons evacuate the Places they poſſeſs in* Theſſaly, Perrhœbia, *and* Athamania; *and that the Kingdom of* Macedon *be reduced to its ancient Limits.* §. 9. Then the Commiſſioners removed to *Theſſalonica*, to determine the Differences between *Philip* and the King of *Pergamus*, concerning *Ænos* and *Maronea*, two Cities of *Thrace*, of which the former was in Poſſeſſion. The Deputies of *Eumenes* urged that theſe Places belong'd to their Maſter, as being dependent on *Lyſimachia* and the *Cherſoneſus*, which the ten Commiſſioners, formerly ſent into *Greece* and *Aſia*, had aſſigned him. *Philip*, on the other hand, alledged that there was no Mention made of theſe Places in the Decree cited, and that they had formerly belong'd to *Macedon*; and behaving himſelf now in a more ſubmiſſive Manner than before, the Judges paſs'd a more moderate Sentence than the former. They only order'd him to withdraw his Garriſons out of them, and left the Queſtion to be determined by the Senate. Philip *ſummoned to appear before three* Roman *Commiſſioners.*

§. 10. *Rome* was now wholly attentive to the Wars in *Spain* and *Liguria*. The new *Prætors* for *Spain*, *Quinctius* and *Calpurnius*, were defeated, and loſt five thouſand Men in their firſt Battel with the *Luſitanians*; but in a ſecond they gained a complete Victory, kill'd and took thirty thouſand of the Enemy, and quieted the Country for ſome time. §. 11, 12. The *Conſuls*, who both march'd againſt the *Ligures*, made likewiſe a ſucceſsful Campaign; after which they return'd to *Rome*, *The* Roman *Arms proſper in* Spain. *Vid.* p. 287.

569. to hold the *Comitia* for the Grand Elections. *P. Claudius Pulcher* and *L. Porcius Licinus* were choſen Chief Magiſtrates for the new Year. In the firſt Month of their *Conſulſhip*, when all was pretty quiet Abroad, there aroſe at Home a ſtrange and uncommon *268th Conſulſhip.*

uncommon Spirit of Contention for Offices in the Republick. One of the new *Prætors* for the City happening to die immediately after his Poſt had been determined by Lot, the Strife was ſo great in the Election of a Succeſſor, that the Senate, to put an End to it, was obliged to decree that *Rome* ſhould have but one *Prætor* this Year. Year of *ROME* 569.

§. 13. And when the *Cenſors* came to be choſen the Struggle was yet more violent. At length, *Cato* and *L. Valerius Flaccus* carried the Majority from *Scipio Aſiaticus* and other very conſiderable Men. Indeed *Cato*'s Character gave him a Superiority over all his Competitors. There was ſcarce any Talent requiſite for publick or private Life, which he had not received from Nature, or had acquired. He was a great Soldier, an able Stateſman, an eloquent Orator, a learned Hiſtorian, and very knowing in rural Affairs: And yet with all theſe Accompliſhments, he had great Defects. He was extravagantly ſevere to other Men; and under Pretence of diſcountenancing Vice, inſulted the Vicious. His Reproaches were generally bitter and poignant, and ſometimes ſlanderous. He was jealous and ambitious to a high Degree, carried his Hatred to Exceſs, and his ill-grounded Prejudices againſt thoſe he diſliked, to Obſtinacy. As a private Perſon he lived frugally, but it was only to lay up Money; and his ſeeming Equity did not hinder him from taking Uſury. In publick he was eternally extolling Continence; in private he made a beautiful Slave miniſter to his Pleaſures. However, as his Merit and Virtues were known, and his Vices conceal'd, he acquired the Eſteem of the Multitude, ſo that, though four and forty times accuſed before the People, he was always acquitted.

Cato *choſen* Cenſor. *His Character and Conduct.*

§. 14. The *Patricians* trembled when they ſaw *Cato* in this eminent Poſt. They fully expected that his *Cenſorſhip* would be a ſevere one, and they were not miſtaken. His Collegue was much of his own Temper, for which Reaſon *Cato* had promoted his Election. They preſently drew up a Liſt of the Senators, and degraded ſeven of that illuſtrious Body. Among the reſt was *Quinctius* the Brother of *Flamininus*. The Motive indeed was juſt. *Quinctius*, when he commanded in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, had murder'd with his own Hand a *Boian* Nobleman, who came to him for Protection; and this only to gratify the Curioſity of a young *Carthaginian* he was fond of; the infamous Pathick had reproach'd the General for bringing him away from *Rome* juſt when there was going to be a Fight of Gladiators, and expreſs'd a longing Deſire to ſee ſome Body die a violent Death. But the rigid *Cenſor* ſtruck *Manlius*'s Name out of the Liſt of *Conſcript Fathers* for a very light Cauſe. His only Accuſation againſt this Senator was, that he had ſlightly ſaluted his Wife, in the Preſence of his Daughter.

§. 15. *Scipio Aſiaticus*, ſince his Diſgrace, had been made a *Roman Knight*, but now *Cato*, out of an inveterate Hatred to that Family, took away his Horſe. After this, his Severity fell upon Multitudes of People who gloried in their Riches. Hitherto no Account had been taken by former *Cenſors* of Moveables, Jewels, *&c.* in the Eſtimate of a Man's Wealth, but *Cato* laid a heavy Tax upon the Equipage, Finery and Superfluities both of Men and Women. In ſhort, by this and ſome other popular Acts, he made himſelf ſo acceptable to the People, that they erected a Statue to him in the Temple of *Health*. *Cato* had often affected to deſpiſe theſe Sorts of Honours, but his real Sentiments were viſible by the Inſcription he ordered to be put on the Pedeſtal of the Statue. To CATO THE CENSOR, FOR HAVING REFORMED THE DISCIPLINE OF THE REPUBLICK BY PRUDENT REGULATIONS. There was no Mention of his Victories; others had conquered as well as he: He would let it be ſeen that he valued himſelf more for having triumphed over the Vices of his Countrymen, than for any Victories over foreign Nations.

§. 16. *Cato*, after the Expiration of his *Cenſorſhip*, ſpent the reſt of his Days in a private Life; his Wife, who was of great Quality, very expenſive, and a Scold, found Exerciſe enough for his Philoſophy. He made himſelf his Son's Preceptor, and would not ſuffer him to be taught the Learning of the *Greeks*. He thought the only Study of a *Roman* ſhould be how to conquer, and how to govern conquered Nations. As to his Domeſticks and the Expences of his Houſe, he was a rigorous Œconomiſt; but he liked to have his Servants lie long in Bed; he ſaid, he had found by Experience that great Sleepers were generally the moſt ſubmiſſive, and leaſt intriguing. He kept up little Diviſions among his Slaves, that he might know all their Plots, and guard againſt them. He traded chiefly in Slaves, but made Money of every thing, and often ſaid to his Son, that a Man was more contemptible than a Woman, till he had doubled his Revenue. To revenge himſelf of his Son and Daughter-in-law, for treating contemptuouſly the beautiful Slave with whom he was familiar, he married a ſecond time in his old Age: When on this Occaſion his Son ask'd him, *By what Act of Diſreſpect he had incurred his Diſpleaſure?* the old Man replied, *I have no manner of Complaint to make againſt you; your Conduct is ſo prudent that I am reſolved to give you ſome Brothers like you.*

§. 17, 18, 19. By ſome late Succeſſes of the *Prætors* in *Spain*, and of the *Conſuls* in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, every thing being now quiet in thoſe Countries, the *Romans* turn'd

Year of *ROME* 569. all their Attention to *Greece*, *Macedon* and *Asia*. New Commissioners were sent from *Rome* to take Cognizance of some Differences which *Philip* had with the *Thessalians* and the King of *Pergamus*, and to terminate the Disputes between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achaians*. §. 20. In the mean time a new War broke out in *Asia*, between *Eumenes* and *Prusias* King of *Bythinia*. *Hannibal* was in the Counsels of the latter, commanded his Fleet, and gained a Victory over the *Pergamenian*, by an unheard of Stratagem. He caused some earthen Bottles fill'd with Asps, Vipers, and other Snakes, to be thrown into *Eumenes*'s Ship, which occasioned such a Disorder and Fright among the Seamen that they row'd away with the King in all Haste to the first Port.

570. §. 21. And now, when the Republick had rais'd *Q. Fabius Labeo* and *M. Claudius Marcellus* to the *Consulship*, Ambassadors came to *Rome* from several Parts of the *Levant*. Among these was *Demetrius* the Son of the King of *Macedon*. This young Prince, when he was formerly a Hostage at *Rome*, had by his amiable Qualities gained himself much Esteem and many Friends. His Father therefore thought him the best Agent he could chuse to treat with the Republick, at a time when some late Violences in his Conduct needed an Excuse. *Demetrius*'s Cause was bad, and he had not the Talent of Eloquence, but the Affection of the Senate for him supplied the Want of it. They answered, *That for his sake they would overlook his Father's past Disobedience, but they would have* Philip *remember, that he was wholly indebted to* Demetrius *for this Indulgence.* Their Design in making such a Declaration was to gain the young Prince Credit with his Father. They wished that *Demetrius* might succeed to the Throne of *Macedon*, instead of *Perses* the elder Brother. This latter is said to have been the Son of a Dancing-woman or Sempstress of *Argos*, and that the Queen imposed him upon the King as her own Son. Be that as it will, *Perses* was *Philip*'s Favourite, and the Partiality of the *Romans* for *Demetrius* served only to excite the King's Jealousy of him, which in the End proved fatal to the unfortunate Youth. §. 22. The last Commissioners sent into *Greece* and *Macedon* not having entirely quieted the Commotions in those Countries, *Q. Marcius* was now dispatch'd thither for that Purpose, whilst *Flamininus*, *Scipio Asiaticus* and *Scipio Nasica* set out for the Court of King *Prusias*, to adjust the Differences between him and King *Eumenes*. *Marcius* obliged *Philip* to deliver up the Cities he possessed in *Thrace* and *Thessaly*; and as to *Lacedæmon*, he determined that for the future it should always be deemed a Part of the *Achaian* Body. While the *Roman* Commissioner was in *Greece*, one *Dinocrates* by his Intrigues seduced the maritime City of *Messene* from its Obedience to the *Achæans*. *Philopœmen*, now seventy Years old, hastened with his Friend *Lycortas*, and a small Number of the Youth of *Megalopolis*, to punish the Revolt, but falling into an Ambuscade laid for him by the Rebels, he was overpower'd and made Prisoner. The Commons of *Messene* were for releasing him, and getting favourable Terms from the *Achæans* in Exchange for his Liberty. But *Dinocrates* and the Senate being the most guilty, and dreading the Effects of his Resentments, determined he should die. *Philopœmen* was lying wounded and fatigued upon his Cloke in the Vault where they had put him, when a Man enter'd with a Cup in his Hand. The brave *Achæan* gues'd his Errant, and striving to sit up, said to him with great Composure, *Pray tell me whether* Lycortas *and the* Megapolitan *Youth be got into a Place of Safety? Not one of them is killed*, answer'd the Executioner; *It is enough*, replied *Philopœmen*; *I die content*. And then chearfully taking the Cup of Poison, drank it off. Thus died the last of the *Grecian* Heroes, who in Bravery, military Skill and Virtue equalled the greatest Men in his own Country, and was not inferior to the boasted Heroes of *Rome*. His only Fault was that he carried his Hatred and Resentment to Excess; but he was as constant in Friendship, as he was implacable in Enmity. §. 23. His Friend and Imitator *Lycortas* (the Father of the famous *Polybius*) very soon revenged his Death. He entered the *Messenian* Territory, and destroy'd every thing with Fire and Sword; *Messene* opened her Gates to him, *Dinocrates* kill'd himself, and the rest of the Assassins were stoned at the Tomb of the murder'd Hero. §. 24. Whilst *Marcius* was attending the Obsequies of *Philopœmen* in *Peloponnesus*, *Flamininus* in *Bithynia* was endeavouring to destroy *Hannibal*. It is said that King *Prusias* express'd a mighty Unwillingness to sacrifice this Great General to the *Romans* in his old Age, that he urged against it the Laws of Hospitality, and his inevitably drawing upon himself the Reproaches of all future Ages; but that *Flamininus* threatened and was obeyed. *Since then*, said the King, *I cannot possibly secure a Retreat in my Dominions for this venerable old Man, do you yourself execute the Scheme your Hatred dictates.* Upon which *Flamininus* thought himself at Liberty to make use of the royal Guards to go and invest the *Carthaginian* in the Castle of *Libyssa*, whither the King had allowed him to retire. As soon as Troops appeared round the House, a Slave ran to inform his Master of it; *Hannibal* had Recourse to some subterraneous Passages which he had formerly made for an Escape in case of Danger. Finding these were all bal.

The Death of Philopœmen.

The Death of Hannibal.

beset,

beſet, he did not heſitate between Death and Captivity. *Let us then deliver* Rome, ſaid he, *from her inceſſant Diſquietudes, ſince ſhe has not Patience to ſuffer an old Man to end his Days in Peace. Nevertheleſs thy Victory,* Flamininus, *will not do thee much Honour. Thou wouldſt not have conquered* Hannibal, *if he had not been diſarmed and ſurprized by Treachery. At leaſt I have this Pleaſure before I die, that I ſee* Rome *degenerated from her priſtine Virtue. The* Romans *formerly ſent back to* Pyrrhus *the Phyſician who treacherouſly offer'd to poiſon him. But now they force a King to violate the Laws of Hoſpitality, in order to kill* Hannibal *in a baſe manner.* This ſaid, he either drank a poiſonous Draught, or, as ſome ſay, took a ſubtle Poiſon which he always carried in his Ring againſt ſuch an Accident; and thus died the Hero who was the Terror of the *Romans* to his laſt Breath. To ſay of him, That *Rome* did not ſcruple even a cowardly Action to get rid of him, is to complete his Panegyrick. [*His Character is given.**] Year of ROME 570.

* *Vide* p. 306.

270th Conſulſhip. §. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29. The following Year, when *L. Æmilius Paulus* and *Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus* were *Conſuls*, proved barren of great Events. The King of *Macedon* turn'd his Arms againſt a Part of *Thrace* where the *Romans* had no Concern; but tho' he thus conceal'd his Reſentment, and did not declare openly againſt the Republick, it was very viſible by the Steps he took to augment his Forces, that he labour'd to put himſelf once more into a Condition to cope with her. His Jealouſy of his Son *Demetrius* daily increaſed; he could not bear his Attachment to the *Romans*, nor the Deſign which he believed they had to place him on the Throne, to the Prejudice of *Perſes*. The latter accuſed his Brother of an Intention to aſſaſſinate him. *Philip* call'd in two of his Courtiers to aſſiſt him, and then heard his Sons Pleadings *, the Charge of the one, and the Defence of the other, but ſuſpended his Sentence. §. 30, 31, 32. The next Year, during the *Conſulſhip* of *P. Cornelius Cethegus* and *M. Bæbius Tamphilus*, *Demetrius* was poiſoned by his Father's Order. The young Prince being mortally uneaſy under the Ill-will of his Father and Brother, had laid a Deſign of making his Eſcape to *Rome*. One *Didas*, whom he thought his Friend, but who had been placed as a Spy about him, betray'd him. *Perſes* likewiſe engaged ſome Emiſſaries, whom his Father had ſent to *Rome* to diſcover what Correſpondence his younger Son kept there, to forge a Letter, as from *Flamininus* to *Demetrius*, containing Words to this Effect: *If your Deſire of a Crown has carried you to make Attempts againſt your own Blood; don't flatter yourſelf that I will ever enter ſo far into your Intereſt as to ſacrifice Honour and Honeſty to it. I hate the impious Projects of ambitious Minds.* They had counterfeited the Hand and Seal of *Flamininus*, they pretended to have intercepted the Letter, the King was impoſed upon by the Artifice, and the young Prince fell a Sacrifice to his Brother's Jealouſy. §. 33, 34, 35. This Year was alſo remarkable for conſiderable Victories obtain'd by the *Roman* Armies in *Spain* and in *Liguria*, and for ſuppreſſing a Revolt in *Sardinia*. §. 36. And whilſt the *Roman* Generals were ſupporting the Glory of the Republick in thoſe Places, the People and Senate of *Rome* made it their Buſineſs to put a Stop to immoderate Expence in Feaſts and Entertainments, to reform Abuſes, and ſuppreſs Luxury. At the Motion of one *Orcius*, a *Tribune of the Commons*, it was enacted, that no Man ſhould ſpend more than one hundred *Aſſes* of Braſs (about ſix Shillings and five Pence) at an Entertainment; and the Number of Gueſts was likewiſe limited. Theſe Laws ſhew indeed the Propenſity of the *Romans* to Intemperance, but at the ſame time the Zeal of the Republick to reſtrain it. §. 37. In the ſucceeding *Conſulſhip* of *A. Poſtumius Albinus* and *C. Calpurnius Piſo* the Plague raged in *Italy*. *Calpurnius* was thought to be carried off by it; but it appeared afterwards that he had been poiſoned by his Wife *Hoſtilia*, in order to make room for *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, her Son by a former Huſband, to ſucceed him. *Fulvius* had oppos'd his Father-in-law in the laſt Election, and was now choſen in his Place, yet he did not ſuffer in his Character on account of *Calpurnia*'s Death, though his Mother was convicted and condemn'd. §. 38, 39, 40. The *Roman* Arms proſper'd this Year in *Spain* and *Liguria*. *Gentius*, one of the Kings of *Illyricum*, who had countenanc'd ſome Piracies in the *Adriatick*, made his Submiſſions to the Senate and was pardon'd. In this ſame Year alſo was publiſh'd the famous *Plebiſcitum*, call'd *The Villian Law*, from *Villius Tapulus*, who got it paſs'd in the *Comitia*. It enacted, That no Man ſhould be *Quæſtor* before he was one and thirty Years of Age; *Curule Ædile* before thirty ſeven; *Prætor* before forty; *Conſul* before forty three; and this Law continued in force till the Fall of the Republick. §. 41, 42, 43, 44, 45. And now for the firſt Inſtance of the kind, two Brothers took Poſſeſſion of the *Faſces* together, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* (who was lately come from *Spain* and had triumph'd for his Victories there) and *L. Manlius Acidinus Fulvianus*. The latter was call'd *Manlius*, becauſe he had been adopted into the *Manlian* Family. *Fulvius* made a ſucceſsful Campaign againſt the *Ligures*; while the *Prætors* in *Spain* obtain'd ſeveral Victories there. *Sempronius*, who commanded againſt the *Celtiberians*, met with a remarkable Inſtance of the Frankneſs of thoſe

271 Year of ROME.

271ſt Conſulſhip. Philip *puts his Son* Demetrius *to Death.*

The Orcian *Law.*

272d Conſulſhip.

The Villian *Law.*

273d Conſulſhip. *Two Brothers choſen to the* Conſulate *together.*

572. 573. 574.

* Vid. *p.* 312.

Year of ROME 574. of *Spaniards*. When he came to beſiege one of their Towns call'd *Certima*, the Inhabitants ſent a Deputation to him with this Propoſal. *If*, ſaid they, *we were in a Condition to reſiſt you, we would ſuſtain a Siege with Conſtancy. Allow us therefore to go and ſeek for Succours among our Countrymen who are encamp'd in your Neighbourhood, and then you may get ſome Honour by conquering us.* *Sempronius* was ſurprized at the Demand, but conſented to it. The Deputies went ſtrait to the *Celtiberian* Camp, and return'd with ten Envoys from thence. It was juſt in the Heat of the Day when they arrived, and they deſired ſome Drink. Accordingly ſome Drink was given them, and when they had quench'd their Thirſt, the oldeſt of the Company addreſs'd himſelf thus to the *Prætor: We are curious to know whether your Forces are equal to the Greatneſs of your Enterprizes. You ſhall be convinced of it immediately*, replied the *Conſul*; and he ſtraitway order'd the Troops to arm and paſs in review before him in Preſence of the Deputies. This Sight determined the *Celtiberians* to continue unactive, and the Town was forced to ſurrender. *A remarkable Inſtance of the frank Temper of the* Spaniards.

§. 46, 47. Thus every thing ſucceeded in *Spain* as well as the Republick could deſire; but in *Greece* a Storm was gathering, which threaten'd a ſpeedy War. *Philip* was dead. He had never enjoy'd a happy Day ſince the Murder of *Demetrius*; and to add to his Affliction for that Loſs, his ſurviving Son, having got rid of his Rival, ſhook off all Reſpect for his Father: He uſurped the Office and Authority of King; and the *Macedonians*, who made their chief court to him, gave him the Title too. *Philip* was in a manner quite deſerted; he had but one faithful Friend and inſeparable Courtier left, which was *Antigonus*, the Nephew of that *Antigonus*, who had been his Tutor. Nor was this Man's Attachment to him free from ſelf-intereſted Views. He was related to the Kings of *Macedon*, and after *Perſes*, had a better Right than any Man to the Throne. In order to increaſe the King's Averſion to *Perſes*, and promote the Deſigns of his own Ambition, he found Means to convince *Philip* of the Cheat which had been practis'd to take away the Life of *Demetrius*. This completed the King's Hatred to *Perſes*, and he reſolv'd to make *Antigonus* his Succeſſor. But while he was taking Meaſures for this Purpoſe, he died. *Perſes* aſcended the Throne, and *Antigonus* falling into his Hands was put to Death. The new King thought it for his preſent Intereſt to ſend an Embaſſy to *Rome* to notify to the Republick his Acceſſion, deſire her Friendſhip, and entreat her to give him the Title of King; and though the Senate believed theſe firſt Steps of the *Macedonian* to be only feign'd Submiſſions, they would not yet declare againſt him. *Philip* before his Death had made great Preparations for the War, which to his laſt Breath he intended to undertake againſt the *Romans*. In his Arſenals were found Arms for ſixty thouſand Men, in his Magazines eight hundred thouſand Meaſures of Wheat, and in his Coffers Money enough to pay ten thouſand foreign Mercenaries for ten Years. All theſe Riches fell into the Hands of a Succeſſor, whoſe Crimes made him unworthy to reign, and who diſhonour'd the Throne by numberleſs Iniquities. *The Death of* Philip *King of* Macedon.

575. §. 48, 49, 50. In *Italy*, *M. Junius Brutus*, and *A. Manlius Vulſo* being choſen *Conſuls* for the new Year, the latter, without any Orders from the People or Senate, march'd his *Legions* againſt the *Illyricans* and *Iſtrians* commanded by *Gentius* their King. *Manlius* was ſurpriz'd in his Camp and driven out of it; but he ſoon after recover'd it again and made a great Slaughter of the Enemy who were got drunk with the good Cheer they found in it. §. 51, 52. This War was finiſh'd in the 576. ſucceeding *Conſulſhip* of *C. Claudius Pulcher*, and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*. *Claudius* by taking three Towns, *Nefattium*, *Mutila* and *Faveria*, put an end to it. To reduce the firſt he turn'd the Courſe of the River *Arſia*, which ſupply'd the City with Water: A ſort of Enterprize entirely new to the *Romans*. As for *Sempronius*, he gained great Glory by ſeveral Victories over the revolted *Corſicans* and *Sardinians*. *274th Conſulſhip.* *275th Conſulſhip.*

BOOK XLIII.

§. 1. *Claudius* having ſubdued *Iſtria* with wonderful Rapidity, led his Forces into *Liguria*, gain'd a conſiderable Victory there, and then return'd to *Rome* 577. to preſide at the Elections. §. 2. The *Conſuls* choſen were *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hiſpalus*, and *Q. Petillius Spurinus*. The former dying ſoon after of an Apoplectick Fit, as he was coming from a religious Ceremony, *C. Valerius Lævinus* was elected in his ſtead. §. 3. *Claudius*, who now acted in *Liguria* as *Pro-Conſul*, gain'd new Advantages there, and his Succeſs was ſuch, that it rais'd the Jealouſy of *Petillius*, who therefore haſten'd to the Camp, and took upon him the Command of the Army. §. 4. But this *Conſul* loſt his Life in purſuing an Enterprize which his Predeceſſor had begun. He was run through with a Javelin at the Head *276th Conſulſhip.*

of his Men, whom, after a Repulſe, he was bravely leading on to renew their Attack, and force the *Ligures* in their Entrenchments. *Lævinus* reveng'd his Death, and obtain'd a Triumph for his Exploits. §. 5. During this Campaign the Senate were chiefly employ'd about the Affairs of the Eaſt. *Seleucus*, either out of Affection or Diſtruſt, had deſir'd to exchange his Son *Demetrius* againſt his Brother *Antiochus*, who had been a Hoſtage at *Rome* ever ſince the Peace made with their Father *Antiochus the Great*. This, after ſome Debate, was agreed to; but before *Antiochus* reach'd *Syria* *Seleucus* was aſſaſſinated and his Throne poſſeſs'd by that very *Heliodorus* whom he had formerly ſent to plunder the Temple of *Jeruſalem*. However, by the Aſſiſtance of *Eumenes*, *Antiochus* drove out the Uſurper, and took his Place. §. 6. The Events of the Year, when *P. Mucius Scævola* and *M. Æmilius Lepidus* were *Conſuls*, are not clearly related by the Hiſtorians. However, theſe two Generals merited Triumphs for their Exploits. The Plague ſtill raged in *Italy*. §. 7, 8, 9, 10. The following Year, when *Sp. Poſtumius Albinus* and *Q. Mucius Scævola* poſſeſſed the *Faſces*, was barren of military Exploits, excepting a Victory over the *Celtiberians* in *Spain*. The Republick prolong'd the War with the *Ligures*, only to employ her Troops and keep them in exerciſe, till there ſhould be Occaſion to march them againſt *Perſes*. [A Son of *Scipio Africanus* ſtood Candidate for the *Prætorſhip* this Year, and notwithſtanding his high Birth, would have loſt it, if his Opponent *Cicereius*, who had been his Father's Client and Secretary, had not, out of Reſpect for the Family, deſiſted from his Oppoſition, and even us'd his Intereſt for him. Nay, after he was choſen, and that it fell to his Lot to be *Prætor Peregrinus*, his Relations perſuaded him to renounce the Exerciſe of that Office as utterly unfit for it; nor indeed did he ſit to pronounce one Decree. They prevail'd with him likewiſe to bear no longer upon the Ring, which ſerved him for a Seal, the Head of his Father, whom he diſgraced by his Incapacity; and the *Cenſors*, even during his *Prætorſhip*, ſtruck his Name out of the Liſt of the Senators.] The preſent *Cenſorſhip* was remarkable for many great and uſeful Works, and among the reſt for the paving of the Streets of *Rome*, which had never been done ſince the building of the City.

Year of ROME 577.

Antiochus Epiphanes *ſucceeds* Seleucus *King of* Syria.

277*th Conſulſhip.*

578.

278*th Conſulſhip.*

579.

Perſes *King of* Macedon *ſollicits Alliances in* Greece *and* Aſia.

§. 11. But now Accounts came to *Rome* from all Parts that *Perſes* was ſolliciting the Nations of *Aſia*, *Greece* and *Africa* to declare againſt the Republick. Under Pretence of diſcharging ſome Vow at the Temple of *Delphi*, he croſſed Mount *Oeta* and ſurprized the *Greeks* with his ſudden Appearance among them. But he marched on very peaceably without doing any one Act of Oppreſſion, and his Diſcourſe was full of Humanity. He ſtaid but three Days at *Delphi*, and then returning through *Phthiotis* and *Theſſaly* wrote circular Letters to all the free Cities there to court their Friendſhip. His greateſt Difficulty was how to gain the *Athenians* and *Achæans*. To this end he began his Endeavours towards a Reconciliation, by ſending them back all their Slaves who had taken Refuge in his Dominions. *Xenarchus*, who was at this time the Head of the *Achæans*, inclined to favour the King, and advis'd * the Diet to cultivate a Friendſhip with him; but *Callicrates*, a very eloquent Man, and an able Politician, declared againſt receiving any Preſents from the *Macedonian*. *His Aim*, ſaid he, *is evidently to draw you and all* Greece *into a War againſt* Rome. *Let us continue to live utter Strangers to* Macedon, *and confirm the Decree which forbids all Commerce with her.* A Point of Honour ſuſpended the Determination of the Diet; *Perſes* had only ſent a Letter and not an Embaſſy, and this was thought an Affront. The King, to repair his Fault, ſent Ambaſſadors to the next Diet which was held at *Megalopolis*, but then the Advocates for *Rome* oppos'd their Reception, and prevail'd. §. 13, 14. *L. Poſtumius Albinus* and *M. Popillius Lænas* being choſen *Conſuls* for the new Year, the latter march'd againſt the *Statelliates*, a People of *Liguria*, kill'd ten thouſand of them, and took ſeventeen thouſand Priſoners. The latter had ſurrendred without making Conditions, and the *Conſul* ſold them for Slaves. But this Proceeding was reſented by the Senate; for the *Ligures* had not been the Aggreſſors, they had only acted on the defenſive, and *The Fathers* thought it a Reflection on the Republick, to have Priſoners, in theſe Circumſtances, ſo treated. They paſs'd a Decree therefore, to oblige *Popillius* to reſtore the Money and ſet the *Ligurians* free. *At this rate*, ſaid they, *what Nation will ever ſubmit to us?* and they concluded their Decree with theſe Words, *Victory is glorious when it is confined to the ſubduing of untractable Enemies; but it becomes ſhameful, when it is made uſe of to oppreſs the Unfortunate.* §. 15. But *Rome* had her Eyes chiefly fix'd on *Macedon*. Freſh Accounts came daily of the Steps *Perſes* was taking in order to a Rupture. The Republick had frequently ſent Ambaſſadors to him, but they could hardly obtain an Audience. And now in order to throw all the Blame of a War upon him, ſhe ſent again five Ambaſſadors to *Macedon*, with Orders to go from thence and renew the old Alliance with the preſent King of *Egypt*. §. 16. *Antiochus Epiphanes* King of *Syria* was in effect in Poſſeſſion of the Throne of *Egypt*; he had ſeiz'd it under Pre-

* *Vide* p. 357.

279*th Conſulſhip.*

580.

Year of ROME 580. tence of restoring it to its rightful Owner, *Ptolomy Philometor*, whom his Mother *Cleopatra* (after the Death of her Husband *Ptolomy Epiphanes*) had excluded from it, through a partial Fondness for her younger Son *Alexander* (call'd sometimes by the Historians *Ptolomy Physcon*). *Antiochus* was the Uncle of the two young Princes, and on that Account claimed the Guardianship of them. The *Egyptians*, knowing his wicked Ambition, oppos'd his Pretensions, but he defeated them in a pitch'd Battel, and made himself Regent of the Kingdom. He outwardly caress'd the elder of his Nephews, and kept the younger Prisoner at *Alexandria*, which he sack'd and plunder'd, as well as many other Cities. To excuse these Violences at *Rome*, he dispatch'd an Embassy thither, immediately upon his return to *Syria*. He paid the Republick all that remain'd due to her by the Treaty of Peace with his Father, and made her several rich Presents. *Rome* did not give herself the Trouble to enquire how he came by so much Wealth, but readily, at his Request, renew'd the old Alliance with *Syria*. This *Antiochus* was that detestable Prince mention'd by the Prophet *Daniel*.

The Usurpations of Antiochus Epiphanes.

§. 17. The Historians are silent as to the Reason which made the *Romans* chuse now, for the first time, two *Plebeians* to the *Consulate*, *P. Acilius Ligus* and *C. Popillius Lænas*. It seems probable, that so great a Number of *Plebeians* having at different times arriv'd to the highest Dignities, there was little Difference made at present between the Families of the most ancient Nobility, and those which had been more lately ennobled by Offices. At least it is certain, that from this time to 581. the *Dictatorship* of *Julius Cæsar*, nothing was more common than to see two *Plebeians* chosen *Consuls* together. §. 18. And now *Eumenes*, King of *Pergamus*, made a Voyage to *Rome*, out of pure Zeal to give the *Romans* an * Account of the Progress of *Perses*, the Alliances he had made, and his Preparations for a War. His Discourse made a strong Impression on the Senators; it cleared up all the Suspicions which their own Ambassadors and those of the *Greek* Republicks had given them of *Perses*'s Conduct. Nevertheless they kept the Intelligence they had receiv'd from *Eumenes* an inviolable Secret, and would determine nothing till they had first heard the *Macedonian* Ambassadors. *Harpalus* was at the Head of them; he endeavoured to cover his Master's Proceedings with various Pretences, but finding that the Senate saw through the Disguise, and would not be impos'd upon, he at length grew out of Temper. *Rome*, said he, *will not believe me, when I assure her: that* Perses *has neither done nor designed to do any thing in Violation of the Treaties with her. The Republick, I see, is for War. We accept the Challenge. Heaven and our Arms will determine the Dispute.* §. 19. *Harpalus*, at his Return, told his Master that the *Romans* had not indeed declared War, nor order'd any Preparations for it; but that they were so exasperated that they could not long delay it. This News did not terrify *Perses*; and first he resolv'd to be reveng'd on the King of *Pergamus*. *It was* Eumenes, said he, *that informed the Republick of the Commotions I was raising in* Greece *in order to my invading* Italy. *Perses* knew the King of *Pergamus* seldom failed of going at certain times to *Delphi* to pay his Homage to the God worship'd there. He sent therefore four Assassins thither, and recommended them to a Woman of Condition named *Praxo*, with whom he himself us'd to lodge. There was no passing from the Port of *Delphi* call'd *Cirrha* to the City and Temple but through a hollow Way, which was so narrow that two Men could not walk a-breast in it. An old Wall of a ruin'd House hung over this hollow Way, and behind the Wall was a great Heap of Rubbish: Here the Assassins took their Stand, and having furnish'd themselves with great Stones, let them fall on the King's Head as he pass'd, knocked him down, and, as they imagin'd, left him dead. The King was stunn'd, but coming soon after to himself was put on board his Galley, convey'd to *Corinth*, and from thence to *Ægina* where he was cured. §. 20. The Rumour of *Eumenes*'s Death was yet fresh at *Rome*, when *Valerius*, who had been sent into *Greece* to watch *Perses*, return'd to the Senate. He brought with him two Persons, whose Evidence was abundantly sufficient to confirm *The Fathers* in their Opinion of the *Macedonian*. One of them was that very *Praxo*, who, upon *Perses*'s Recommendation, had entertain'd the Ruffians; and she produced the King's Letters. The other was one *Rammius*, a rich Citizen of *Brundusium*, at whose House the *Roman* Generals us'd to lodge in their Way to *Greece*, and when they came back. *Perses* had been tampering with this Man to poison such of his Guests as he should direct. Upon these Proofs of the King of *Macedon*'s Perfidy, the Senate no longer hesitated whether they should begin Hostilities or not; but being dissatisfy'd with the present *Consuls*, they commission'd *Sicinnius* the *Prætor Urbanus* to equip a Fleet, assemble an Army and transport it to the Coast of *Macedon*. §. 21. Whilst the *Prætor* was making his Preparations, the only Son of *Ariarathes*, King of *Cappadocia*, arrived at *Rome*. He was yet a Child, and his Father had sent him to be educated, under the Care and Protection of the Republick. Ambassadors came also from *Thrace* to ask the Friendship

Two Plebeians chosen Consuls together for the first time.

280th Consulship.

* *Vide* p. 366.

Perses *employs Russians to assassinate* Eumenes *King of* Pergamus.

Friendſhip of the *Romans*, and this in the preſent Situation of Affairs was joyfully granted. But the Senate would give no Ear to *Solon* and *Hippias*, two Deputies from *Perſes*, who came to clear their Maſter from the Crimes imputed to him; they were commanded to leave *Rome* immediately. §. 22. As the *Romans* were now entering upon a new War in the Eaſt, they thought it neceſſary to keep things as quiet as poſſible in other Places. They obliged therefore the preſent *Conſul Popillius* to execute the Decree they had paſs'd the laſt Year in favour of the *Ligurians*, and which his Brother and Predeceſſor had paid no Regard to. §. 23. They uſed more Management with the *Carthaginians* likewiſe at this time than uſual. Heavy Complaints came from *Carthage* of *Maſiniſſa*'s Uſurpations upon their Territories. *Guluſſa*, the King of *Numidia*'s Son, happen'd to be then at *Rome*; he was call'd upon to anſwer the Charge againſt his Father. The young Prince was not prepar'd for the Matter, but deſir'd the *Conſcript Fathers* not to be too haſty in giving Judgment till the Merits of the Cauſe were examin'd. The Senate was glad of an Excuſe to ſuſpend their Judgment, and deſir'd him to preſs his Father to ſend Ambaſſadors with his Juſtification; to which they added, That they were very ready to gratify the King of *Numidia* in all other Caſes, but that Favour ſhould never prevail over Juſtice at *Rome*. Then they made Preſents both to the Prince and the *Carthaginians*, and thus got rid of the Affair for the preſent. Year of ROME 581.

The Romans *declare War againſt* Perſes *King of* Macedon.

§. 24. And now the War with *Perſes*, which had hitherto only been reſolved on, was at length declared. *Rome* had ſent Deputies to *Macedon* to demand of the King a Reſtitution of whatever he had uſurped from her Allies, or that he would openly renounce her Friendſhip. The King, at their firſt Audience, had call'd *Rome* a proud and inſatiable Republick, that pretended to rule the World by her imperious Embaſſies; and in the next Audience he gave them this Anſwer in writing. *I have nothing to do with the Treaty* Rome *formerly made with* Philip. *I reviv'd it in the beginning of my Reign, only becauſe the State of my Affairs was ſuch as obliged me to it: If* Rome *would now have Peace, let her enter into a freſh Treaty with me; we will ſettle the Conditions of it according to the Intereſts of the two Nations; and an arbitrary Power ſhall not dictate them.* In ſhort the Deputies were told, after they had had their *Congé*, that *Perſes* declar'd in expreſs Words, *That he renounced the Friendſhip of the* Romans. This Account was attended with another piece of News, which was, That *Gentius* King of *Illyricum* had enter'd into a Treaty with the *Macedonian*; but the Senate receiv'd Advice at the ſame time that the latter had in vain ſollicited both *Ptolomy* and *Antiochus*, and that he had not ſo much as made an Attempt to engage *Eumenes* in his Intereſt. The *Rhodians* were thought a little wavering, but their Ambaſſadors at *Rome* anſwer'd for them. The great Care of *The Fathers* now was to render the Gods propitious, and calm the ſuperſtitious Uneaſineſs of the People. It ſeems the famous *Columna Roſtrata* of *Duilius* was fallen down, and this ſeem'd to forebode ſome great Evil. The The *Aruſpices* were conſulted upon it, and, after a great Pother, theſe Rogues had the Aſſurance to declare, *That the falling down of the Pillar undoubtedly preſaged, that the Republick ſhould extend her Limits, and bring back as many Spoils from* Macedon, *as* Duilius *had formerly done from* Carthage. Then Sacrifices were offer'd, and all was well. §. 25. But theſe religious Cares did not retard the Preparations for War. The *Prætor Sicinnius* ſailed from *Brunduſium* with about ten thouſand Men, for *Apollonia*, and there landed. §. 26. And when the new Elections were over, where *P. Licinius Craſſus* and *C. Caſſius Longinus* were choſen *Conſuls*, the former having obtain'd *Macedon* by Lot, had two *Legions* appointed him of ſix thouſand Foot and three hundred Horſe each. To theſe were added ſixteen thouſand auxiliary Foot and ſix hundred Horſe. Leave was likewiſe given him to ſelect out as many as he pleas'd of the Veterans, who were not yet fifty Years old, and the People even wav'd their Right of chuſing a certain Number of the *Legionary Tribunes*, they left the Choice of them to him. §. 27. But in the Exerciſe of theſe laſt Powers the *Conſul* met with ſome Oppoſition. In appointing his Subalterns he overlook'd many of the old Centurions who had ſpent their Youth in the Service. Twenty three of theſe were ſo offended, that they had recourſe to the *Tribunes of the People*, and the Matter was debated. The *Conſul* declar'd that he had conſider'd nothing but the publick Good in the Choice he had made of his Centurions, and entreated the People that they would not obſtruct the Levies. But then one of the twenty three Appellants deſir'd to be heard and ſpake thus. *My Name is* Liguſtinus, *and I am of the* Cruſtumian Tribe. *All the Inheritance my Father left me was a little Farm, and the Hut in which I was born. The Wife I married brought me no Fortune but an honeſt Birth, an unſpotted Chaſtity, and a fruitful Body. She has brought me eight Children, ſix Boys and two Girls. The latter are provided for; four of my Sons are grown up to Manhood and are fit to ſerve in the Troops: This is the State of my Family. My Services are theſe: I made my two firſt Campaigns in* Macedon, *in the* Conſulſhip *of* Sulpicius *and* Aurelius, *and was then only a private Centinel.*

181 *ſt Conſulſhip.* 582.

A remarkable Speech of a Roman *Centurion.*

Year of ROME 582. *tinel. Two Years after,* Flamininus *made me a Centurion in the tenth Order of the* Haſtati. Philip *was conquered; I returned to* Rome *and was disbanded. Then, that I might not be idle, I followed* Cato *into* Spain; *and that ſevere Judge of Men and Manners made me firſt Captain of the* Haſtati. *After this I ſerv'd as a Voluntier in the Army which went into* Greece *againſt* Antiochus *and the* Ætolians. *There the* Conſul Acilius *made me firſt Centurion of the* Principes. *We ſubdued the King of* Syria *and the* Ætolians *his Allies. After this I ſerved twice more in* Spain; *I returned from thence to* Rome *with* Fulvius Flaccus *to aſſiſt at his Triumph, and then immediately went back at the Deſire of* Sempronius Gracchus *to the ſame Province, where I was made firſt Centurion of the* Triarii. *I have gained above thirty Prizes of Valour, and among the reſt ſix* Civic *Crowns, which all ſpeak in my favour. And to ſay all in a Word, I have ſerved twenty two Years, whereas the Laws require a Citizen to ſerve only twenty, and I am paſt fifty Years old. What Right then has any Man to make me liſt again? Beſides, are not my four Sons able to ſupply my Place in the* Roman *Armies?* This Diſcourſe of *Liguſtinus* ſhew'd the Equity of his Cauſe, and the People were juſt ready to diſmiſs him with Honour, when he proceeded in the following manner. *But after all,* ſaid he, *though no Man can with Reaſon force me into the Service, yet I don't refuſe to dedicate the Remains of my Life to my Country, and I leave it to my Governors to place me in what Station they pleaſe. All my Care ought to be, not to appear unworthy of the Poſt in which they place me. And as for you, dear fellow Soldiers, though you be injured, and your Appeal be juſt, yet follow my Example. Let us continue to ſhew the ſame Deference to our Generals, which we have ever done from our Youth. What does it ſignify after all, in what Rank they place us. To defend* Rome *and maintain her Intereſt by Arms, without ſelfiſh Views, is true* Roman *Virtue.* Theſe Words made an Impreſſion on all the Appellants. The *Conſul* highly commended *Liguſtinus* in the Aſſembly, and immediately carried him to the Senate, where he receiv'd the Thanks of the *Conſcript Fathers.* All Diſcontents ceas'd and the Levies were carried on without further Diſturbances. When all Preparations were made for embarking, new Ambaſſadors came from *Perſes*; they repreſented that it was needleſs to ſend an Army into *Macedon*, ſince the King their Maſter was ready to give the Republick all the Satisfaction ſhe could require. The Senate believing the Deſign of this Embaſſy to be only to gain Time, order'd them back with the following Anſwer, *That a* Conſul *would ſoon be ſent into* Macedon, *and that* Perſes *might treat with him, if he was ſincerely diſpoſed to give the* Romans *Satisfaction.*

The Senate refuſes to treat with Perſes.

BOOK XLIV.

§. 1. THE Affairs of the Republick, when ſhe undertook the ſecond *Macedonian* War, were in a very advantageous Situation. Among all the chief Monarchs in *Aſia* ſhe had not one Enemy. *Eumenes* was a ſure Friend. *Antiochus Epiphanes* needed the Protection of *Rome* to preſerve his Crown and his Uſurpations of *Cœlo-Syria* and *Judea*; nor had *Ptolomy Philometor* any other Barrier than the ſame Protection againſt the further Encroachments of the *Syrian*. The King of *Cappadocia* had committed the Care of his Son's Education to the *Romans*. All theſe Princes were ready to aſſiſt the Republick with Men and Ammunition; and even *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*, though he had married the Siſter of *Perſes*, obſerv'd a perfect Neutrality. In *Africa*, *Maſiniſſa* was a faithful and zealous Ally, nor could *Carthage* refuſe to aſſiſt her Conquerors. On the other hand, no body declared for the *Macedonian* except *Cotys*, King of the *Odryſians* in *Thrace*. *Gentius* King of *Illyricum* had indeed ſettled a Correſpondence with *Perſes*, but he was of too inconſtant a Humour to be depended on; and as for the *Greeks* they were little more than Spectators of the War.

§. 2, 3. About the ſame time that *Sicinnius* arriv'd in *Epirus* to pave the Way for the Expedition of the *Conſul Licinius*, five Commiſſioners, ſent from *Rome* to viſit the Cities of *Greece* and confirm them in their Adherence to the Republick, landed at *Corcyra*. There they receiv'd a Letter from *Perſes*, demanding to know the Reaſon of their coming, and why the *Romans* had put Garriſons into free Cities. To this they return'd by the *Macedonian* Envoy only a verbal Anſwer, *That their Deſign was to ſecure the Places which belonged to their Friends and Allies.* Then the Commiſſioners *Publius* and *Servius Lentulus* went into *Peloponneſus*; *Attilius* and *Marcius* into *Ætolia*, *Theſſaly* and *Bœotia*; and *Decimius* had Orders to go into *Illyricum*, and, if poſſible, engage King *Gentius* in the *Roman* Intereſt. Whilſt *Marcius* was in *Theſſaly*, *Perſes* conceived Hopes of making him his Mediator at *Rome*. There had been a long Friendſhip between the Kings of *Macedon* and the *Marcian* Family; and this very *Marcius* had taken the Surname of *Philip*, out of reſpect to the preſent King's Father. At the Requeſt of *Perſes*, the *Roman* granted him a Conference, and the Place appointed for it was on the Banks of the *Peneus*. But

when the King and the *Roman* Deputies appear'd on the oppoſite Sides of the River, a ſort of Diſpute aroſe about the Ceremonial. The Deputies pretended that the King ought to paſs the River and come to them. *Perſes*, ſaid they, *deſired the Interview, and it is beneath the Dignity of the* Romans *to ſtoop to a King.* On the other hand, *Perſes* inſiſted on his Right as a ſovereign Prince. In order to terminate the Diſpute ſeveral Meſſengers croſſed the River backwards and forwards, till at laſt *Marcius* put an end to the Contention by a Jeſt. *I bear the Name*, ſaid he, *of* Perſes's *Father, I am ſurnam'd* Philip; *is it not regular that the Son ſhould make the firſt Advances towards his Father? Beſides, let him conſider my Age.* The King was glad of any Pretence which might help to ſave his Honour and conſented to paſs the River, but as he deſir'd to come over with his Guards in order to make a Show, the *Romans* oblig'd him firſt to ſend two of his Confidents for Hoſtages. The Conference was held between the King and the two Deputies only. *Marcius* ſpoke firſt, and enumerated to him all the Reaſons which the *Romans* had to ſuſpect his bad Intentions; the Affair of *Eumenes*, and that of *Rammius*; his Invaſion of *Dolopia*, his Sollicitations to the *Greek* Cities, Preparations for War, *&c.* To all theſe *Perſes* gave a particular Anſwer, and denied his having by any Act broken the Treaty with *Rome*, and he thus concluded. *All the Reproaches thrown upon me are wholly founded in Prejudice and Fancy. Interpretations are given to my Deſigns, and my innocent Actions are ſaid to proceed from bad Motives. But of theſe my own Conſcience is the only proper Judge, and to that I can ſafely appeal. Beſides, are ſecret Intentions a Wrong to be reveng'd by open War? What will become of that Equity for which your Republick is ſo famous, if ſhe allows ſiniſter Conſtructions to be a ſufficient Foundation for Ruin and Slaughter.* *Marcius* pretended to be convinced by what the King ſaid, and counſell'd him by all means to ſend an Embaſſy to *Rome*, and endeavour to convince the Senate. But this was only to gain Time, and ſuſpend the Operations of the Campaign. If *Perſes* had immediately enter'd upon Action, he might have ſeiz'd the Paſſes, and made it more difficult for his Enemies to enter his Dominions. The *Roman* therefore only amus'd him with falſe Hopes, and the King fell into the Snare. §. 4, 5, 6. But when the Deputies (having ſucceſsfully perform'd their Commiſſion in *Bœotia*, *Achaia* and other Places) return'd to *Rome* and gave an Account of their Negotiations, the elder Senators thought the Proceedings of *Marcius* and *Attilius*, with regard to *Perſes*, exceedingly Blame-worthy. *You ought not*, ſaid they, *to have put a Cheat upon a King though an Enemy. Are theſe Artifices agreeable to* Roman *Probity? Was it thus that our Anceſtors conquered the Nations? They always declared War before they made it. Nay, they often named the very Places where they would decide the Diſpute by Battel. They gave* Pyrrhus *an Account of the Phyſician who offered to poiſon him. They ſent back to the* Faliſci *the young Nobility whom a Traitor had brought to their Camp. It was by the Sword and not by Tricks that they got the Superiority over their Enemies. Let us leave then all Craft and Diſſimulation to the* Greeks *and* Carthaginians. *An open Frankneſs and true Courage are the only Means by which a* Roman *ſhould conquer.* But the younger Senators were not ſo ſcrupulous; they had learnt other Maxims ſince their Commerce with the Eaſtern Nations; the Conduct of the two Deputies was approved of by the Majority of the Houſe, the *Macedonian* was laugh'd at for his Credulity, and his Ambaſſadors, after they had been barely heard, for Form-ſake, were order'd to leave *Italy* without Delay. Soon after, the *Conſul Licinius* embarked with his Troops at *Brunduſium*, landed at *Apollonia*, and march'd to the *Roman* Camp at *Nympheum*, which Poſt the *Prætor Sicinnius* had ſeized ſome Months before. All the Paſſes into *Theſſaly* and *Macedon* were open; the Hopes of Peace had thrown *Perſes* into a kind of Lethargy. Being now ſufficiently undeceived he began to rouſe himſelf, and call'd a Council of his chief Miniſters and Officers. The former were for making ſervile Submiſſions to the Republick, but the latter declared for War, and carried it. *Perſes* aſſembled his Army at *Citium*. It conſiſted of forty thouſand *Macedonians*, and ſome thouſands of *Gauls*, *Thracians*, *Cretans*, *Bœotians* and *Ætolians*. In ſhort it was the moſt conſiderable Army that had been ſeen in *Macedon* ſince the time of *Alexander the Great*. When the King had harangued his Troops, and quicken'd their Ardour for fighting, by repreſenting the Dangers that threaten'd their Liberty from the imperious Republick, he march'd them into *Theſſaly*; and having taken ſome Towns in his Way, he at length enter'd the charming *Vale of Tempe*, and fix'd his Poſt at *Sycurium* near the Foot of Mount *Oſſa*; and here he waited for the Enemy. §. 9. In the mean time the *Conſul Licinius*, having left *Nympheum*, advanced towards *Theſſaly*, and the whole Army were ſurprized to find the Roads ſo rough and difficult, and yet no Enemies to oppoſe their March: they were ſenſible that if *Perſes* had taken care to guard the narrow Paſſes, eſpecially that of *Pindus*, they muſt unavoidably have periſhed, being moſt of them freſh Soldiers, and not inured to Fatigue. They came at length to the Banks of the *Peneus*, and there waited for the auxiliary Troops of King

Year of *ROME* 582.

The Romans *give* Perſes *falſe Hopes of Peace to gain time.*

Year of ROME 582. *Eumenes*, who with his two Brothers *Attalus* and *Athenæus* were already landed at *Chalcis* with five thouſand Men. As for the *Prætor Lucretius* who commanded the *Roman* Fleet, he ſailed for *Chalcis*, and there landed his Men to the Number of ten thouſand, there being no Occaſion for Sea-Forces, becauſe *Perſes* had no Fleet at Sea. §. 10. The King of *Macedon* being much ſuperior to the *Conſul* in Cavalry, drew nearer to the *Roman* Camp, and endeavour'd to bring him to a general Battel; but *Licinius* was waiting for his Reinforcements and would not ſtir. However, the *Macedonians* inſulted him ſo far, that he was at length obliged to ſend out his light-armed Troops to oppoſe thoſe of the Enemy; and then a ſmart Action enſued, in which *Perſes* had all the Advantage. The *Romans* loſt above two thouſand Men, and the *Macedonians* not above twenty Horſemen and forty Foot. Had the King brought his *Phalanx* to engage, it is probable he would have gained a complete Victory; but *Evander* the *Cretan* (one of thoſe Men whom he had employed to aſſaſſinate King *Eumenes)* diſſuaded him from it. *Be content*, ſaid he, *with the Succeſs you have had. It were Raſhneſs to hazard all in one ſingle Action. The Victory you have gain'd, will enable you to obtain an advantageous Peace of the* Romans, *or at leaſt will draw off many of their Allies from them.* The King was wavering between Hope and Fear, and this Advice determined him. §. 11. As for the *Romans* they were full of Shame and Conſternation; and fearing to be beſieg'd in their Camp the next Day, left it in the dead of Night, croſs'd the River *Peneus* and entrench'd themſelves on the other ſide of it. As ſoon as *Perſes* diſcovered the Retreat of the Enemy he was then ſenſible of the Fault he had committed, but it was now too late. However, he encouraged his Men by extolling their Victory to them, and paſs'd the River after the *Romans*; the latter removed to a ſtronger and more inacceſſible Place, keeping ſtill on the Banks of the *Peneus*; here they received a Reinforcement of a thouſand Foot, a thouſand Horſe, and twenty two Elephants under the Command of *Miſagenes* the Baſtard Son of *Maſiniſſa*. And now a little time having abated the Boldneſs of the *Macedonian*, he ſent, by the Advice of his wiſeſt Counſellors, a new Embaſſy to the *Conſul*. *Licinius* aſſembled a great Number of his Officers to hear what the Deputies had to propoſe. *We are come*, ſaid the latter, *to deſire a Peace.* Perſes *offers to maintain inviolably the Treaty you made with the King his Father, and which he himſelf renewed. He will pay you the ſame Tribute that* Philip *did; and reſtore your Allies all the places which his Predeceſſor yielded to them.* This Propoſal deſerved Conſideration and it was diſcuſſed in the Council of War; but in the end the *Roman* Pride prevail'd, and the *Conſul* return'd the following Anſwer to the Deputies. *There is no Peace for* Perſes, *till he ſurrenders up himſelf and his Dominions to the* Romans, *at Diſcretion.* Upon the Return and Report of the Deputies, the King's Courtiers adviſed him to drop all Thoughts of Peace, and to think only of humbling *Rome*; but *Perſes* was of a different Opinion; he concluded from the Pride of the *Romans* that they knew themſelves to be ſuperior, and he made freſh Application to *Licinius*, offering a more conſiderable Tribute than *Philip* had paid. The *Conſul* would abate nothing of his firſt Pretenſions, which when the King found, he return'd to his Camp at *Sycurium* and prepared to renew Hoſtilities. §. 12. In the mean time the *Prætor Lucretius* was beſieging *Haliartus* in *Bœotia*; and at length he took it by Aſſault, and raz'd it. Then he march'd to *Thebes*, which open'd her Gates to him, and having ſettled the Government of that City in the Hands of Perſons well affected to *Rome*, he return'd on board his Fleet. §. 13. *Perſes* having once more attempted in vain to bring the *Romans* to a general Battel, ſet out in Perſon with two thouſand Foot and a thouſand Horſe to fall upon ſome ſmall Parties of the Enemy who were buſy in reaping, and he took ſix hundred Priſoners and a thouſand Carts ready loaded. And not content with this Succeſs he attack'd a Body of eight hundred *Romans* which had been detach'd to cover the Reapers. It was not far from the *Roman* Camp, ſo that the *Conſul* had timely Notice of the Danger of his Detachment, and haſten'd with the beſt part of his Army to relieve it. *Perſes* ſent Orders for his *Phalanx* to advance and join him, and in the mean time had the Courage to face the *Roman Legions*. But now he was overpowered by Numbers and loſt the beſt part of his Life-Guard who were thought invincible. He had not conſidered that the great Number of loaded Carts, which he had ſent away to his Camp, would ſtop up the Way and hinder the regular Advance of his *Phalanx* to aſſiſt him. His Diſappointment and Defeat in this Action ſo diſhearten'd him that he retired into *Macedon* to ſpend the Winter there. §. 14. As for the *Conſul Licinius*, after ſome inconſiderable Expeditions in *Theſſaly*, he took up his Winter-Quarters in *Bœotia*. §. 15. His Collegue *Caſſius*, whoſe Lot had confined him to *Italy*, where there was little to do, had, through a Spirit of Emulation, attempted to make his Way into *Macedon* through *Illyricum*; but he was recalled by the Senate and ſeverely reprimanded for engaging in ſuch an Enterpriſe without Orders. And now the *Conſcript Fathers* were employed in hearing the Complaints and redreſſing the

Perſes *gains a Victory over the* Conſul Licinius.

But he cannot obtain a Peace.

the Grievances of the *Spaniards* who had ſuffered great Oppreſſion and Exactions from the *Roman Prætors* and Generals. Some of the guilty, to avoid making Reſtitution, baniſhed themſelves from *Rome*, which was thought by the *Romans* the greateſt of all Puniſhments. A dangerous Maxim, for which *Juvenal* has ſeverely reproach'd his Nation! A Villain often enjoyed the Fruits of his Rapines in an agreeable Baniſhment, whilſt the Province he had pillaged had no other Satisfaction but that of ſeeing him removed from *Rome*. However, ſeveral Laws and Regulations were made for the Eaſe and Relief of the *Spaniards*. §. 16. And the Republick took Meaſures likewiſe at this time to avoid exaſperating *Carthage*, which was become exceeding rich and populous ſince the Peace. Though the *Romans* were inclined to favour *Maſiniſſa*, they would not decree any thing in Prejudice of the Rights of the *Carthaginians*, who complain'd of his Uſurpations. They appointed Deputies to go into *Africk* and determine their Diſputes upon the Spot. Year of *ROME* 582.

282d Conſulſhip. §. 17. When the grand Elections came on, *A. Hoſtilius Mancinus* and *A. Attilius Seranus* were choſen *Conſuls*, and *Macedon* fell by Lot to the former. *Perſes* had ſpent the Winter in diſciplining his Troops, and in Preparations to maintain the Reputation he had acquired the laſt Campaign. But now, before he march'd againſt *Licinius* (who at preſent acted as *Pro-Conſul* in *Theſſaly*) he haſten'd to the Relief of *Cotys* King of the *Odryſians*, his faithful Ally, whoſe Dominions were invaded by a petty King of *Thrace*, an Enemy whom *Eumenes* had ſtirred up to cauſe a ſeaſonable Diverſion on that Side. *Perſes* routed the united *Pergamenians* and *Thracians*, and then enter'd *Dardania* which was in Alliance with *Rome*, ſurprized and defeated an Army of ten thouſand Men, ravaged the Country, and then returned to *Macedon*. §. 18. In the mean time the *Pro-Conſul Licinius* and the *Pro-Prætor Lucretius* Admiral of the *Roman* Fleet were guilty of unheard of Oppreſſions. A Spirit of inſatiable Avarice ſeems to have ſeized the *Roman* Commanders in all Places at this time. *Caſſius* the late *Conſul* was accuſed at *Rome* by the Eaſtern *Gauls* of the like Injuſtices in his Return from his raſh Expedition beforemention'd. 583.

§. 19, 20, 21. At length the *Conſul Hoſtilius* arrived in *Theſſaly*, and took upon him the Command of the Army. He detach'd *Appius Claudius* with four thouſand Men to defend the Allies of *Rome* againſt the Enterprizes of the *Illyricans*; for *Gentius* their King was now enter'd into a Treaty with *Perſes*, and had exchanged Hoſtages with him. *Claudius* having ſtrengthen'd his Detachment with new Levies among the Allies, to the Number of eight thouſand, enter'd that part of *Macedon* which border'd on *Illyricum*. And here his Greedineſs of Booty made him fall into a Snare which the *Cretan* Garriſon of *Uſcana* (a Town which was deemed one of the Keys into *Macedon*) laid for him. They ſent him an Offer to deliver up the Place. The *Roman* was ſo blinded with Avarice that he neglected the Precaution of taking Hoſtages, and advanc'd to the Gates of the Town without obſerving any Order in his March. Then the Garriſon and Inhabitants ſallied out on a ſudden, and attack'd him ſo briskly that not above two thouſand of his whole Army eſcaped. Nor had the *Conſul* himſelf any Succeſs in two Attempts which he made to enter *Macedon*. He tried in vain to force the Paſs of *Elymea*; *Perſes* put his Troops to flight. After this he would have made his Way into *Macedon* through *Theſſaly*; but the King oppoſed him and offer'd him Battel; and whether out of Cowardice, or from an exceſs of Precaution the *Conſul* would not accept the Challenge, ſo that his Campaign was chiefly ſpent in vain Projects and cowardly Diſtruſts; his Exploits amounted to no more than the re-eſtabliſhing Diſcipline a little among his Troops. As for *Hortenſius*, the preſent Admiral of the Fleet, he performed nothing but againſt the Allies of the Republick, whom he diſtreſs'd by cruel Oppreſſions. *Perſes* took Advantage of this Miſconduct of his Enemies to recover his Credit and ſtrengthen his Intereſt in *Greece*. Even *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* began to waver in their Fidelity to the *Romans*. The Account of theſe Kings gave the Senate and People of *Rome* great Uneaſineſs. They diſpatch'd two Deputies into *Greece* to inform themſelves fully of the State of Affairs, and to recall *Hoſtillius* to *Rome* under Pretence of his preſiding at the Elections.

The Conſul Hoſtilius *attempts in vain to enter* Macedon.

§. 22, 23, 24. And whilſt the *Conſul* was preparing for his return Home, the Senate gave Audience to the Envoys from *Athens*, *Lampſacus*, *Carthage*, *Numidia*, *Crete*, *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, and *Spain*. The Deputies from the firſt and the two laſt came to complain of Oppreſſion from the *Roman* Generals and Governors; thoſe from the reſt to offer their Services, and court the Friendſhip of the Republick. §. 25. When the Elections were over, where *Q. Marcius Philippus*, and *Cn. Servilius Cæpio* were choſen *Conſuls* the next Year, *Hoſtilius* was ſent back into *Macedon*; but he gained no more Advantage over *Perſes* during the reſt of his diſhonourable Campaign than he had done in the beginning of it. However, by the good Order he preſerved in his Camp he paved the Way for the Glory of his Succeſſors. And as the moſt conſiderable Nations of the Eaſt did not doubt of ſeeing *Rome* victorious over *Macedon* at laſt, their Attachment to the *Romans* was not leſſened by one

Year of *ROME* 583. or two Years Inaction. We have one Proof of this in the almoſt blind Obedience which *Antiochus Epiphanes* King of *Syria* paid to the Commands of the imperious Republick. §. 26. His two Nephews, *Ptolomy Philometor*, and *Phyſcon* ſuſpended their mutual Animoſities, and jointly ſent an Embaſſy to the *Roman* Senate to implore its Protection againſt their Uncle, who was renewing his Attempts to become Maſter of *Egypt*. Both Compaſſion and Policy inclined *The Conſcript Fathers* to favour the Suppliants, and they commiſſioned *C. Popillius Lænas*, with two others, to carry their Decree to *Antiochus*. The *Roman* Ambaſſadors found the *Syrian* at *Eleuſina*, a Village four Miles diſtant from *Alexandria*, and *Popillius* there accoſted him with an Air of Gravity proper to gain Reſpect. The *Roman* had long known *Antiochus*, and had been his moſt intimate Friend during his Reſidence at *Rome*; and the King therefore when he drew near offered him his Hand, which from Kings was an uncommon Mark of Familiarity and Diſtinction. But *Popillius* ſeemed to diſdain this kind Reception, and haughtily told *Antiochus*, that he would not join Hands with him, till he had firſt read to him the Decree of the Senate; *I ſhall judge*, ſaid he, *by your Submiſſion, or Diſobedience, whether you are to be treated as a Friend or an Enemy. If you obey, I ſhall receive all Marks of your Friendſhip with Joy.* Then he read the Decree, which ran thus. *Let* Antiochus *lead back his Army into* Syria, *and ceaſe to make War againſt* Ptolomy. The King's Pride was ſhock'd both with the Command and the Manner of delivering it; nevertheleſs he made only this moderate Anſwer, *Give me time to conſider of it, and to confer with my Council about it.* But the proud *Roman* did not think the King ready enough in his Obedience. With a Vine Twig which he held in his Hand he made a Circle round *Antiochus* in the Sand, and ſaid, in a ſeeming Paſſion, *You ſhall not go out of this Circle, till you have either accepted or refuſed the Propoſal I have made you. I expect that you pay me the Reverence that is due to the Authority of the* Roman *Senate and People.* Theſe Words filled the *Syrian* with Terror; but he recovered his Spirits; and after he had heſitated a Moment gave this Anſwer, which would have better become a Slave than a great King: *Then I muſt ſatisfy you*, Popillius; *I will do what your Republick expects from me.* Upon this all the three Ambaſſadors immediately offered him their Hands at once, and *Popillius* gloried in his Negotiation, as if he had gained a Victory. As for *Antiochus*, who was quite confounded and humbled, he left *Egypt*, and in his return home, vented his Rage on the unfortunate City of *Jeruſalem.* He pillaged it, fill'd the Streets with dead Bodies, and the Temple with Profanations. A memorable Event, which the Prophet *Daniel* had foretold. *Popillius* and his Collegues ſtaid in *Egypt* after the Departure of the *Syrian* to terminate the Diſputes between the two Brothers; but the Affair was too intricate, *Cleopatra* fomented the Diviſion between her Sons, ſo that all that the Ambaſſadors could obtain of them was to leave their Differences to the Arbitration of the Senate.

The King of Syria *haughtily treated by a* Roman *Ambaſſador.*

Antiochus Epiphanes *profanes the Temple of* Jeruſalem.

584. §. 27. But whilſt the *Romans* were thus ſettling Peace in *Egypt*, they neglected nothing that was neceſſary for carrying on the War with more Vigour in *Macedon*, than they had done the laſt Year. It was ordered that the Veterans in the *Conſular* Army there ſhould not be disbanded, and that ſix thouſand two hundred Recruits ſhould be ſent to them. Four extraordinary *Legions* were likewiſe appointed to be raiſed in the City, and ſixteen thouſand Foot and a thouſand Horſe among the Allies; which extraordinary Forces were to hold themſelves in a readineſs to march wherever they ſhould be moſt wanted. The Dread with which *Perſes* had filled the Republick by the Succeſs of his Arms and the Alliances he had made with the *Baſtarnæ* and *Scordiſci* to the North-Eaſt of *Italy*, was what occaſioned ſuch great Preparations; the publick Fears were alſo increas'd, by a thouſand pretended Prodigies.

283d Conſulſhip.

§. 28. And now when the Levies came to be raiſed, the *Conſuls Marcius Philippus* and *Servillius* found the *Roman* Youth, thro' ſome unaccountable Humour, very obſtinate in refuſing to inliſt themſelves for the Service, inſomuch that they were obliged to make a Complaint of it to the Senate. But this Complaint turned to the Diſhonour of the *Conſuls*. Two of the *Prætors* lately choſen, *C. Sulpicius*, and *M. Claudius* roſe up and ſpoke to this Effect: *If the* Conſuls *find the Youth ſo backward to obey their Orders, they may thank themſelves. Their Ambition carries them to court the People; and for fear of incurring the Diſpleaſure of the Multitude, they dare not threaten the Refractory. A ſtrange Weakneſs! Let us* Prætors *be charged with the Care of the Levies, and the Senate ſhall ſee what even inferior Magiſtrates can do by exerting their Authority.* Prætors *will do the Buſineſs more effectually than* Conſuls. This Motion was applauded, and, to the Confuſion of the chief Magiſtrates, the Senate transferred the Commiſſion for making Levies from them to *Sulpicius* and *Claudius*, who, in order to perform their Promiſes, haſtened the Election of the *Cenſors*; the Choice fell upon *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* and *C. Claudius Pulcher*, two Men of great Probity, Courage and Unanimity. In the firſt Comitia which they convened, they got two Laws enacted by the People, for regulating the Enrolments. The firſt required all who were under forty

ſix to appear in order to be incorporated in the *Legions*, and that all thoſe whom Fortune ſhould ſpare, ſhould nevertheleſs continue, ſo long as they were under that Age, to preſent themſelves to the *Conſuls* every time that there ſhould be Occaſion for Recruits. The ſecond required, That all thoſe who were come from *Macedon* within three Years laſt paſt ſhould return to their Duty; that all young Men, under the Power of their Fathers or Grandfathers, ſhould give in their Names; and laſtly, That Enquiry ſhould be made into the Exemptions granted to thoſe who were of an Age to ſerve. The Publication of theſe Laws had ſo good an Effect on the Country *Tribes* and *Colonies*, that there was immediately a vaſt Concourſe of young Men at *Rome*, fit to bear Arms. The City was over-crowded with them. In the Space of eleven Days, Soldiers enough were raiſed to recruit the Armies in *Spain* and *Macedon*, and to form the four *Legions* which were to be ready to march any where upon the firſt Orders. And now *Macedon* having fallen by Lot to the *Conſul Q. Marcius*, he prepared to embark at *Brunduſium*. Year of *ROME* 584.

§. 29, 30. The preſent *Cenſors* drew upon themſelves the Reſentment of the *Roman Knights*. The Farmers-General of the Taxes had been uſually of this Body, but now theſe Employments were ſold to the beſt Bidder; and the *Cenſors* at the ſame time made a Law, forbidding all thoſe, who during the laſt *Cenſorſhip* had been employed in raiſing the publick Money to be concerned with it again, either as Partners with the new Farmers or otherwiſe. This caſt a Blemiſh on many of the *Roman Knights*, and they ſtirred up one *Rutilius* a *Tribune of Commons* to accuſe the *Cenſors* before the People, for having paid no Regard to a Proteſt he had enter'd againſt one of their Decrees, in relation to a Client of his. The People were diſpoſed to condemn *Claudius*, and to acquit *Gracchus*; which the latter perceiving, the *Patrician Cenſor* declared, *That if there had been any Fault it was equal on both Sides, and that he would go into Baniſhment with* Claudius, *or* Claudius *ſhould be acquitted with him.* And this Act of Generoſity engaged not only the People but *Rutilius* too to ſpare both. However, the *Cenſors* treated *Rutilius* afterwards very cruelly, they degraded him from the Rank of Knight, and deprived him of the Right of Suffrage. In all other Caſes they behaved themſelves worthily and with Temper. §. 31. At this time alſo a Law was paſſed at the Motion of *Voconius*, a *Tribune of the People*, to remedy ſome Abuſes in relation to Wills. Nothing was more common, than for Men to leave exceſſive Legacies to Women, ſometimes the whole Eſtate of a wealthy Family; and this out of Love or Caprice; ſo that Wives becoming oftentimes richer than their Huſbands, behaved themſelves in a manner not to be born. The Words of the new Law made to rectify this Diſorder have not been tranſmitted to us, but the chief Articles of it ſeem to have been theſe. 1. No Citizen who had Eſtate enough to be ranked in any of the Claſſes of the *Roman Cenſus*, could make any Woman whatſoever univerſal Legatee, an only Daughter not excepted: So that no Woman could be Heireſs to her Father. 2. A Daughter's Portion was to be only one fourth Part of her Father's Eſtate. 3. The Legacies of a Teſtator were not to exceed one half of his Eſtate. §. 32. The People of *Rome* were this Year entertain'd, for the firſt time, with the fighting of armed Men againſt wild Beaſts. Sixty three Lions, forty Bears and a great Number of Elephants were let looſe in the *Circus*. About this time died *Ennius* the Poet, who celebrated the Wars of *Scipio* in a very fine heroic Poem.

The Voconian *Law.*

Perſes *makes ſome Winter Expeditions.*

§. 33, 34, 35. The *Roman* Armies in *Greece* continued unactive during the Winter Seaſon; but *Perſes* did not allow himſelf a Moment's Reſt. There was ſomething heroic in his Character and his Enterprizes. Notwithſtanding the ſevere Froſts, he marched with a Detachment of ten thouſand *Phalangites* to the Frontiers of *Illyricum*, and there beſieged and took *Uſcana*, which by ſome Accident was fallen into the Hands of the *Romans*. *Daudracum* and *Oeneum* alſo ſurrender'd to him. The *Macedonian*'s View in this Expedition was to ſhut up the Avenues of his Kingdom on its weakeſt Side, and to engage the petty Kings of *Illyricum* to join him. However, he failed in this laſt Attempt through the Avaritiouſneſs of his Temper. *Gentius* offered to aſſiſt him with Ships and Men, on Condition of his remitting him the Money which he wanted for that Purpoſe; but *Perſes* could not prevail with himſelf to diſburſe even ſmall Sums. Avarice was his predominant Paſſion. Had he known how to have expended ſome part of the Treaſures his Father had heaped up, there was not a King in *Epirus*, *Thrace* or *Illyricum*, or a Republick or free City in *European* or *Aſiatick Greece*, which would not have joined him. A prophane Author is therefore of Opinion that Heaven judicially blinded him, that he might not ſee his true Intereſt, but through Covetouſneſs fail of that Succeſs which he would have abuſed. §. 36. He ſpent the reſt of the Winter in a laborious Expedition into *Ætolia*, which he hoped either to conquer or gain over to his Party, but the Succeſs was not proportionable to the Fatigues and Difficulties of the Undertaking, and he returned to *Macedon*. §. 37, 38. However, nothing was now talked of among the *Greeks* but the Exploits of the *Macedonian*,

Year of ROME 584. *donian*, his bold Marches over Ice and through impracticable Countries. They thought *Macedon* inacceſſible, and admired the Conduct of a General, who, without hazarding an Inch of his own Dominions, carried the War wholly among the Allies of his Enemies. In a Word, the *Romans* were daily loſing Ground in the Eſteem and Affections of the *Greeks*; and what contributed more to this than even the Conqueſts of *Perſes*, was the Tyranny which the Commanders of the *Roman* Fleets and Armies exerciſed over the moſt faithful Allies of the Republick. *The Conſcript Fathers* became ſenſible of it, and therefore ſent two Commiſſioners into *Greece* to publiſh a Proclamation, prohibiting their Generals to exact any thing of the Nations, in Confederacy with *Rome*, without an expreſs Order from the Senate; and forbidding the Allies to ſubmit to any Exactions or even Demands of the *Conſuls*, *Prætors*, Lieutenant Generals, or *Roman Tribunes*, without ſuch an Order. When the Commiſſioners came to execute their Inſtructions, they perceived by the Reception they met with that *Rome* had loſt much of that ſovereign Authority ſhe us'd to exerciſe in the *Levant* before the time of *Perſes*, and that there was no Way to recover it but by humbling the *Macedonian*. To this end the *Conſul Marcius* who was now arrived in *Theſſaly*, reſolved, in ſpite of all Difficulties, to force a Paſſage into *Macedon*; and, what is very ſurprizing, *Perſes* never once appeared to oppoſe his March. The Roads were ſo bad, the Paſſes ſo narrow, the Mountains ſo ſteep and difficult, that by *Marcius*'s own Confeſſion afterwards, the *Macedonian* might have deſtroyed the whole *Conſular* Army with a Handful of Men. But the King, who had ſhewed ſo much Vigour and Spirit the laſt Year, ſeemed now to be infatuated, and to have loſt all his Courage. §. 40, 41, When he receiv'd the News that the Enemy had entered *Macedon*, and were advantageouſly encamped near *Heraclea*, it threw him into the deepeſt Dejection. *Then*, ſaid he, *I am conquered without having fought*; and how much his Mind was diſturbed is evident by the Orders he gave to two of his Officers, *Nicias* and *Andronicus*. He commanded the former to haſten to *Pella*, take all the Gold and Silver he ſhould there find in his Coffers, and throw it into the Sea; the latter he directed to go to *Theſſalonica* and burn all the *Macedonian* Ships in that Port. As for the King himſelf, in a ſudden Fit of Deſpair, he put on board his Fleet ſome Statues of a precious Metal which he had at *Dium*, abandoned that important Place and fled to *Pydna*. Thus did *Perſes* leave open the Avenues of his Kingdom (which he might eaſily have made impenetrable) and by his imprudent Steps give an Air of Prudence to the Raſhneſs of the *Conſul. Marcius*, with all the Confidence that the Dejection of the King gave him, march'd directly to *Dium*, found the Gates open and took Poſſeſſion of it. From thence he penetrated as far as to the *Aſcordus*; but to his great Misfortune the farther he went from *Theſſaly*, the leſs Subſiſtence he found for his Troops, and he was in Danger of loſing his Army by Famine. Before his March from the Neighbourhood of *Heraclea*, he had detach'd *Lucretius* a Lieutenant General with a Body of Men to ſeize the Paſſes into *The Vale of Tempe*, in order to ſecure a Retreat; and now when he was in the height of his Diſtreſs a Courier arrived with an Account that *Lucretius* had executed his Inſtructions, and had found great Quantities of Proviſions in all the Places through which he had paſſed. Upon this News the *Conſul* loſt no time in deliberating, but though he knew his Reputation muſt ſuffer by a Retreat, he immediately quitted his new Conqueſts and returned towards the Frontiers of *Theſſaly*. §. 42. However, he did not actually leave the Territories of *Macedon*, nor lay aſide the Deſign of continuing the War there. On the contrary he beſieged and took *Heraclea*, and encamped near it; then he turned his Thoughts wholly to make the Roads good from *Theſſaly* to *Macedon*, in order to facilitate the Conveyance of Proviſions from one Country to the other, and he ſpared no Pains to complete this great Work. He erected Magazines for Corn all along the Road and fortified them, and built Houſes for the convenient lodging of thoſe who guarded the Convoys. A Work ſufficient of itſelf to have gained him immortal Honour; for he thereby opened for his Succeſſors an eaſy Entrance into a Kingdom which had hitherto been deemed inacceſſible, and in effect ſecured to them the Conqueſt of it. As for *Perſes*, as ſoon as the Enemy had abandoned *Dium* he returned thither, and repaired the Fortifications; and from thence he went and encamped on the Banks of the *Enipeus*, where he reſolved to continue the reſt of the Campaign. And now when he ſaw the *Romans* remain unactive in their Camp at *Heraclea*, he began to recover his Spirits, and repented of the Orders he had given to *Nicias* and *Andronicus*. The latter indeed had not executed a Command which he knew was dictated by a ſudden Fright; the Ships at *Theſſalonica* were not deſtroyed; but *Nicias* had been very ready and exact in his Obedience, and had thrown into the Sea the immenſe Treaſures which *Philip* and his Son had been ſo long heaping up. However, by the Help of Divers, *Perſes* recovered his Gold and Silver; and then he was ſo much aſhamed of the Fear he had diſcover'd, that he caus'd *Nicias*, *Andronicus*, the Divers, and in a Word, all the Witneſſes of his Cowardice to be murder'd.

The Romans *enter* Macedon.

The Deſpondency and Miſconduct of Perſes.

murder'd. §. 43, 44. In the mean time the *Roman* Fleet under the Command of *Marcius Figulus* being join'd by that of *Eumenes* inveſted *Caſſandrea*, a maritime City of *Macedon*, and then made Attempts on *Iolcos*, *Meliboea*, and *Demetrias* in *Theſſaly*; but all theſe Enterpriſes proved unſucceſsful. And thus ended the Campaign, which but little weakened *Perſes*, and brought no great Glory to the *Romans*. *Eumenes* had been for ſome time very cool in his Attachment to *Rome*. He is ſaid to have been diſcontented with the Conduct of the *Roman* General, and to have receiv'd ſome Affront from him; but whatever were the Cauſe, it is certain, that from this time he ceas'd to be a Friend to the Republick. At the ſame time *Achaia* was earneſt to ſtrengthen her Alliance with the *Romans*, and ſent *Polybius* (the Hiſtorian) at the Head of a Deputation to the *Conſul Marcius*, offering him the Aſſiſtance of all her Forces. §. 45. And now *Perſes*, notwithſtanding that he had ſuffer'd but little in his Affairs for theſe three Years paſt, thought it ſafeſt for him to ſue for a Peace, and he engaged *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*, and the *Rhodians* to be his Mediators. The former employed Entreaties, and the latter Menaces, but neither the one nor the other prevail'd. As for the *Rhodians* the Senate threatened to chaſtiſe them for their Inſolence as ſoon as the Conqueſt of *Macedon* ſhould be finiſhed. Year of ROME 584.

BOOK XLV.

§. 1. ROME was very uneaſy at the ſlow Progreſs her Generals made in the Conqueſt of *Macedon*. *Licinius*, *Hoſtilius* and *Marcius*, who had ſucceſſively commanded there, were every one of them, both in the publick Aſſemblies, and in private Converſation, tax'd with want of Bravery, or want of Activity. The Politicians and Speculators in the City did not fail to determine, as is uſual in ſuch Caſes, the Times and Places where Battels ought to have been fought, and where Victories would undoubtedly have been gained. And the Impatience of the People to put a happy End to this War, was ſuch, that they reſolved to have no Regard to any thing but Merit and Ability in the Choice of new *Conſuls*. They applied themſelves wholly to find out a Man who ſhould be capable of recovering the Glory of the Republick, and at length caſt their Eyes on *Paulus Æmilius* *, a *Patrician* of conſummate Virtue, Bravery and Prudence, who had been *Conſul* thirteen Years before, but had ever ſince that time been neglected. He was now near ſixty Years of Age, and entirely taken up with the Education of his Children in private Life, and it was not without great Difficulty and much Sollicitation that the People prevailed on him to accept of the *Faſces*. He was the Son of that *Conſul Æmilius* who periſhed at the Battel of *Cannæ*, through the Fault of an unworthy Collegue, and he was Father of the famous *Scipio Æmilianus*, who acquired the honourable Appellation of *The Second Africanus*. (This latter was called *Scipio* from his Adoption into the *Cornelian* Family by the weak Son of the Great *Scipio*.) §. 3. The Perſon rais'd to the *Conſulate* with *Æmilius* was one *Licinius Craſſus*, a Man of Probity, who made it Matter of Duty to yield the Conduct of the War in *Macedon* to his Collegue without drawing Lots. *Æmilius* in his Harangue to the People, after his Election, put them in mind, that he had not courted the Dignity which they conferred on him, but that they had forced him to accept of it; he told them, that as he ſuppoſed it was their Eſteem of him that had engaged them to place ſo much Confidence in him, he hoped they would not defame him in his Abſence, as they had done their former Generals, without having a ſufficient Inſight into the State of Things, to juſtify their Cenſures; and he promiſed, that if they did not diſcourage him by their Murmurings, or by controlling his Liberty of Acting, he would do his utmoſt not to fruſtrate their Expectations. §. 4. Both People and Senate were well pleaſed with this frank Declaration. And now the firſt Step *Æmilius* took, in order to ſucceed in his Expedition, was to ſend three experienced Officers into *Macedon*, to examine upon the Spot, and bring him a full Account of the Condition of the Army and the State of Affairs with reſpect to the Allies: Then he obtained a Decree of the Senate, empowering him to name the Officers that were to command the new Levies for his Army. Theſe Recruits conſiſted of ſeven thouſand Foot and two hundred Horſe all choſen out of the Citizens of *Rome*, and of ſeven thouſand Foot and four hundred Horſe raiſed in *Latium*, beſides ſix hundred *Gallick* Horſe. *Anicius* was appointed to ſucceed *Claudius* in *Illyricum*, and the two *Legions* which were to act there were ſtrengthened by ten thouſand auxiliary Foot and eight hundred Horſe. The Command of the Fleet was given to *Octavius*, and five thouſand Mariners raiſed for that Service. And when theſe Regulations were made, the reſt of the Winter was ſpent in Works of Religion and publick Shows.

* *See the Character of* Paulus Æmilius, *p.* 436.

284*th Conſulſhip.* 585.

§. 5. *Æmilius*

Year of ROME 585.

§. 5. *Æmilius* waited impatiently for the Return of the five Commissioners. They arrived at length and made the following Report. *Marcius has forced his Way into* Macedon, *but with more Danger than Profit. He is entered into* Pieria, *a Province faithful to her King. The* Macedonian *is encamped on the Banks of the* Enipeus *with a numerous Army, and hinders our Troops from entering farther into his Country; and we dare not attack him in his Lines. The Winter is very severe, our Provisions are so far consumed, that* Marcius *has not Corn for more than eight Days. As for* Claudius *who is encamped near* Lychnis *in* Illyricum, *he might make a powerful Diversion; but his Army is so weak that it must soon perish, if a Reinforcement be not sent to it: And the* Roman *Fleet is in as bad a Condition. The greatest part of the Crews have been carried off by Sickness, and the Remainder are so much oppressed by Want, that the Sailors are continually deserting. Our old Allies are all wavering.* Eumenes *left our Fleet soon after he had joined it; but the Fidelity of his Brother* Attalus *is immoveable. We cannot depend upon the* Rhodians, *and we seem to have entirely lost the King of* Illyricum. §. 6. *Paulus Æmilius* took his Measures like an able General by these Informations; and in the mean time *Perses* was ruining himself by the Follies into which his Avarice led him. He had engaged a Body of twenty thousand of those *Gauls*, who had formerly settled on the Banks of the *Boristhenes*, and were called *Bastarnæ*, to come to his Assistance under the Command of one of their petty Sovereigns, named *Clondicus*. They were advanced as far as to the Frontiers of *Macedon*, but would come no further unless the King would send them the Money he had promised them; and *Perses*, rather than part with his Money, suffered them to go back again in a Rage, destroying every thing with Fire and Sword in their Return. §. 7. He deceived likewise *Gentius* King of *Illyricum* by a Promise of three hundred Talents, on Condition of his declaring openly against *Rome*. *Gentius* began his Acts of Hostility by throwing into a Dungeon two Ambassadors from *Rome*, under Pretence of their being Spies. This was such a notorious Violation of the Law of Nations as rendered his Reconciliation with the Republick impracticable, and *Perses* took Advantage of it to gratify his Avarice and keep his Money. §. 8. But the Cheat which he endeavoured to put upon *Eumenes* did not succeed so well. The latter for fifteen hundred Talents engaged to stand neuter, but insisted upon having the Money lodged in such Hands as that he should be sure of it when he had performed his part of the Covenant. *Perses* would deposite it no where but in the Island of *Samothrace* which belonged to himself; so that the only Effect of this Negotiation was to increase the Suspicions which the *Romans* had of the King of *Pergamus*. §. 9. However the *Macedonian*, partly by the Terror of his Fleet, and partly by Persuasion, brought the *Rhodians* to promise a Neutrality.

Perses *ruins his Affairs by his Avarice.*

§. 10, 11. Very early in the Spring the three Commanders, *Æmilius*, *Anicius* and *Octavius* appointed to carry on the War in the *Levant*, entered upon Action. The *Prætor Anicius* finished his Expedition and subdued all *Illyricum* in thirty Days. Having first defeated the *Illyrican* Fleet, he marched his Land Forces to *Scodra*, the chief City of the Kingdom, whither *Gentius* had retired with an Army of fourteen thousand Men. And though the Place was strong and provided with such a numerous Garrison, *Gentius* was so terrified that he made little Resistance. He desired an Interview with the *Prætor* in the *Roman* Camp, and obtained it as a Favour. He came to his Audience in Tears, *Mad that I was*, said he, *to prefer the Alliance of a weak deceitful Prince, to that of a powerful and faithful Republick!* At which Words he threw himself prostrate before *Anicius*. The *Prætor* raised him up, treated him civilly, made him eat with him at his Table, and after a fine Entertainment committed him to the Care of a *Legionary Tribune*. Some Days after, the King, the two Queens his Mother and Wife, with three Princes of the Royal Family, were sent Captives to *Rome* in order to grace the *Prætor*'s future Triumph.

The Romans *conquer* Illyricum.

§. 12, 13, 14, 15. As for the *Consul Æmilius*, considering the Enemy he had to contend with, and the Country he had to subdue, his Conquests were yet more rapid than those of *Anicius*. As soon as he arrived in *Thessaly* where his Army was now encamped on the Banks of the *Enipeus*, he first applied himself to correct some Defects in Matter of Discipline, and then took his Measures for penetrating into *Macedon*. He detached five thousand Men under his eldest Son *Fabius Æmilianus* and his Son-in-Law *Scipio Nasica* to surprize *Pythium* on the Top of Mount *Olympus*. *Perses*, who was encamped on the opposite side of the *Enipeus*, having Notice of this Motion by a Deserter, sent away a more numerous Detachment to intercept that of the *Consul*, but the *Macedonians* were defeated and cut in pieces. The News of this Disaster threw the King, who was already discouraged by the Misfortunes of *Gentius*, into great Perplexity, and at length he resolved to quit his Camp and retire into *Macedon* under the Walls of *Pydna*. §. 16. Hither *Æmilius* followed him, but restrained the Impetuosity of his Men who were eager to fight

N. B. *There seems to have been two Rivers of this Name, one in* Thessaly, *the other in* Macedon.

fight the very Moment they arrived. He made them take time to refreſh themſelves after the Fatigue of their March, and he finiſhed Entrenchments for a Camp in order to ſecure a Retreat againſt all Events. This laſt he artfully contrived to do, while his Army was drawn up in Battalia and facing the Enemy, who were likewiſe drawn up in good Order and ready for an Engagement. When his Lines were perfected he made his Troops retire within them to repoſe themſelves that Night. His Son-in-Law *Naſica* took the Liberty to remonſtrate againſt this Proceeding, as what would bring the Reproach of Cowardice and Miſconduct upon him: *Let us give Battel this Moment*, ſaid he, *nor ſuffer it to be ſaid that we let ſlip an Opportunity of conquering.* The General made only this ſhort Reply, *At your Age I talked as you do; and you at mine will act as I do.* §. 17. The *Macedonians* triumphed to ſee the *Conſul* decline fighting, and when he had left the Plain, they retired likewiſe into their Camp. But their Repoſe was much diſturbed by an Eclipſe of the Moon, through their Ignorance of the Cauſe of it. *Æmilius* had taken Care to have it foretold to his Army, and thereby prevented their being terrified. Year of *ROME* 585.

§. 18, 19. The next Day the two Armies were drawn out, but not ſo much to fight as to look at one another; and a general Action would have been poſtponed through ſome prudential Conſiderations on both Sides, if an Accident had not brought it on. There was a ſhallow River between the two Camps and both Parties watered their Horſes there. It happened that a Horſe got out of the Hand of a *Roman* who was leading him and ran pretty far into the River. Two *Thracians* of the Enemy's Guard poſted on the oppoſite ſide went into the Water to ſeize the Horſe, and three *Romans* at the ſame time ran to recover him. One of the *Thracians* was killed; his Countrymen on Guard, to the Number of | eight hundred, who ſaw it, advanced to revenge his Death; this put the *Romans* in Motion, and by Degrees brought on a general Action. *Perſes*'s Army conſiſted of forty five thouſand Men of the fineſt Troops that had been ſeen in *Macedon* ſince the Time of *Alexander the Great*, and the *Macedonian Phalangites* never behaved themſelves with greater Bravery than on this Occaſion. They ſtood their Ground for a long time after their King was wounded and left the Field. However the *Romans*, though inferior in Number, obtained a complete Victory by the excellent Conduct of their General, who invented at this Time a new Method to break the Enemy's *Phalanx*. He divided his *Legions* into many ſmall pointed Battalions, which attacked it in different Places at the ſame time; and this Stratagem ſucceeded. The *Macedonians* loſt near twenty five thouſand Men in the Battel, five thouſand of the Fugitives were taken Priſoners in the Plain, and ſix thouſand more in *Pydna*. The *Roman* did not loſe above an hundred Men. §. 20. As for *Perſes*, he fled firſt to *Pella*, where in a Rage he ſtabbed the two Guardians of his Treaſure for giving him ſome wholſome Advice mixed with a little Reproach for his paſt Conduct. This barbarous Action alienated from him all his Friends who had eſcaped out of the Battel, ſo that though invited to come to Court they would not appear. Three Strangers only, of which *Evander* the *Cretan* was one, continued about his Perſon. The King therefore thinking himſelf not ſafe at *Pella*, retired thence with his Family and all his Treaſures to *Amphipolis*. His only Guard was five hundred *Cretan* Horſe, who followed him not ſo much out of Affection to him as to his Money, of which they hoped to ſhare. §. 21. In the mean time *Hippias*, *Milo* and *Pantauchus* who had been the chief Commanders of the *Macedonian* Army, ſurrendered themſelves to the *Conſul*, offered him their Services, and delivered up *Berea* to him. When *Perſes* came to *Amphipolis*, he would have harangued the Citizens whom he aſſembled in the Market Place; he came thither attended by his eldeſt Son *Philip*, and began his Speech, but it was ſo often interrupted by his Tears, that he was at laſt obliged to leave the *Tribune of Harangues* and return Home. *Evander* would have ſupplied his Place and ſpoken to the Aſſembly, but they would not hear him; and by their Words and Behaviour they gave him to underſtand, that neither the King nor the *Cretans* would be ſuffered to continue in *Amphipolis*. *Perſes* therefore put his Family, his Treaſures, and his Guard of *Cretans* on board ſome Barks which were on the River *Strymon*, and embarking with them, followed the Courſe of the Stream. *Cotys* the King of the *Odryſians*, who had hitherto accompanied him, left him here, and returned into his own Country; but the *Cretans* ſtill adhered to him, in daily Expectation of the happy Moment when they ſhould get ſome of his Treaſures. He knew what they aimed at, and to ſatisfy them, cauſed ſome Gold and Silver Vaſes, *&c.* to the Value of fifty Talents to be laid on the Shore as a Booty for which they might ſcramble. He would not make the Diſtribution himſelf, for fear of raiſing Diſcontents among them. When the *Cretans* had loaded themſelves with theſe Riches, they reimbarked in all Haſte to ſecure their Booty from the *Romans*; and the little Fleet ſailed to *Galepſos*, a maritime Town between the Mouths of the *Strymon* and the *Hebrus*. But now *Perſes* repented of his Liberality; no change of Circumſtances could alter his natural Temper.

Perſes *totally defeated in the Battel of* Pydna.

Year of *ROME* 585.

per. He employed an Artifice to recover the fifty Talents from the *Cretans*. He pretended that among the Cups and Urns which he had given them, there were by Miſtake ſome which had belonged to *Alexander the Great*, for whoſe Memory he had ſo high a Reſpect, that it grieved him to have parted with the leaſt Thing that had belonged to that Hero, and he offered to give double the intrinſick Value of them to have them again. The *Cretans* were impoſed upon by this Declaration, and brought back their Urns and Vaſes; the King ſeized them but ſpoke no more of the Reward, and by this baſe Artifice recovered at leaſt thirty Talents. His Guard finding themſelves cheated, loaded him with Curſes; and he therefore thought it adviſeable not to continue any longer at their Mercy. *Samothrace* was an Iſland which Religion made ſacred; it was dedicated to *Cybele* the Mother of the Gods; ſhe was thought to have formerly dwelt in it, and this made it reſpected by all the Nations of the World, even more than the Temple of *Delphi* or the Iſland of *Delos*. The fugitive King hoping that the *Romans* would not prophane this Sanctuary by ſtaining it with his Blood, went thither with his Family, and with the Remains of his dear Treaſure, which ſtill amounted to about two thouſand Talents. He took up his Habitation in a Temple dedicated to *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, and there waited for the Departure of the *Romans*, or ſome favourable Turn of Fortune.

§. 22. The *Conſul* ſent Orders to *Octavius* the *Roman* Admiral to inveſt the Iſland with his Fleet, while he himſelf marched into the Heart of *Macedon*. *Theſſalonica* and *Pella* readily ſubmitted. In the latter *Æmilius* found the three hundred Talents of which *Perſes* had defrauded King *Gentius*. Here he likewiſe received Embaſſies and Congratulations from all Parts of *Greece*, and then ſet out for *Amphipolis*. In ſhort, he paſſed on victoriouſly through all the Provinces of *Macedon*, and came at length to *Siræ*, a Town in the moſt Eaſtern part of the Kingdom, where he waited ſome Days to hear how *Octavius* ſucceeded in his Expedition.

All Macedon *ſubmits to the* Romans.

§. 23. *Perſes* depended for the Safety of his Perſon and Family on the Sanctity of the Place he had choſen for an Aſylum; and in order to ſoften his Conqueror, he ſent an Embaſſy to him. The Ambaſſadors and their Train were ſuch as ſhewed the Miſery of a King reduced to the laſt Extremity. He had no Lord of his Court to put at the Head of the Deputation; they had all deſerted him. *Æmilius* at the Sight of the Deputies (who came to him at *Siræ*) could not refrain from Tears. He was ſtruck with the low Condition to which ſo great a Prince was reduced. *Is this*, ſaid he, *that* Perſes, *that Succeſſor of* Alexander the Great, *that proud Monarch, whoſe Ambition knew no Bounds? Confined to the narrow Limits of a little Iſland, he is there like a Victim at the Foot of the Altar waiting for the Ax of the Sacrificer*. But though the *Conſul* was at firſt mollified by theſe Reflections, yet when he had read the Superſcription of *Perſes*'s Letter, where he had ſtiled himſelf King, his Pride was ſo offended that he turned his Back upon the Ambaſſadors, and ſent them away without an Anſwer. And now *Perſes* felt the Weight of his Calamities more ſeverely than ever; he was forced to change his Stile and write as a private Perſon, PERSES TO THE CONSUL PAULUS ÆMILIUS. The ſecond Letter was well received, and the *Conſul*, in Compliance with the King's Requeſt, ſent three Officers to confer with him on the preſent Poſture of his Affairs. But their Voyage was to no Effect. They demanded of the *Macedonian*, by way of Preliminary, that he ſhould abdicate the Title of King, and abſolutely leave his Fate to be determined by the *Roman* Senate and People. *Perſes* ſteadily inſiſted, that the Character he had received from his Anceſtors was indelible, and that a lawful Sovereign could not lay down his Sovereignty but with his Life. The only Inſtance in which the unhappy Prince did Honour to the Crown he had ſo often diſhonoured. In the mean while the *Roman* Fleet drew near to *Samothrace*, and inveſted it. *Octavius* landed peaceably, nor did he think it adviſeable to uſe any Violence to force the King from the Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. He only preſſed him in an amicable Manner to throw himſelf on the Clemency of the *Romans*. But when he found *Perſes* inflexible on this Head, he tried all Means poſſible to perſuade the Inhabitants to drive him out of their Iſland. It was urged to them that they ought not to harbour and protect Aſſaſſins in ſo holy a Place. The *Samothracians* knew that the King was the Perſon meant, but they choſe rather to apply the Reproach to *Evander*, whom *Perſes* had employed to aſſaſſinate *Eumenes*. *Evander* was ſummoned to appear before the People and juſtify himſelf from the Charge. And now the King fearing that this only Friend who had followed his Fortunes to the laſt, and knew all his Secrets, would by Tortures be brought to confeſs the Crime, and load him with new Infamy, he took him aſide, and preſt him earneſtly to kill himſelf. The *Cretan* ſeemed to reliſh the Propoſal, promiſed to poiſon himſelf, and immediately left the King's Preſence; but *Perſes* ſuſpecting that his real Deſign was to make an Eſcape, ſent after him and got him murdered. §. 24. And now the wretched King being upon the Rack with inward Remorſe, without Troops, Friends, or even Hope of Protection from the Gods, whoſe moſt ſacred *Aſylums* he had prophaned,

phaned, endeavoured to get away from a Place where both Heaven and Earth ſeem'd to conſpire againſt him. He privately contracted with a *Cretan* Merchant (whoſe Ship was lying at Anchor under *Demetrium* a Promontory of *Samothrace*) to convey him and his Effects into *Thrace*, to *Cotys* his old Friend and Ally. *Perſes* was to ſend his Cheſts of Treaſure before him in the Duſk of the Evening, and he himſelf was to embark before break of Day. However, as Avarice is always ſuſpicious, the King had the Caution to ſend only the leaſt part of his Treaſures before him. In the dead of the Night he ſet out himſelf, accompanied only by his eldeſt Son *Philip*, and three Men in whom he could confide. The reſt of his Houſhold, that is to ſay, his other Children, his Pages, and all his Retinue were left behind. But when he came to the Sea Shore, he, to his great Surprize, found no Ship there. The perfidious *Cretan* had ſet Sail in the middle of the Night and carried off a part of the King's Treaſure. *Perſes* was inconſolable for the Loſs, and rambled about the Shore for ſome time in great Perplexity what to do. He was aſhamed of having left his Children and Houſhold to the Mercy of the *Romans*; and for fear of being reproached by them, would not return to the Apartments adjoining to the Temple where he had before lived, but went into the Temple itſelf, and hid himſelf in a Corner of it. In the mean time *Octavius* having Notice of this baſe Conduct of *Perſes* in relation to his Houſhold, cauſed Proclamation to be made in the City by Sound of Trumpet, *That all thoſe of the King's Pages, and of the other* Macedonians *in his Retinue who would ſurrender themſelves voluntarily to the* Romans, *ſhould have Life and Liberty*. Expreſs mention was made of the Pages, becauſe they were the chief of the young Lords of the Kingdom, whom the King kept always near his Perſon as Pledges of their Father's Fidelity. Theſe young Nobles immediately ſurrendered themſelves to the *Prætor*, and their Example was followed by all the King's Sons except the eldeſt. Year of *ROME* 585.

Perſes *ſurrenders himſelf Priſoner to the* Romans.

This laſt Stroke threw *Perſes* into Deſpair, and he had no Way left to ſave his Life but to ſurrender himſelf to *Octavius*. He inveighed bitterly againſt the Gods and againſt Fortune, and then conſented to be carried with Prince *Philip* his eldeſt Son, and the Remains of his Treaſure to *Amphipolis*, whither the *Conſul* came to meet him, and receive his Submiſſions. §. 25. *Perſes* entered the *Roman* Camp in a mourning Habit ſuitable to his preſent Condition, and without one *Macedonian* to attend him. He is ſaid to have caſt himſelf proſtrate before the *Conſul*, and to have uttered Expreſſions unworthy the Majeſty of a King; upon which *Æmilius* ſaid to him, *Unfortunate Prince, why do you diſhonour my Victory by this Weakneſs? Your Humiliation leſſens the Value of the Advantages* Rome *has gained over you. Rather impute your Misfortunes to Deſtiny, than to your own Imprudence.* *Æmilius* was a Stoick, and had been taught to impute all Events to an inevitable Fatality; and he did not conſider that he thereby deſtroyed the Merit of his Victory, and leſſened the Value of it more than *Perſes* had done by his Meanneſs and Cowardice. After ſome further Converſation with the King with whom he expoſtulated on his Imprudence in breaking Friendſhip with the Republick, he ſhut himſelf up in his own Tent with only his Sons and his Sons-in-Law, and made a grave philoſophical Diſcourſe to them on the very affecting and inſtructive Inſtance of the Revolutions of Fortune, which they had before their Eyes in the Perſon of the King of *Macedon*. The Day concluded with a fine Entertainment which *Æmilius* gave *Perſes*, whom he careſſed, and in all Points treated with Honour and Reſpect; after which he committed him to the Care of an Officer, till the time ſhould come for tranſporting him to *Rome*.

Thus ended the ſecond *Macedonian* War (which had laſted four Years) and with it the *Macedonian* Monarchy, after it had continued in Splendor an hundred and ninety three Years, reckoning only from *Philip* the Father of *Alexander the Great*.

BOOK XLVI.

§. 1, 2. TWO complete Victories, followed by the Conqueſt of two Kingdoms, and the Captivity of two Kings, rendered the Campaign of the Year 585 the moſt glorious of any the *Romans* had ever made ſince the Foundation of their City. Unfortunately for the Republick of *Rhodes*, her Ambaſſadors came to *Rome* to mediate for *Perſes*, juſt when the News of his Defeat was publiſhed. The Senate maliciouſly choſe this Time to give them Audience; and though the chief of the Embaſſy changed his intended haughty Demands into Congratulations, he received an Anſwer full of Severity and Reproaches. The *Rhodians* were ſo much terrified by it, that they returned Home, and exhorted their Countrymen to regain the good Will of the ſupreme Republick by all Sorts of Submiſſions. §. 3. About this Time *Antiochus Epiphanes*, though much diſſatisfied with the haughty Treat-

Year of ROME 585. ment he had met with from *Popillius* the *Roman* Commiſſioner (who had ordered him to deſiſt from his Enterprize upon *Egypt*, and had put a Stop to his Conqueſts) ſent an Embaſſy to the Senate to make his Court to them. The Chief of the Deputation addreſſed the *Conſcript Fathers* in the following Manner. *Though* Popillius *communicated your Pleaſure to the King my Maſter, at a time when all* Egypt *was ready to ſink under his victorious Arms; yet he preferred Obedience to Conqueſt. He thinks himſelf as indiſpenſably obliged to ſubmit to the Deciſions of* Rome, *as to the Will of the Gods.* The Anſwer of the Senate was in theſe Words. Antiochus *did wiſely in executing our Orders. The Senate and People of* Rome *are well ſatisfied with it.* After the *Syrian* Ambaſſadors, thoſe of *Egypt* were introduced. The two Brothers who had contended for the Kingdom were now reconciled by the Mediation of *Popillius* and his Collegues. The Elder had taken Poſſeſſion of *Egypt*, properly ſo called, for his Share; and *Cyrenaica*, with a Part of *Lybia*, had been allotted to the Younger. The Head of the *Egyptian* Embaſſy addreſſed himſelf to the Senate in the Name of *Cleopatra* and her two Sons: *To you*, Conſcript Fathers, *we owe the Deliverance of* Egypt, *and the Concord that reigns among us. The Departure of* Antiochus, *and the Partition of our Provinces between the two rival Princes, have ſecured our Liberty, and reſtored us Peace. A double Benefit, for which the Kings and People of* Egypt *are as much indebted to you as Children to their Parents, or Men to the Gods.* The Speaker ſeemed to be ſincere, and the Senators were therefore gracious in their Anſwer. Rome, ſaid they, *ſhares your Happineſs, and is affected with your Gratitude.* Egypt *may always depend upon her Protection.* §. 4. But no Compliments of Congratulation were ſo kindly received by the Senate, or ſo politely returned, as thoſe from *Maſiniſſa*. Both his Son *Maſgaba*, and his natural Son *Miſagenes*, who had ſerved in the War under *Æmilius*, were treated with all poſſible Marks of Honour and Diſtinction.

586. The *Comitia* being held for the new Elections, *Q. Ælius Pætus* and *M. Junius Pennus* were raiſed to the *Conſulate*. *Æmilius* however was continued in his Command in *Macedon* as *Pro-Conſul*, and *Anicius* and *Octavius* in their reſpective Provinces as *Pro-Prætors*. §. 5. The firſt Buſineſs of the new *Conſuls* was to reconcile the two *Cenſors*, *Tib. Gracchus* and *C. Claudius*, who after living in perfect Union for two Years, had fallen out about a Regulation concerning the *Freed-men*. Theſe were a factious Set of People, who by a former Law had been excluded the *Country Tribes*, and confined to the four *City Tribes*, that they might have the leſs Scope to do Miſchief. However, they even here created ſo many Diſturbances by their Intrigues, that *Gracchus* was for depriving moſt of them entirely of the Right of Suffrage; but his Collegue oppoſed this Deſign as illegal, and as ſomething that exceeded the Power of the *Cenſors* to do. A middle Way was therefore ſuggeſted by the *Conſuls* and agreed to. The *Freed-men*, by a Cenſorial Decree, were all to be incorporated into one *Tribe* only, and it fell by Lot to the *Eſquiline Tribe* to receive them. Thus they ſtill preſerved their Right of Suffrage; but their Faction was much leſs formidable than before, ſince the utmoſt they could do was to make one Vote in the *Comitia* by *Tribes*. This Contention being over the *Conſuls* drew Lots for their Provinces. *Liguria* fell to *Junius Pennus*, and *Ciſalpine Gaul* to *Ælius Pætus*; not that there was any real Neceſſity of ſending Armies to thoſe Places, all was quiet from the *Alps* to the *Ionian* Sea; but it was the Policy of the Republick to be the Aggreſſor, and make Quarrels rather than lay down her Arms.

285th Conſulſhip.

A new Regulation concerning the Freedmen.

And now before the *Conſuls* left *Rome*, Princes and Ambaſſadors came thither from all Parts of the *Levant*, ſome to be rewarded, others to return Thanks, others with Compliments and Preſents, and laſtly, others to make Apologies for their Conduct. §. 6. The firſt foreign Prince who appeared was *Attalus*, whoſe Zeal for the Republick the ill Example of his Brother *Eumenes* had not leſſened; he was become entirely *Roman*. The Senate were ſo ſenſible of his Services and Attachment to the *Roman* Intereſt, that they were diſpoſed to reward his Fidelity by transferring the Crown of *Pergamus* from his Brother to him. But he, to their great Surprize, ſaid nothing, when he was admitted to an Audience, that had the leaſt Tendency that Way. He only congratulated the Republick on her Victory, gave a plain Narrative of the Services he had done her, commended the King his Brother, and deſired nothing more than that Commiſſioners might be appointed to go into *Aſia*, and oblige the *Galatians* to ceaſe their Hoſtilities againſt *Eumenes*, whoſe Dominions they had invaded. The Senate were charmed with the Diſintereſtedneſs of the *Pergamenian* Prince; they extolled his Virtue, did him great Honours, and made him Preſents. He left *Rome* much more eſteemed and reſpected, than if he had raiſed himſelf to a Throne on the Ruins of his Brother. §. 7. But the Treatment which the Ambaſſadors from *Rhodes* met with was very different from that of *Attalus*. They were not only refuſed an Audience, but the *Tribes* were moved by the *Prætor Juventius Thalna* to declare War againſt the *Rhodians*, and to

fend one of the preſent Magiſtrates immediately to begin Hoſtilities. However, as this Motion was oppoſed by ſome of the *Tribunes*, and the Conteſt grew warm, the Senate was at length obliged to admit the *Rhodian* Ambaſſadors into their Aſſembly, and give them leave to ſpeak in their own Vindication. *Aſtydemes* was their Mouth, and he made a long * Harangue, wherein he confeſſed that Vanity was indeed the Vice of his Countrymen, and that they were very apt to talk arrogantly and impertinently; but he hoped, that the *Romans* would not think any Inſtance of this national Weakneſs ſuch a Crime, as deſerved to be puniſhed capitally. He farther urged the many important Services which *Rhodes* had formerly done the Republick; and that though of late ſhe had ceas'd to aſſiſt the *Romans*, ſhe had never committed Hoſtilities againſt them; and he concluded with declaring the entire Submiſſion of the *Rhodians* to the Good-Will and Pleaſure of *Rome*, and their Reſolution to make no Reſiſtance to her Arms in caſe of an Attack. §. 8. The Orator having finiſhed his Harangue, the Ambaſſadors withdrew, and the Matter was diſcuſs'd in the Houſe. *Cato* put an End to the Debate by a † Speech full of Spirit and good Senſe. He reproached the Senators with being blinded and infatuated by Proſperity, ſince nothing elſe, he ſaid, could have made them deliberate whether they ſhould deſtroy a Republick, againſt whom the only Charge was ſecret Thoughts and proud Words. *O ye immortal Gods*, ſaid he, *ſhall we then uſurp your Rights? Shall we ſearch into Mens Thoughts to find Enemies? Have we not open and declared Enemies enough? I ſhall readily grant that the* Rhodians *were heartily grieved for the Defeat and Captivity of* Perſes. *Nay I ſhall allow that Compaſſion for him had not ſo great a Share in their Affliction, as their own Intereſt. But is it then unlawful to wiſh for Liberty?* Rome *is a powerful State, and capable of ſwallowing up all the Countries of the Eaſt.* Macedon, *the only Bulwark againſt her, was deſtroyed, the Inundation was drawing near, and hence their Fears and Alarms. Did the* Rhodians *hate you? No, but they loved themſelves. Which of us would not be uneaſy to ſee a formidable Neighbour in Poſſeſſion of Lands adjoining to ours? What would we not do to get rid of ſuch a Neighbourhood? Any Means but Violence are lawful. This is the preſent Caſe. The* Rhodians *wiſhed that* Perſes *might not be ruined, and that the Barrier which ſeparated them from us might not be thrown down. And what is there criminal in this? Beſides, are bare Wiſhes puniſhable? Which of us has not deſired to enjoy a greater Quantity of Land than the Law allows him? But it is alſo ſaid, that the* Rhodians *ſhewed their Pride by Words: And indeed one of their Ambaſſadors did drop ſome very arrogant and haughty Expreſſions. But what can be inferred from thence more than this, that there is a Nation in the World more haughty and imperious than the* Romans? *&c. &c. Cato*'s Arguments had their Effect on the Majority of the Senators, ſo that War was not declared againſt *Rhodes*; but ſhe was deprived of all Dominion over *Lycia* and *Caria* formerly granted her. §. 9. The Senate's next Buſineſs was to receive Compliments of Congratulation from the *Athenians*, from the two *Ptolomies*, and from *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia*. The laſt came in Perſon to *Rome* and carried his Flattery to a monſtrous Exceſs of Meanneſs. He ſhaved his Head, took the Habit and Sandals of a *Freedman*, and put on one of thoſe Caps which were worn by enfranchis'd Slaves. In this odd Dreſs he advanced to the *Forum*, attended by gazing Multitudes. His Arrival being notified to the *Fathers*, they inſtantly ſent Deputies to receive him and introduce him into the Senate. *I have put on*, ſaid *Pruſias* to the Deputies, *the Habit and Appearance of one of your* Freedmen. *What am I better than a Slave of* Rome *ſet at Liberty by your Favour?* And when he entered the Senate-Houſe, he kiſſed the Threſhold of the Door, and called the Senators viſible Divinities, Saviours and Deliverers; then he reminded them of the Succours he had ſent the Republick during the War with *Perſes*, and concluded, with imploring her Protection for himſelf, and the Continuance of her Good-Will to his Son. The *Fathers* received the King graciouſly, gave him leave to offer Sacrifices on the *Capitol* and at *Præneſte* (which he had deſired to do, by way of Thankſgiving for their Succeſs) and made him a Preſent of two hundred and twenty five Barks which had been taken from *Gentius* King of *Illyricum*. No ſooner had *Pruſias* ſet ſail from *Brunduſium*, when News was brought to *Rome* that the King of *Pergamus* was landed there. This perplexed the Senate, for they were unwilling to revenge themſelves upon him by any open or direct Act, nor would they forgive him his Unfaithfulneſs. At length they fell upon this Expedient; they paſſed a Decree, forbidding all Kings in general to come to *Rome* unleſs ſent for; and the Pretence for this Reſolution was the great Expence to which foreign Princes by their frequent Viſits of late had put the Republick. As ſoon therefore as the Arrival of *Eumenes* was regularly notified, a *Quæſtor* was ſent to acquaint him with the Decree, and to know his Buſineſs with the Senate. The King diſdained to give the *Quæſtor* any Anſwer, he immediately embarked again and returned to his own Dominions. §. 10. And now the chief Buſineſs of the Senate was to ſettle the Government of the two conquered Countries, *Illyricum* and

Year of ROME 586.

* Vid. *p.* 485.

† *Vide* p. 487.

Year of ROME 586. *Macedon*, and instead of reducing them to *Roman* Provinces, it was determined to shape them into the Form of Republicks. Ten Commissioners were appointed to assist *Paulus Æmilius* in settling *Macedon*, and five to assist *Anicius* in *Illyricum*. However the Republick gave the Commissioners a Sketch of the Regulations which she would have established in those Countries. §. 11. As to *Illyricum*, Liberty was proclaimed to the whole Nation by a Herald. *Rome* promised to withdraw her Garrisons out of all the Places she possessed there, and to exact no more than half the Tribute which the *Illyricans* had formerly paid their Kings. Some Cities which had voluntarily surrendered to the *Romans* in the beginning of the War were excused from Taxes for ever. And lastly, the Commissioners divided the Kingdom of *Gentius* into three Cantons. The first contained *Illyricum*, properly so called, the second all the Country of the *Labeates*, and the third the Provinces of *Agrovanitæ*, *Rhizonitæ* and *Olciniatæ*; and this Division long continued. When this great Work was finished *Anicius* went to spend the Winter in *Epirus*. §. 12. In the mean time *Paulus Æmilius*, before the ten Commissioners arrived to settle the Fate of *Macedon*, made a Tour of Pleasure, and visited all the finest Provinces, Cities and Temples of *Greece*; and he signalized himself wherever he came by his Prudence, Justice and Liberality. He would not enquire who of the *Greeks* had declared for *Perses*; and he treated the secret Enemies of *Rome* with the same Regard as her old Friends. By this Means he avoided giving new Alarms, and kept the People in their Duty. §. 13. At length the ten Deputies arrived at *Amphipolis* where this august Council was to sit and do Business. The most material Articles of the Resolution they came to in relation to *Macedon* were as follow. 1. *All the Cities of* Macedon *shall be free, and annually chuse their own Magistrates.* 2. *Every private Person shall continue in Possession of his Land and his Effects.* 3. *The whole Nation shall pay the* Romans *but half the Tribute which it formerly paid its Kings.* 4. *The whole Country shall be divided into four Cantons, of which* Amphipolis, Pella, Thessalonica, *and* Strobos *in* Pelagonia *shall be the Capitals. In these chief Cities shall be held the particular Diets of each Canton, and there the Magistrates shall be elected and the Tribute Money paid.* 5. *No Person shall be suffered to marry or purchase Lands or Houses out of his own Canton.* 6. *No* Macedonian *shall be suffered to work in Gold or Silver Mines, but they may in those of Copper and Iron*, &c. &c. The *Macedonians* were pleased with the Liberty granted them and with the Diminution of Taxes, but the Prohibition to marry, *&c.* out of their respective Cantons gave them great Uneasiness. This was a dividing of them, consider'd as one People who had the same *Patria*, the same common Country. However, little Regard was had to their Murmurings on this Head, and they were soon over. §. 14. After these Regulations the Commissioners gave Audience to the Heads of the *Greek* Nations. The *Ætolians* complain'd of some Severities from the *Roman Prætor Bœbius*, but the Conduct of the latter, upon an Examination, was approved. It was declared by a Decree, that those he had put to Death had suffered justly, as having openly espoused the Cause of *Perses*, and that those he had exiled, deserved Banishment. The News of this Decision struck a Terror into all those among the *Greeks* who were conscious of having favoured the *Macedonian*. During the War, *Greece* had been divided into three Factions, *The Romanites*, *The Persèites* and *The Indifferents*; and now the first made it their Business to accuse great Numbers of the two latter before the Commissioners. Some of the Accused were punished upon the Spot, and others order'd to follow *Æmilius* to *Rome*, and there give an Account of their Conduct. Before the *Pro-Consul* return'd to *Italy*, he put the last Hand to the new Government in *Macedon*. Having assembled a General Diet of the four Cantons of the Country, he read to them a List of the Magistrates he himself had chosen to compose the particular Senate of each Canton. Then he published a Decree, That all those who had had any Share in the former Government should, under Pain of Death, leave *Macedon* and go into *Italy*; the Ministers of State, Officers of the Exchequer, Generals of Armies, Admirals, Governors of Provinces and fortified Towns, Persons employed in Embassies, and lastly, all the Courtiers whom the King had honoured with his Favour and Confidence. This Decree seemed at first very severe, and the People murmured at it. But when they came to consider the Characters of the Persons exil'd, and that they were most of them Slaves of Fortune, who had abused the King's Favour to exercise Tyranny, Rapine and Extortion, they rejoiced in the Sentence passed against them. As to the new Senators, *Æmilius* gave them such prudent and reasonable Rules of civil Government to act by, that Time itself, that severe Judge of Laws, never weaken'd the Force of them.

§. 15, 16. When the *Pro-Consul* had thus settled all the Affairs of *Macedon*, and had diverted himself with seeing the *Great Games* * celebrated with the utmost Magnificence at *Amphipolis*, he prepared to conduct his Army back to *Rome*. But whilst every thing was getting ready for his Departure, he receiv'd positive Orders from the Senate to go into *Epirus*, and to plunder and demolish the Cities of that rebellious

The Romans *transform the Kingdoms of* Illyricum *and* Macedon *into Republicks.*

* *Vide* p. 500.

rebellious Country. The *Epirots* had aſſiſted *Perſes* after repeated Oaths to be faithful to the *Romans*. *Æmilius* executed his Inſtructions with Reluctance; but as he muſt obey, he conducted himſelf in this Affair with great Prudence, ſo as to meet with no Oppoſition, and to ſecure the beſt part of the Plunder for the publick Treaſury. Year of *ROME* 586.

§. 17. All the Eaſt was now in Peace except the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, which the *Galatians*, under their King *Solovettius*, had invaded. The *Romans*, at the Sollicitation of *Attalus* the Brother of King *Eumenes*, ſent Deputies thither to forbid *Solovettius* to continue his Hoſtilities. Theſe Deputies thought to intimidate the *Galatian* Prince by haughty Airs, as *Popillius* had formerly done *Antiochus*; but the *Galatian* deſpiſed their Menaces, and would obey none of their Commands. However, he afterwards ſent to *Rome* to appeaſe the Republick, and he eaſily obtained a Reconciliation. §. 18, 19. The three ſucceſsful Commanders, *Æmilius*, *Anicius* and *Octavius* arrived in *Italy* much about the ſame time. But now, which is very ſurprizing, the *Legionaries* who had ſerv'd under the firſt and moſt conſiderable of theſe Generals both by his Merit and Conqueſts, endeavoured to hinder his being honoured with a Triumph. The true Cauſe of this Malice was the ſevere Diſcipline he had kept them under during the War, and his not ſuffering them to enrich themſelves with Plunder ſo much as they had wiſhed to do. However, *M. Servilius*, an able Orator and brave Soldier, who had formerly been *Conſul*, made a long Harangue to the People on this Occaſion in favour of *Æmilius*, and by his Eloquence and Arguments prevailed upon the Majority of the *Tribes* to do the Conqueror of *Macedon* Juſtice. While every thing was preparing for his triumphal Proceſſion, *Perſes* ſent from his Priſon to entreat the Victor to ſpare him the Confuſion of appearing in publick on that Occaſion. *Æmilius* gave the Meſſenger the following Anſwer, *Tell* Perſes *that it long has been and ſtill is in his own Power to rid himſelf of our Chains.* This was telling him plainly enough that only Poiſon or a Poniard could preſerve him from the Diſgrace he feared. However, the Love of Life, or perhaps ſome Remains of Hope determined *Perſes* to prefer the moſt ſhameful of all Indignities to what the Pagans thought an honourable Death. And by this Cowardice alone the captive King was thought to have merited all the Calamities that overwhelmed him.

* Vid. *p.* 509, 510.

[§. 20. *The* * *Triumph of* Paulus Æmilius *is deſcribed.*] *Rome* was ſo much enriched by the valuable Spoils brought from *Macedon*, that ſhe had no Occaſion to lay any Tax on the People from this Time to that of *Auguſtus*. §. 21. But notwithſtanding the prodigious Sums with which *Æmilius* filled the Treaſury of the Republick he continued poor himſelf; and after his Triumph returned to a private Life. In the height of all his Glory, his two Sons by a ſecond Marriage both died, the elder five Days before his Triumph, and the younger three Days after it. Juſt before his Retreat, he harangued the People, wherein he took Notice of this ſevere Stroke of Fortune on himſelf, and expreſſed his Acquieſcence to it, provided it might ſatisfy the Gods and avert any Evils from the Republick, which after ſo much Proſperity ſhe might have Reaſon to expect. §. 22. The Triumph of *Æmilius* was followed the next Day by that of the *Pro-Prætor Octavius*, Admiral of the *Roman* Fleet. The triumphal Proceſſion of *Anicius*, the Conqueror of *Illyricum*, was not till three Months after. King *Gentius* with his Family were led before his Chariot, as *Perſes* and his Children had been before that of the *Pro-Conſul*. The latter of theſe captive Kings was ſhut up in a cloſe Priſon in *Alba*, in the Country of the *Marſi*, where he died miſerably. *Gentius* was ſent to *Iguvium*, a City of *Umbria* near the *Apennines*. But as for *Bitis*, Son of *Cotys* King of the *Odryſians* in *Thrace*, who had been taken Captive and had graced the Triumph of *Æmilius*, he was, after a ſhort Impriſonment, reſtored to his Father, whom the Republick was willing to make her Friend, that he might not diſturb the new Government ſettled in *Macedon*.

586th Conſulſhip. §. 23. The following Year, when *C. Sulpicius Gallus* and *M. Claudius Marcellus* were raiſed to the *Conſulate*, and conducted the *Roman* Armies in *Liguria*, was remarkable for nothing but a Triumph, obtained by the *Conſuls*, without having deſerved it. 587.

587th Conſulſhip. §. 24. In the ſucceeding *Conſulſhip* of *T. Manlius Torquatus* and *Cn. Octavius Nepos*, *Terence* the famous Dramatick Poet was in his higheſt Reputation. He was aſſiſted in writing his Comedies, as he owns himſelf, by *Lælius* and *Scipio*, the two Sons of *Paulus Æmilius*. Nevertheleſs his *Hecyra*, when performed the firſt time, did not ſucceed. While it was acting, a Report was ſpread that a Company of Rope-Dancers were going to ſhew ſome extraordinary Feats, and immediately the Theatre was left empty. Afterwards indeed it was acted with the ſame Applauſe as the reſt of his Pieces. 588.

But now the Attention of the Senate was called off from theſe Amuſements to ſome Affairs of Importance in the Eaſt. The *Achæans* made repeated Complaints of the Tyranny exerciſed over them by the Republick, in baniſhing great Numbers of their chief Men on a Suſpicion of Diſaffection, without bringing them to a

Year of *ROME* 588. Trial, and hearing them ſpeak in their own Juſtification: But the Complainants obtained no Redreſs; ſo that now the firſt Sparks were kindled in *Achaia* of that Fire, which afterwards conſumed *Corinth*. But an Ambaſſador ſent by *Pruſias* to accuſe the King of *Pergamus* of having entered into a private Treaty with the King of *Syria*, to the Prejudice of the *Roman* Intereſt, was more favourably heard; and *Tib. Gracchus*, a Man of Penetration, and of ſuch a Diſpoſition as to be incapable of acting by Prejudice, was commiſſioned to viſit all the Courts of *Aſia* and States of *Greece*, and bring thence a faithful Account of all Matters that concerned the Republick.

589. §. 25. *Gracchus* found in *Egypt* the two Brothers, *Philometor* and *Phyſcon*, ſtill at Variance. The elder, by the Intrigues of *Cleopatra* their Mother who favoured the younger, had been driven out of *Egypt* into the Iſland of *Cyprus*, and was replaced on the Throne by the *Egyptians*, who drove *Phyſcon* from it, in revenge for his having barbarouſly and ungratefully put his Mother to Death, of whoſe Authority he was jealous. From *Egypt* the *Roman* Commiſſioner went into *Syria*, and there found *Antiochus* obſtinately carrying on that famous War againſt *Judea*, in which ſo much Blood was ſhed, and ſo many Profanations committed. The *Syrian* Army conſiſting of ſixty thouſand Men, which had been ſent againſt the *Jews*, was juſt then cut in pieces by *Judas Maccabæus*; and *Gracchus*, upon a near Inſpection into the Character of *Antiochus*, finding him to be a meer Trifler, an abject Flatterer of the *Romans*, and a moſt contemptible Creature in all Reſpects, left him without the leaſt Apprehenſions of his engaging in any Enterprize to the Prejudice of the Republick. §. 26. After this *Gracchus* went into *Pergamus*, *Achaia*, and *Rhodes*, and then returned to *Rome*. His Report to the Senate was to this Effect, That he could diſcover no Signs of a Revolt on the part of *Antiochus* or of *Eumenes*, and that *Rome* had nothing to fear in the *Levant* but from the *Achæans*. He added, Callicrates *and* Andronidas [two Partizans of *Rome*] *and their Faction, whom you protect, are grown inſolent, ſince you have refuſed to ſuffer thoſe Exiles to return Home, whom they accuſed of favouring* Perſes; *and ſooner or later the* Achæans *will attempt to ſhake off the Yoke which you render inſupportable to them.* *Gracchus* was not credited as to what he ſaid in relation to the Kings of *Syria* and *Pergamus*; nor did *The Fathers* give into his Opinion concerning *Achaia*. But the Teſtimony he gave in Favour of the *Rhodians* was better received. He declared, that the *Rhodians* had punctually obeyed the Orders of the Senate; that they had quietly ſurrendered up the Cities and Provinces which *Rome* had given from them, and that they had ſeverely puniſhed the Friends of *Perſes*. Upon this Teſtimony, and at the Entreaties of the *Rhodians* by their Miniſter *Aſtymedes*, they were admitted into the Friendſhip of the Republick, and were more ſtrictly united to her than ever. The Senate thought it good Policy not to multiply Enemies in the Eaſt without Neceſſity, while there was any Apprehenſion of Danger from the united Powers of *Eumenes* and *Antiochus*. §. 27. During the preſent *Conſulſhip* (of *A. Manlius Torquatus*, and *Q. Caſſius Longinus*) *Paulus Æmilius*, who was one of the *Cenſors*, contributed much to the Tranquillity of *Rome* by his great Prudence and Moderation. He finiſhed the Exerciſe of this Office with a Luſtration, and found in *Rome* three hundred thirty ſeven thouſand five hundred and fifty two Citizens fit to bear Arms. Soon after the Expiration of his *Cenſorſhip* he fell ſick of a lingering Diſeaſe, which in the End carried him off. He would fain have ſoftened the Rigours of the Captivity in which the unfortunate Prince, whom he had conquered, ſpent his Days at *Alba*. But he had not Intereſt enough either to get the Dungeon into which *Perſes* was thrown changed for a more convenient and decent Lodging, or to procure him a Table ſuitable to his Dignity. Some Hiſtorians ſay, that this dethroned King killed himſelf, by refuſing to take any Nouriſhment; and others, that the Soldiers of his Guard made it their Buſineſs to hinder him from ſleeping, and miſerably deſtroyed him that Way. One of his Sons who ſurvived him, was after a long Captivity reduced to get his Bread, ſometimes by doing the Buſineſs of a Scribe, and ſometimes by working as a Turner. He is ſaid to have excelled in thoſe ſmall Things, which require a very nice Hand. Thus was the Race of the Kings of *Macedon* entirely extinguiſhed by the Miſconduct of a Prince, who made it Matter of Sport to treat Religion with Contempt, aſſaſſinate Kings and oppreſs his People.

288th Conſulſhip.

Perſes dies.

§. 28. For ſome time paſt *Rome* had had no Enemies to contend with, except
590. in *Liguria* and *Ciſalpine Gaul*; but now, when *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* and *M' Juventius Thalna* were raiſed to the *Conſulate*, the latter was obliged to ſail with an Army into *Corſica* to quell a Rebellion there, while the other marched againſt the *Ligurians*. However, neither of theſe Wars was in reality more than an Amuſement. The Republick had no important Affairs on her Hands except in the Eaſt. Her Apprehenſions of the Engagements between *Eumenes* and *Antiochus* were not totally removed, and ſhe therefore appointed two Commiſſioners to go into

289th Conſulſhip.

Pergamus, and try to diſcover the real Intentions of thoſe Princes. *Sulpicius Gallus* and *M. Sergius* in their Way thither viſited *Achaia*, and by their Violences and imprudent Conduct increaſed, inſtead of leſſening the Diſſentions and Diſcontents in that Country. But when from *Greece* they came into the Dominions of *Eumenes*, the Subjection of foreign Kings to the imperious Republick appeared in its ſtrongeſt Light. The *Roman* Deputies publiſhed an Edict, giving all *Eumenes*'s Subjects leave to bring their Complaints againſt their King to *Pergamus*; and there they erected their Tribunal of Inquiſition in the *Gymnaſium*. For ten Days together they heard the Complaints of Multitudes of Malecontents who depoſed againſt their Sovereign. Theſe inconſtant *Aſiaticks* hoped from the favourable Reception they met with, that they ſhould obtain ſome Change in the Government; however, their Hopes, their Accuſations, and all the Buſtle made by *Sulpicius* and his Collegue came to nothing. §. 29, 30. Whilſt *Memmius* and *Mamilius*, the two Deputies appointed to viſit *Syria*, were on the Road from *Egypt* to *Antioch*, they receiv'd the News of *Antiochus Epiphanes*'s * Death, and that he was ſucceeded in the Throne by his Son *Antiochus Eupator*, under the Guardianſhip of *Lyſias*, the young Prince being but nine Years old. *Lyſias* had commanded the *Syrian* Troops againſt the *Jews*, and having been defeated three times by *Judas Maccabæus*, had made ſome Advances towards a Peace. He had granted the Holy Nation the Liberty of practiſing their own religious Ceremonies, and of living according to their own Laws. Nevertheleſs *Judas* did not neglect to make uſe of the Mediation of the *Roman* Deputies to ſtrengthen the Peace he had obtained. He wrote a ſubmiſſive Letter to *Memmius* and *Mamilius* in the Name of the People, and received a favourable Anſwer confirming what *Lyſias* had granted. Year of ROME 590

* *See the Account of* Antiochus Epiphanes's *Death p.* 525.

When the News of *Antiochus Epiphanes*'s Death, and of the Advancement of *Antiochus Eupator* to the Throne of *Syria* came to *Rome*, it rouzed the Ambition of *Demetrius*, who had been twelve Years a Hoſtage at *Rome*, and brought up from his Infancy among the *Romans*. He was the Son of *Seleucus* the late King's elder Brother, and his Right to the Crown of *Syria* was indiſputable. Being admitted to an Audience by the Senate, he ſtrongly pleaded his Cauſe before them, and begged Leave to return Home and take Poſſeſſion of his Right. Nothing could be more juſt than his Requeſt; but the Politicians among *The Fathers* thought it more for the Intereſt of *Rome* to have a Child upon the *Syrian* Throne. *Let us make* Antiochus, ſaid they, *the Ward of the Republick, and appoint him Guardians to govern his Dominions in the Name and under the Direction of the* Roman *Senate*. Accordingly three Men were appointed for this Purpoſe, of whom *Cn. Octavius* was the Chief. It is ſurprizing that the Senate ſhould paſs ſuch a Decree and the People confirm it, without the Conſent or Privity of the *Syrians*: But ſuch was the deſpotick Power which the Republick aſſumed over Kings and Kingdoms. Nor were the *Romans* ſatisfied with doing this Injuſtice to *Demetrius*, they gave Inſtructions to their Commiſſioners to burn all the Ships with Decks belonging to their Ward, diſable his Elephants from Service, and in a Word weaken as much as poſſible the Forces of his Kingdom. §. 31. Before *Octavius* and his Collegues arrived in *Syria* new *Conſuls* were choſen at *Rome*, *P. Cornelius Scipio Naſica* and *C. Marcius Figulus*; but theſe new Magiſtrates, upon ſome Defect diſcovered in the Ceremonies of their Inauguration, ſoon abdicated, and *P. Cornelius Lentulus* with *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus* were promoted to the *Conſulate* in their ſtead. *Octavius* in his Way to the Dominions of young *Antiochus* paſſed through *Cappadocia*, where *Ariarathes* the King of this Country knowing the Temper of the *Syrians*, offered to conduct him into *Syria* with an Army to prevent Inſurrections there; but the proud *Roman* confiding in the Majeſty of the *Roman* Name declined any other Protection. §. 32. When he arrived at *Laodicea*, a maritime City between *Tripolis* and *Antioch*, he began to put the ſevere Orders of his Republick in execution, to burn the Ships and diſable the Elephants. Strange Preſumption! thus to act the Sovereign before he had taken Poſſeſſion of the Regency. His Pretence was the Treaty made with *Antiochus the Great*, by which the *Syrians* were to build no more Ships of War, nor tame any more Elephants; but this did not ſatisfy the People. They were highly exaſperated, and their Rage againſt *Octavius* emboldened an *African*, whom *Lyſias* had hired to aſſaſſinate him, to put the Deſign in execution by ſtabbing him in a Bath. When the News of this Murder, and of the Suſpicion which *Lyſias* lay under of having been concern'd in it, came to *Rome*, it revived the Hopes of *Demetrius*; and he applied once more to the Senate for Leave to go and take Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom which of right belonged to him. Being a ſecond time refuſed, he reſolved to follow the Advice which his Friend *Polybius*, a yet abler Politician than Hiſtorian, had given him before his laſt Application to *The Fathers*, which was to make his Eſcape from *Italy*, go into *Syria*, and ſhew himſelf to his People, who would undoubtedly recognize his Title to the Throne. §. 33. This Scheme he happily put in execution by the Aſſiſtance of *Menithyllus* the Miniſter

290th Conſulſhip. 591.

Octavius, *appointed Regent of* Syria *by the* Romans, *is there aſſaſſinated.*

Year of *ROME* 591. Miniſter and Agent of *Ptolomy Philometor* at *Rome*. The Senate were not informed of his Eſcape till ſix Days after he had ſet ſail, when it was too late to ſend after him; and they waited without much Uneaſineſs to hear of the Prince's Arrival and Adventures in *Syria*. §. 34. In the mean time *Ptolomy Phyſcon* came to *Rome* to plead his Cauſe againſt his elder Brother *Philometor*, who had been there ever ſince the laſt Year. *Phyſcon* had driven him from the Throne, and obliged him to go and ſeek the Protection of the Senate. The *Romans* had formerly adjudged *Cyrenaica* to *Phyſcon*, and what he now ask'd was to have the Iſland of *Cyprus* added to his Share. The Demand was not equitable; but the Senate thinking it for the Intereſt of the Republick to make a more equal Diviſion than they had done before of the Dominions of *Egypt* between the two Brothers, granted the Iſland to the Petitioner, and appointed ſome Commiſſioners to put him in Poſſeſſion of it.

§. 35. About this time the *Rhodians* gave a ſignal Proof of their Submiſſion to *Rome*. *Calynda* a City of *Caria* was beſieged by the *Caunians*, and relieved by the *Rhodians*. The *Calyndians* had promiſed to yield their City to the latter, as ſoon as it ſhould be delivered from the Enemy; but the *Rhodians* durſt not accept of the Surrendry, till they had ſent to *Rome* and obtained the Approbation of the Senate.

592. §. 36. And now *M. Valerius Meſſala* and *C. Fannius Strabo* were choſen *Conſuls* for the new Year. It is probable that one of them was employed to keep *Liguria* in Awe, and that the other went into *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, but there is no Account of their military Exploits. A new Law call'd *The Fannian* * *Law*, becauſe drawn up by *Fannius*, was paſs'd by the Republick this Year to reſtrain immoderate Expences at Feaſts and Entertainments; and ſome foreign Rhetoricians and Philoſophers who kept Schools at *Rome* were baniſhed thence by a Decree of the Senate. 291ſt *Conſulſhip*. * *See p.* 534.

§. 37. During theſe Regulations at Home the *Romans* did not neglect the Affairs of *Syria*; they ſent three Commiſſioners thither to watch the Steps of *Demetrius*. This Prince landed firſt in *Lycia*, and wrote thence a reſpectful Letter to the Senate. Then he continued his Voyage to *Tripolis*, where he no ſooner appeared but he was proclaimed King by his Subjects. In order to increaſe the Number of his Friends he declared in all Places wherever he came that he was ſent by the *Roman* Senate to take Poſſeſſion of his Dominions. By this Means he made himſelf Maſter of *Apamea*, and his Army increaſed every Day. He marched it to the moſt Eaſtern Part of the Kingdom of *Syria*, of which *Babylon* was the Capital. *Timarchus* was the Governor of it, and his Adminiſtration was inſupportable to the People. *Demetrius* deliver'd the Country from him, and put him to Death, and from thence got the glorious Surname of *Soter* or Deliverer. After this *Antioch* opened her Gates to him. *Lyſias* and his Ward *Antiochus Eupator*, though at the Head of an Army, thought it ſafeſt to throw themſelves at the Feet of their lawful King, and therefore deſired an Audience: But this was refuſed, which as ſoon as their Soldiers underſtood, they put them both to Death, believing they ſhould thereby make their Court to *Demetrius*. Demetrius Soter *gets Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of* Syria.

BOOK XLVII.

§. 1. *Demetrius* having got Poſſeſſion of the Throne of *Syria*, applied himſelf to gain the Favour of the *Romans*, who he knew had endeavoured to exclude him from his Right, only becauſe they doubted whether he would be ſo ſubmiſſive to their Commands as they deſired. His firſt Point was to get himſelf acknowledged King by *Tib. Gracchus*, the *Roman* Deputy for the Affairs of the *Levant*, who was now in *Cappadocia*. *Demetrius* ſent repeated Aſſurances to him of his inviolable Attachment to the Intereſts of *Rome*, and *Gracchus* being willing to be perſuaded, recogniz'd his Title. Then the King ſent an Embaſſy to *Rome* with a rich Preſent of a Crown of Gold; at the ſame time he delivered up both the *African* who had murder'd *Octavius*, and a certain Orator named *Iſocrates*, who had harangued the People and applauded the Aſſaſſination. The Senate accepted the Preſent, and gave the King ſeeming Proofs of a perfect Reconciliation, but they rejected the two Victims, as by no Means an adequate Satisfaction to the Republick for the Offence committed againſt her. Thus by mixing Evidences of Friendſhip for the Sovereign, with Marks of Reſentment againſt the Nation, the politick *Romans* kept the *Syrians* divided between Fear and Hope.

593. §. 2. The *Conſuls* for the new Year, *L. Anicius Gallus* and *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, went rather to encamp than make War, one in *Liguria*, the other in *Ciſalpine Gaul*. The Republick made it her chief Buſineſs to keep all the Princes of the Eaſt in their Submiſſion and Dependence on her; and to the end that one or other of them might 292*d Conſulſhip*.

might always give her Notice of what Schemes were forming in the *Levant*, ſhe fomented Diviſions and Diſtruſts among them. *Judas Maccabæus* applied to her for Protection againſt *Demetrius*, and it was readily granted: The *Romans* enter'd into a Treaty of Confederacy with the *Jews*; and then the Senate wrote the following imperious and threatening Letter to the *Syrian*. *Why have you inſulted and oppreſſed the* Jewiſh *Nation? Know that the* Jews *are our Allies. If you give them the Trouble to ſend another Embaſſy to complain of you, we will treat you as an Enemy, and purſue you by Sea and Land.* But this Letter doubtleſs did not arrive till *Judas Maccabæus* was ſlain in a Battel, where he commanded only eight hundred Men againſt a numerous Army of *Syrians* under *Bacchis*. Year of ROME 593

Paulus Æmilius *dies.*

§. 3. Whilſt the *Jews* were lamenting the Death of *Judas* (who was ſucceeded by his Brother *Jonathan* in the Command of their Troops and in the Pontificate) the *Romans* were bewailing that of *Paulus Æmilius*. No Man, except *Scipio Africanus*, had done his Country more important Services. By his Conqueſt of *Macedon* he had ſecured to his Republick the Sovereignty over all the Eaſt: And he had done her as much Service by his exemplary Virtues as by his Victories. In the midſt of that Licentiouſneſs introduced with Riches into *Rome*, he kept up in Repute Frugality, Continence, a Contempt of Wealth and a Love of Equity.

293d Conſulſhip.

§. 4. The preſent *Conſuls* ſignalized themſelves but little in their Adminiſtration, and their Succeſſors *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella* and *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, yet leſs. 594.

294th Conſulſhip.

§. 5. And in the following *Conſulſhip* of *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *C. Popillius Lænas*, the Affairs of the Eaſt were what chiefly engaged the Attention of the Republick. *Demetrius*, to revenge himſelf on *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia* for refuſing to marry his Daughter, had driven him from his Throne, and placed *Orofernes*, a ſuppoſititious Son of the late *Cappadocian* King, upon it. *Ariarathes* fled to *Rome* for Refuge. He pleaded his own Cauſe before the Senate, and ſome Ambaſſadors from *Orofernes* defended that of their Maſter, and aſſerted his Legitimacy. They alledged, that *Orofernes* was really the elder Brother of *Ariarathes* by the ſame Father and Mother, though the Mother, out of Partiality for her younger Son, had perſuaded her Husband into a Belief that the elder was neither his Son nor hers. The *Romans* followed the common Maxims of their Policy, which was to divide the Strength of Kingdoms as much as poſſible, and therefore order'd *Cappadocia* to be ſhared between the two Competitors. 595.

§. 6. And this ſame Policy made them adhere to their former Determination with Regard to the two *Ptolomies*, who were again at Variance about the Iſland of *Cyprus*; the Grant of it was confirmed to the younger, to make the Balance of Power equal between them.

§. 7. But this ſovereign Will of the *Romans* was not equally revered in all Places. The *Dalmatians*, who bordered upon *Illyricum*, did not ſcruple to make Incurſions and commit Robberies there, though it was a Country tributary to the Republick. Nay, they would ſcarce vouchſafe an Audience to *Fannius* the *Roman* Ambaſſador, who came to complain of their Proceedings and demand Satisfaction. The Senate therefore upon the Report which *Fannius* made of the haughty Treatment he had met with reſolved to begin a War with *Dalmatia*, but not immediately; and another Embaſſy into *Africa*, at the Head of which was *Cato the Cenſor*, paved the Way for the third War with *Carthage*: So that theſe two great Enterprizes took their Riſe in the *Conſulſhip* of *Sex. Julius Cæſar*, and *L. Aurelius Oreſtes*, one of the moſt peaceable Years that *Rome* had ever known. *Maſiniſſa* had invaded *Tyſca*, a rich Province belonging to the *Carthaginians*, and the Diſpute was referred to the Arbitration of the Senate of *Rome*. The *Fathers* were always inclined to favour the Encroachments of the *Numidian* upon *Carthage*, but they were unwilling to pronounce in this Cauſe, for fear of bringing a Diſgrace upon themſelves by a Decree notoriouſly unjuſt. They ordered Commiſſioners therefore to go and determine the Diſpute upon the Spot. But when *Cato* and his Collegues arrived there, the *Carthaginians* would not accept of them for Judges. *The Great* Scipio, ſaid they, *ſettled our Limits by a Treaty of Peace. The Cauſe has been already decided by that Conqueror, that Arbiter of* Africa. *To alter his Appointments would be to reflect on the Memory of the greateſt of Men.* This Declaration provoked the Pride of *Cato* to the higheſt Degree; however, he diſſembled his Reſentments, and leaving *Tyſca* a Prey to *Maſiniſſa*'s Troops, went to *Carthage*. There he examined every thing with a malicious Eye, in order to find Pretences to exerciſe his Revenge one Day on that unfortunate City. When he returned to *Rome*, he reported that *Carthage* was grown immenſely rich and populous, that her Magazines were crowded with Stores, and her Ports full of Ships; and that the War ſhe was making with the *Numidian* was only an Introduction to a more important one with *Rome*; and concluded with a warm Exhortation to the Senate to loſe no time, but immediately ſend Forces utterly to deſtroy a City and Republick, which while they ſubſiſted, would ever be an Obſtacle to the ſovereign Authority of *Rome*, both in the Eaſt and South. It is alſo reported, that he brought from *Carthage* ſome very

295th Conſulſhip.

596.

The firſt Occaſion of the third Punic *War.*

Year of large Figs which kept freſh through the whole Voyage, and that ſhewing them to
ROME the *Conſcript Fathers* in one of the Lappets of his Robe, he added, *The Country*
596. *where this fine Fruit grows is but three Days Voyage from* Rome. And from this time he was ever inciting them to deſtroy *Carthage*. Every time he ſpoke there, be the Subject what it would, he always concluded with theſe Words, *I am alſo of Opinion that* Carthage *ſhould be deſtroyed*. It is probable that his Wiſhes would have been ſooner accompliſhed, if *Scipio Naſica* had not conſtantly and ſteadily oppoſed him in this Particular. After the Death of *Paulus Æmilius* theſe two Men had the chief Sway in the Senate, and almoſt all Affairs were determined according to their Opinions. §. 9. The two new Wars which were going to break out were doubtleſs what induced the *Conſcript Fathers* to order the *Quæſtors* to take an exact Account of the great Riches which had been ſo long heaping up in the publick Treaſury. They found ſeventeen hundred and twenty ſeven Pounds weight of Gold, and ninety two thouſand three hundred and eighty five Pounds weight of Silver, the whole amounting in Value to about three hundred ſixty thouſand fifty one Pounds *Engliſh* Money, which muſt have been a prodigious Sum at that time, ſince the Republick undertook all her future Wars upon the Strength of this
597. Fund, without laying any Tax on the Citizens of *Rome*. And now the *Romans* 296*th Con-*
raiſed to the *Conſulate C. Marcius Figulus* and *L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus*. The *ſulſhip.*
former was appointed by the Senate without drawing Lots to carry the War into *Dalmatia*. Having croſſed the *Adriatick* with his Army, he landed in *Illyricum* and marched thence againſt the Enemy, who were a ſavage kind of People, brave, but ignorant in the Art of War. The *Conſul*, through want of Caution, was ſurprized and defeated by them in the firſt Battel; after which, the Winter approaching, both Armies quitted the Field till the return of good Weather. Then *Figulus* proceeded with more Circumſpection, and took ſome Towns of Importance, which he reduced to Aſhes. But the Glory of happily finiſhing this War was reſerved
598. for his Succeſſor. §. 10. *P. Cornelius Scipio Naſica*, and *C. Claudius Marcellus* 297*th Con-*
being choſen *Conſuls* for the new Year, it fell by Lot to the former to continue the *ſulſhip.*
War againſt the *Dalmatians*. *Naſica* laid Siege to *Delminium* their Capital, and obſerving that all the Houſes were built of Wood, and covered only with combuſtible Matter, he made uſe of his *Catapultæ* and *Baliſtæ* to throw into the Town lighted Torches, which ſet it on Fire in many Places; and whilſt the Inhabitants were labouring to ſave their Effects, and the Soldiers of the Garriſon were buſy in plundering, the *Romans* ſcaled the Walls. And thus the *Conſul*, almoſt without any Loſs, made himſelf Maſter of a City, the Conqueſt of which was attended with that of all *Dalmatia*. His Collegue *Marcellus* gained likewiſe ſome Advantages againſt the *Ligurians* and other Nations, for which he was honoured with a Triumph. Dalmatia *conquered by the* Romans.

§. 11. Theſe repeated Proſperities of the Republick, and eſpecially the Conqueſt of *Dalmatia*, made the *Roman* Name more and more reverenced by the Nations in the Eaſt. They referred their Quarrels with one another to the Arbitration of the Senate; particularly the *Athenians* at this Time appeal'd to the *Conſcript Fathers* from a ſevere Sentence * paſſed againſt them by the Tribunal of the *Sicyonians*, and they obtained Redreſs. §. 12. But *Pruſias* King of *Bithynia* did not now pay ſo ready an Obedience to the Orders of the Senate as formerly. He had invaded the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, of which *Attalus* was now Regent, his Nephew and Pupil the Son of *Eumenes* being a Minor. *Rome* ſent Ambaſſador after Ambaſſador to *Pruſias*, and commanded him to ceaſe his Hoſtilities, but all in vain; and ſhe was obliged at laſt to raiſe up her Allies in the Eaſt againſt him, and thereby terrify him into a Submiſſion to her Dictates. §. 13. And while *Rome* thus made herſelf feared Abroad ſhe reformed Abuſes at Home. Two Laws †, *The Ælian* and *The Furian* were paſſed at this time, to rectify ſome Diſorders in thoſe Aſſemblies of the People which were held for making new Laws.

* *See p.* 548.

† *See p.* 551.

599. And now the Republick having choſen *Q. Opimius Nepos* and *L. Poſthumius Albinus* to be *Conſuls*, ſhe reſolved to ſend them to conduct two Wars in the Weſt, whilſt the Senate took care of Affairs in the Eaſt. *Poſtumius* was ordered into *Spain*, and *Opimius* into *Tranſalpine Gaul*. §. 14. The Avarice and Extortions of the *Roman Prætors* in *Spain* had cauſed almoſt a general Revolt there. The Legion commanded by the *Prætor Calpurnius Piſo* had been defeated by the *Luſitanians*, and he himſelf with his *Quæſtor Terentius Varro* had been killed in the Battel. It was this ill News which induced the *Romans* to order *Poſtumius* thither, but his Wife a little before his Departure from *Italy* having given him a ſlow Poiſon, he was taken ſo ill at Sea, that he could not bear the Motion of the Ship, and was brought back to *Rome* where he died in ſeven Days after his Return. *Acilius Glabrio* was choſen *Conſul* in his room, but the Senate did not ſend him into *Spain*, not thinking him qualified to undertake the Re-eſtabliſhment of their Affairs in that Country. 298*th Conſulſhip.*

The Romans *penetrate, for the first Time, into* Transalpine Gaul.

§. 15. As for the *Consul Opimius*, he made a successful Campaign in *Transalpine Gaul.* It was the first time that the *Roman* Forces had penetrated into that Country. The Hostilities of the *Ligurians* against the *Marseillians*, the old Friends of *Rome*, were what drew the *Romans* thither. §. 16. In the mean time the Senate was busied in putting an End to some fresh Quarrels between the two *Ptolomies*. *Philometor* had not only refused to yield *Cyprus* to his Brother, but had stirred up *Physcon*'s own Subjects in *Cyrenaica* to take Arms against their King. The latter came to *Rome* and shewed the Wounds he had receiv'd in the Battel where he was defeated by the Rebels; and he implored the Protection of the *Romans* against his Brother, who, he said, had given him those Wounds with his own Hand. The Senate adhered to their former Decision in favour of *Physcon*, and not only sent five Ambassadors in different Ships into *Egypt* to urge *Philometor* to a Compliance, but wrote Letters to all the Allies of *Rome* in the *Levant* to take Arms against him, in case he refus'd to obey their Decrees. However, *Philometor* was not terrified by all these Measures taken in favour of *Physcon*. He resolved to maintain himself in the Possession of *Cyprus*; and he succeeded contrary to the Expectations of all the East. He defeated *Physcon*, who had landed in *Cyprus* with a numerous Army of the *Roman* Allies, and took him Prisoner. However, he would not put him to Death, he acted a more generous and more politick Part, he set him at Liberty, and restored *Cyrenaica* to him; and then *Physcon* of his own Accord gave up all Pretensions to *Cyprus*. Thus *Egypt* was settled in Peace, and the two Brothers lived in good Intelligence with each other and with *Rome*.

Year of *ROME* 599.

§. 17. About this Time *The Tribunes of the People* at *Rome* did an Act of Justice which gained them great Honour, and well deserves to be remark'd. A *Roman* Citizen named *Cotta* had some Way got into the *Tribuneship*, purely to screen himself from his Creditors who prosecuted him. He thought himself safe in an Office which made his Person inviolable. But the rest of the *Tribunes*, ashamed of such a Collegue, threatened him to take the Cause of his Creditors into their Hands if he did not pay them or give them Security.

299th Consulship.

Ever since the Year 531 it had been customary for the *Consuls* not to enter upon their Office till the Ides of *March* (our fifteenth of *March*:) But this Year the Necessity of sending a *Consul* without Delay into *Spain*, made the *Romans* assemble their *Comitia* for the grand Elections several Months before the usual time. *Q. Fulvius Nobilior* and *T. Annius Luscus* were now promoted to the *Consulate*, and they were the first *Consuls* installed on the first of *January*, their Predecessors abdicating to make Way for them: And from this time to the end of the Republick, the first of *January* was always the Day for the two chief Magistrates to take Possession of the *Fasces*.

600.

The Roman *Armies unsuccessful in* Spain.

And now *Rome* was wholly intent on the important War she had to maintain against the Rebels in *Spain*. Above half this vast Continent was in a Flame. *Fulvius* was sent thither with a considerable Army, and landed at *Tarragona*. §. 18. From thence he marched against the *Segedani* and *Aravacæ*, two neighbouring Nations near the Springs of the *Duero*, who had united their Forces to the Number of twenty five thousand Men, under the Command of a brave General named *Carus*. *Carus* laid an Ambush for the *Consul* in a Wood, surpriz'd him, and killed six thousand of his *Legionaries*, but pursuing the Fugitives with too much Ardour into the Plain, he was there attacked by the *Roman* Horse, who had not yet engaged, and lost as many Soldiers as the Enemy had done, together with his own Life. This Battel was fought on the Feast of *Vulcan*, a Day which the Republick ordered should ever after be deemed *Unlucky*, like those on which she had lost the Battels of the *Allia*, *Cannæ*, &c. For though the Numbers slain on each Side were equal, the Loss of six thousand *Legionaries* transported into *Spain* was a much greater Loss to the *Romans* than that of the same Number of Men was to the *Spaniards* in their own Country. However it is probable that this Regulation was owing to an excessive Resentment against the *Consul Fulvius*. §. 19. The *Spaniards* having assembled their Forces near *Numantia*, and having chosen two new Leaders, came to a second Engagement with the *Romans*. The latter gained the Day by the Means of some Elephants which they had received from *Masiniſſa*. The *Spaniards* of this Country having never seen any of these huge Beasts before, were terrified by them, and the Smell of them alone put their Horse into Disorder. But the *Consul*, after this Victory, imprudently attempting to scale the Walls of *Numantia* (whither the Enemy had retired) by bringing his Elephants near them, to serve him instead of the wooden Towers used in Sieges, one of them was wounded; and the hideous Noise this Beast made frightning the rest of the Elephants, they turned upon the *Roman Legions* and put them into Disorder. The Besieged took Advantage of the Accident, sallied out, totally defeated the *Consul*'s Troops, and killed four thousand of them. *Fulvius*, after this ill Success and some other Disasters which followed it, durst not separate his Troops

Year of *ROME* 600. Troops and put them into different Quarters, even during the Winter. He kept them encamp'd in the Field all the Winter Seaſon, which became ſo ſevere, that great Numbers of his Men periſhed with Cold, Want and Fatigue.

§. 20. Nor was the Campaign which the *Roman Prætor Mummius* made in *Luſitania* much more ſucceſsful: He loſt the beſt part of his Army, together with his Camp in the firſt Battel he had with the Rebels; and the Advantages he gained afterwards did not ſufficiently repair that Loſs.

§. 21. However, the Check which the *Romans* received in *Spain* did not leſſen the Reſpect which was paid them in other Places. Young *Attalus*, Son and Heir of *Eumenes* the late King of *Pergamus* came to *Rome* to do Homage to the Republick for his Crown, and was kindly received and treated with Honour. *Demetrius Soter* alſo ſent his Son *Demetrius* to *Rome* to be there educated. He hoped by this Means to get the Senate's Approbation of his Son's Succeſſion to the Throne after him, which otherwiſe would be precarious. But now the *Romans* remembring the Reaſons they had to be diſcontented with the Father, they made no Preparations for the young Prince's Reception, and ſcarce treated him as a King's Son. The Prince's Governors were ſo provoked at this Uſage, that they very ſoon carried him privately back into *Syria*. The ſudden Eſcape of young *Demetrius* from *Rome* gave the *Romans* as great Offence as that of his Father had formerly done; and they now reſolved to take Revenge for both. There were then at *Rome* a Prince and Princeſs, who were ſaid to be the Children of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and in all Appearance were ſo. *Heraclides*, one of the chief Lords of *Syria*, having been affronted by *Demetrius Soter*, and having made his Eſcape from the *Syrian* Court, was likewiſe at *Rome* waiting for a favourable Opportunity to produce theſe two Children, *Alexander* and *Laodice*, to the Senate. He laid hold of the preſent Moment, when the *Romans* were full of Reſentment for the Eſcape of *Demetrius*, to preſent the Prince and Princeſs to the *Conſcript Fathers*, and obtained the following Decree in their Favour. *Having examined into the Petition of* Alexander *and* Laodice, *the Children of* Antiochus Epiphanes *King of* Syria, *the Friend and Ally of the* Roman *People, we give the Son leave to recover the Rights of his Father; and our Will and Pleaſure is, that our Allies aſſiſt him in recovering his Dominions.*

The Senate of Rome *decree the Kingdom of* Syria *to* Alexander *the Son of* Antiochus Epiphanes.

601. §. 22. And whilſt *M. Claudius Marcellus* (who with *L. Valerius Flaccus* had been raiſed to the *Conſulate* for the new Year) was preparing to paſs with eight thouſand Foot and five hundred Horſe into *Spain*, *Alexander* appeared in *Syria* with a formidable Army. It conſiſted of the Troops with which the Kings of *Pergamus*, *Cappadocia* and *Egypt* had furniſhed him at the Sollicitation of the *Romans*. He was alſo joined by *Jonathan Maccabæus* with the Forces of *Judæa*, and coming to a Battel ſoon after with *Demetrius* the latter was routed, and loſt both his Kingdom and his Life.

300th Conſulſhip.

§. 23. *Marcellus* having landed in *Spain*, and carried on the War ſucceſsfully for ſome time, was very deſirous of ſettling a general Peace there before his *Conſulſhip* expired, that he might have a Triumph on that Account at his return to *Rome*. The Articles of the Peace were agreed upon between him and the Rebels, and only wanted to be ratified by the Senate. To this end the Rebels ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, and they were accompanied by ſome Agents from *Marcellus*. But the *Fathers* ſeeing through the Deſigns of the *Conſul*, and being likewiſe counſelled by ſome Deputies from two Provinces in Friendſhip with the *Romans* not to grant the Peace deſired, they reſolved to purſue the War with more Vigour than ever.

Carthage *provokes the* Romans *to begin a third* Punic *War.*

§. 24. In the mean time a War began to break out in *Africa*. *Carthage* being continually harraſſed by the Invaſions of *Maſiniſſa*, and tired out with the Partiality and Injuſtice of the *Roman* Republick, took a bold Step which was the firſt Cauſe of her Deſtruction. Having entered into an Alliance with *Archobarzanes* the Grandſon of *Syphax*, and King of one Part of *Numidia*, ſhe engaged him to march with a great Army to the Frontiers of *Maſiniſſa*'s Dominions. The Senate looked upon this Step as a Breach of the Treaties made between her and the States of *Africa*, none of which were by thoſe Treaties to take Arms without the Conſent of the Republick: So that *Cato* had now a fair Opportunity to diſplay his Hatred againſt the *Carthaginians*. *It is not*, ſaid he, *ſo much againſt* Maſiniſſa *as* Rome, *that theſe Preparations for War are levelled.* Maſiniſſa *is only the Pretence*, Italy *is the Point in view. Hence that vaſt Number of Gallies which I ſaw in the Port of* Carthage. *To neglect my Advice is to neglect the Glory and Safety of* Rome. But as great a Sway as *Cato* had in the Republick, *Scipio Naſica* had ſtill a greater; and he prevailed to have the War deferred till an Embaſſy ſhould be ſent to *Carthage* to examine without Paſſion into the true State of Affairs there. *Naſica* was himſelf named Ambaſſador for the Negotiation he had propoſed, and when he came into *Africa*, conducted himſelf with great Prudence and Moderation. He made himſelf the Mediator between *Carthage* and *Maſiniſſa*, and obtained of the latter a Conſent to reſtore the Lands which had occaſioned all the Quarrel. Thus all Commotions

would have been quieted and *Carthage* ſaved, if it had not been for a ſeditious *Carthaginian* named *Giſgo*, a Man in Office and in Favour with the People. This Wretch in their publick Aſſemblies ſpoke vehemently againſt the Peace which had been juſt negotiated, and ſo inflamed the Populace, that they would have offered Violence to *Naſica*, if he had not eſcaped by Flight; and as there were about forty Perſons in the Senate of *Carthage* who had been wiſe enough to approve the Peace, theſe were condemned to perpetual Baniſhment. The Senate was highly incenſed at the Treatment their Ambaſſador had met with from the *Carthaginians*, and *Cato* was much rejoiced to find *Naſica* at his Return agree with him thus far, That *Carthage deſerved* to be deſtroyed. However, the Vengeance of the Republick was ſuſpended for the preſent on Account of the War ſhe had juſt proclaimed againſt the *Celtiberians* in *Spain*. Year of *ROME* 601.

301*ſt Conſulſhip.* §. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29. But now when *L. Licinius Lucullus* and *A. Poſtumius Albinus* being choſen *Conſuls*, were ordered to raiſe new Levies to recruit the *Legions* in *Spain*, they found that none of the Citizens were willing to go thither, either as Officers or private Soldiers. The Accounts they had received of the Hardſhips which the Troops under *Fulvius* had ſuffered, by ſpending a whole Winter in Tents, diſcouraged them; and what is more extraordinary, the *Tribunes of the People* protected thoſe who refuſed to enliſt themſelves. The Senate and *Conſuls* were much perplexed what Method to take. At length *Scipio Æmilianus*, the Son of the late *Paulus Æmilius*, extricated them out of their Difficulties. Being but thirty three Years old, his Age had excluded him hitherto from any of the great Employments civil or military, but yet he had made himſelf noted for an extraordinary Prudence. One Day, when the People were aſſembled for the Enrolments, he deſired Leave to ſpeak to them, which being granted he mounted the *Roſtra*, and made an Harangue full of the true *Roman* Spirit. The Ardour he expreſs'd for the Service of his Country, and his offering to go himſelf into *Spain*, and ſerve there in any Capacity the Governors of the Republick ſhould think fit, had ſuch an Effect, that the People were now as ſollicitous to have their Names enroll'd as they had before been backward to it. Then the *Conſuls* drew Lots for their Provinces. *Spain* fell to *Lucullus* and *Ciſalpine Gaul* to *Poſtumius*. It is uncertain whether *Scipio Æmilianus* ſerved under *Lucullus* as one of his Lieutenant Generals, or only as *Legionary Tribune*; but whatever was his Poſt, he gained all the Glory that was acquired during the War. Both *Lucullus* who commanded in *Hither Spain*, and the *Prætor Sulpicius Galba* who commanded in *Luſitania*, made themſelves infamous by the baſeſt Treachery *, Cruelty and Avarice, but *Æmilianus* acquired a high Reputation of Probity even among the Enemy. And as for his Bravery, he not only ſlew in ſingle Combat a *Spaniard* of a gigantick Stature, who had challenged the boldeſt of the *Romans* to fight, but obtained from the *Roman* General a Mural and a Civic Crown, for two Exploits which entitled him to thoſe Rewards. *Lucullus*, probably out of Jealouſy, ſent him ſoon after into *Numidia*, under Pretence of deſiring ſome Elephants of King *Maſiniſſa*. 602.

* *See p. 570 and 573.*

§. 30. In the mean time *Guluſſa* the Son of *Maſiniſſa* arrived at *Rome*, and confirmed the Accounts which the Senate had received from ſeveral Quarters, that Preparations were making at *Carthage* for an open Declaration of War with the Republick. He told the *Conſcript Fathers* that when he and his Brother *Micipſa* went to *Carthage* to ſollicit the recalling of thoſe Exiles who had been baniſhed for their Attachment to the Intereſt of his Father and of *Rome*, the *Carthaginians* had not only refuſed them Entrance into the City, but had laid an Ambuſh to ſurprize them in their Return, had fallen upon them on a ſudden, and killed ſome of their Attendants. *Cato* immediately took Occaſion from this Account of the Affront offered to the *Numidian* Princes, to repeat again the Words which he had ſo often uttered, *There is no Safety for* Rome *till* Carthage *be deſtroyed.* But the Advice of his Opponent *Naſica* ſtill prevailed, and at his Motion Deputies were ſent into *Africa* to inform themſelves upon the Spot of the Preparations the *Carthaginians* were making by Sea and Land. The Deputies ſoon returned, and reported that *Carthage* had undoubtedly a Deſign to make War in ſome other Place than the Continent of *Africa*, that her Fleet was numerous and well equipped, and that her Land Forces made a formidable Army. But notwithſtanding theſe Appearances, and all the Eloquence of *Cato*, *Naſica* had Influence enough over the Senate to ſuſpend their Decree againſt the *Carthaginians*. *We ought to try all Means*, ſaid he, *before we come to Extremities.* Carthage *it is true has been guilty of an Infraction of the Treaties: But may ſhe not repent of her Fault? And does it not become the Magnanimity of the* Romans, *to point her out the Way to ſhew her Repentance? Let us order the* Carthaginians *to burn their Fleet and diſband their Troops, and then regulate our Reſolutions by their Submiſſion or Diſobedience.* The ſteady Moderation of *Naſica* was again applauded, and all the Senators yielded to his Opinion; *Carthage* was allowed Time to breathe, and to ſubmit. §. 31. The Republick at this time gave

Year of *ROME* 602. gave two other remarkable Instances of their Deference for this worthy Patriot. *Polybius* (the Historian) whom he had taken into his Friendship and Confidence, had prevailed with him to intercede with the Senate in favour of those *Achæans*, who had been so long detain'd at *Rome* in Captivity. At the Request of *Nasica* they were suffered to return into their own Country. The Senate likewise at his Motion, who was zealous for a Reformation of Manners, order'd a Theatre for Comedies, which by the Direction of the *Censors* was building at the Expence of the Publick, to be demolished; and they decreed that no Theatres should be built within the Walls of *Rome*, nor any Comedies acted within a Mile of it.

603. §. 32. And now the Republick chose new *Consuls*, *T. Quinctius Flamininus* and *M' Acilius Balbus*. The Historians have not told us how they were dispos'd of. It is probable that one of them staid at *Rome* to punish and put a Stop to the Practice of poisoning, which of late was grown very common there. The Poisoners were found to be for the most part Women, and were condemn'd to die. And it was at this time that a young Woman gave that singular Instance of Filial Affection so much admired by the Antients. The Goaler, to whom one of the Criminals was deliver'd over to be privately executed in Prison, did not immediately strangle her, but left her to starve to Death in a Dungeon. Her Daughter had just lain in, and being frequently admitted to visit her Mother, preserved her Life by suckling her. The Goaler was surprized to see his Prisoner live so long, having always taken care to search the Daughter, and hinder her from conveying any Provisions to her Mother. The thing was at length discovered, the Criminal pardon'd in Consideration of her Daughter's Virtue, and a Maintenance for Life order'd by the Senate for both; and to perpetuate the Memory of the Action, the Prison was turned into a Temple, and consecrated to *Filial Piety*. 302*d* Consulship.

§. 33, 34. While *Rome* was thus busied in domestick Affairs, a bloody War was carrying on between *Carthage* and *Masinissa*. The *Numidian* King, though now almost ninety Years of Age, had lost little of his Vigour of Mind or Strength of Body; and to revenge the Affront which had been offered to his two Sons by the *Carthaginians*, he raised a powerful Army and laid Siege to *Oroscopa*, one of their Cities. *Carthage*, upon this News, sent out a considerable Number of Forces under *Asdrubal*, the present Head of the Republick, to relieve the Place. In the first Battels between the two Armies the *Numidians* had always the Disadvantage. At length *Masinissa* pretending Fear retired before the Enemy, and by Degrees drew them to a Place where the Ground favoured him. The Armies were now each of them above fifty thousand strong, and they came to a general Engagement, in which the Victory declared for the *Numidians*. However, as this Victory was not decisive, *Scipio Æmilianus*, who, being just before arrived, had from an Eminence been a Spectator of the Battel, undertook to negotiate a Peace between the two Parties. §. 35, 36, 37. But his Mediation proved ineffectual, and Hostilities were renewed. Both Armies became greatly distressed for want of Provisions, but the *Carthaginians* suffered most, and they were at length reduced to such Extremity, that they yielded to all the Conditions of Peace imposed by the *Numidian*, who among other Things obliged them to pass under the Yoke unarm'd and half naked. And now *Gulussa*, the Son of *Masinissa*, remembring the Ambush which the *Carthaginians* had treacherously laid for him at his return from their Capital, resolved to revenge this perfidious Act by another. With his *Numidian* Horse he pursued the unarmed Multitude, who were marching Home, and fell upon them, when they had neither Weapons nor Courage to defend themselves, nor Strength to fly. Of fifty eight thousand Men only *Asdrubal* and some other Officers of Distinction escaped to *Carthage*. The *Romans* had sent Ambassadors into *Africa*, under Pretence of putting an end to the Differences between *Carthage* and *Numidia* in an amicable Manner; but they had private Instructions not to do it, unless they found that *Masinissa* was defeated. Accordingly, when the Ambassadors saw how Matters went, they suffered the *Numidian* to push his Enemies to the utmost Extremity. And now the *Romans*, taking Advantage of the prodigious Loss the *Carthaginians* had sustained, deferred no longer to declare War against them, notwithstanding that the latter sent an Embassy to *Rome*, offering all kinds of Submission. *Cato* in a long Harangue * urged the Senate to attempt the total Destruction of *Carthage*. But this Project was again opposed by *Scipio Nasica*. He represented † to the *Conscript Fathers* the great Benefits which accrued to *Rome* from her having such a Rival as the *African* Republick; particularly that it made her act with more Caution and Justice than she would otherwise do, in deciding the Quarrels between foreign Nations; and that it preserved her from that Security Abroad which would inevitably produce civil Dissentions at Home; and he thus concluded his Speech: *Let us chastise and impoverish* Carthage, *but let us not destroy her*. And it is probable that *Rome* design'd no more at this time. It was an Event which afterwards happened that led her to take that surprizing Resolution of totally destroying her Rival.

* Vid. *p.* 580.

† *Vide* p. 581.

Year of *ROME* 604.

BOOK XLVIII.

303*d Conſulſhip.* *The third* Punic*War.*

§. 1. AS ſoon as *L. Marcius Cenſorinus* and *M' Manilius Nepos* the *Conſuls* for the new Year were enter'd upon their Office, they cauſed the War againſt *Carthage* to be proclaimed in the *Comitia* of the People. The Reaſons aſſigned for it were, *That* Carthage, *contrary to her Covenants in the laſt Treaty of Peace, had fitted out a great Number of Ships of War; That ſhe had gone beyond her Limits to attack the King of* Numidia, *the Friend and Ally of the* Roman *People; and laſtly, That ſhe had refuſed to let* Guluſſa, *the Son of* Maſiniſſa, *enter within her Gates, though conducted by* Roman *Ambaſſadors.* §. 2. And now when the Command of the *Roman* Fleet had fallen by Lot to *Marcius*, and that of the Land Forces to *Manilius*, and when they had prepared all Things for their Expedition into *Africa*, Ambaſſadors arrived at *Rome* from the People of *Utica* who, weary of the *Carthaginian* Government, deſired to be admitted into an Alliance with the *Romans*, and offered to ſurrender up their City to the Republick at Diſcretion. This new and unexpected Advantage occaſioned a Change in the Reſolutions of the Senate, who now ſtrictly enjoined the *Conſuls* to puſh the War till they had utterly deſtroyed *Carthage.* §. 3. The *Carthaginians*, terrified by the Defection of *Utica*, and the great Preparations which were making at *Rome* againſt them, could think of no Means whereby to avert the impending Storm, but to yield themſelves and their Dominions up to the *Romans* by way of DEDITION. This Word implied the moſt abſolute Surrendry of Life, Liberty, and every thing they poſſeſs'd. To this end they diſpatched Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, who being admitted to an Audience by the Senate, with Tears pronounced in the Name of the *African* Republick the fatal Word. The *Conſcript Fathers* ſeemed ſatisfied with it, and promiſed that the *Carthaginians* ſhould continue to enjoy their Lands, Effects, Liberty and Laws as before, provided they would ſend three hundred Hoſtages to the *Conſuls* who were now in *Sicily*, and would farther do what the *Conſuls* ſhould command them. Accordingly theſe Hoſtages were ſent to the *Conſuls* at *Lilybæum*, who immediately after ſet ſail for *Utica*, and there landed their Troops to the Number of ſeventy four thouſand Men, Horſe and Foot. §. 4. It is eaſy to judge of the Conſternation the *Carthaginians* were in when they beheld ſo terrible an Enemy in their Neighbourhood, and heard War declared againſt them, even after the Submiſſions they had made. §. 5. They ſent Deputies to the *Conſuls* to expoſtulate with them, and to learn their Intentions. *Marcius* anſwer'd, that he would gradually communicate to them the Orders he had received from the Senate, beginning with that which required moſt Diſpatch; and then added, *Since you are under the Protection of* Rome, *and ſincerely deſire Peace, what Occaſion have you for that vaſt Number of Arms with which your Magazines are filled? Bring them hither, and thereby give us a freſh Proof that your Love of Peace is not merely feigned.* The Deputies were at firſt ſtunn'd with this Demand, but recollecting themſelves, remonſtrated to the *Conſul*, *That* Carthage *had other Enemies to contend with, beſides* Romans, *and therefore could not ſafely be without Arms; That ſhe was in Danger of being attacked by* Aſdrubal, *whom ſhe had condemned to die for having offended* Rome *by the late War againſt* Maſiniſſa, *and who having eſcaped, had got together an Army of twenty thouſand Men.* But to this the *Conſul* briskly replied. *Be eaſy*, Carthaginians, Rome *will provide for your Safety. Obey, and be in no Concern about any thing elſe.* Upon this the *Carthaginians*, without any Fraud, delivered up their Arms and Engines of War, and ſuffered the *Roman Quæſtors*, who were ſent to *Carthage* for that Purpoſe, to burn all their Gallies in the Port. §. 6, 7, 8. The moſt venerable old Men of the City, and the Prieſts belonging to the Temples attended the Carts which carried the Arms from the Magazines of *Carthage* to the *Roman* Camp; and then theſe Deputies preſenting themſelves before the *Conſuls*, waited to hear their laſt Doom. *Marcius* told them that he had but one thing more to demand of them in the Name of the *Roman* People. Rome, ſaid he, *requires that you abandon your City, which we have Orders to level with the Ground. You may build yourſelves another where you pleaſe, provided it be ten Miles from the Sea, and without Walls or Fortifications.* The Deputies at the hearing of theſe Words became quite frantick with Grief, Rage and Deſpair; it was ſome time before any of them could compoſe himſelf enough to make Remonſtrances to the *Conſul.* At length one *Hanno* being a little more ſedate than the reſt, endeavoured in a long Speech to move the *Conſuls* Compaſſion, and in the Concluſion of his Speech entreated them, that they would at leaſt allow the *Carthaginians* time to make freſh Application to the Senate of *Rome.* The *Conſuls* were inflexible, they would neither recede from the Sentence they had paſt, nor conſent to ſuſpend the Execution of it. The Deputies returned to

Carthage

Year of *ROME* 604. *Carthage* and made their Report, and then the whole City was nothing but Horror and Confuſion. The People broke into the Senate Houſe, and aſſaulted thoſe who had adviſed the giving Hoſtages, and delivering up the Arms which they now wanted for their Defence. They did not ſpare even the Deputies themſelves, but threw Stones at them, and dragged them through the Streets with Ignominy, as inauſpicious Ambaſſadors. Nevertheleſs among this great Number of raving People, there were a few who, leſs tranſported than the reſt, ſhewed ſome Appearance of Reaſon. They ſhut the Gates of the City, and gathered together upon the Ramparts great Heaps of Stones to ſerve them inſtead of other Arms in caſe of a Surprize. And at length when the firſt Storm was a little appeaſed the Senators aſſembled, and reſolved to ſuſtain a Siege. They began with taking the Malefactors out of Priſon, giving the Slaves their Liberty and incorporating them in the Militia. Then a Pardon was granted to *Aſdrubal*, who had been condemned to die only to pleaſe the *Romans*, and he was invited to employ, in the Defence of his Country, the twenty thouſand Men he had raiſed, and another *Aſdrubal* was appointed to govern the City. By order of the Senate the Temples and Porticoes were all turned into Work-houſes, where Men and Women were continually employed in making Arms. They every Day made a hundred and forty four Bucklers, three hundred Swords, a thouſand Darts, and five hundred Lances and Javelins. As to *Balliſtæ* and *Catapultæ*, though they wanted proper Materials for them, their Induſtry ſupplied that Defect. Where Iron and Braſs were wanting they made uſe of Gold and Silver, and the Women freely cut off their Hair to ſupply the Place of Tow and Flax. Without the Walls *Aſdrubal* employed his Troops in getting together Proviſions and conveying them to *Carthage*, ſo that there was as great Plenty there as in the *Roman* Camp. In the mean time the *Conſuls* delayed to draw near to the City in hopes that the *Carthaginians*, whom they thought deſtitute of Neceſſaries to ſuſtain a Siege, would upon cool Reflection ſubmit; and this Delay coſt the *Romans* many Battels and a great deal of Blood. [§. 9. *The Situation, Extent and Fortifications of* Carthage *are deſcribed.*] §. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. The *Romans* finding themſelves deceived in their Expectations came before the Place and inveſted it; they ſoon perceived, by a fruitleſs Attempt they made to ſcale the Walls, that the City could not be taken by Aſſault, that the Siege muſt be carried on in form, and that it would be a long one. For beſides that *Carthage* contained ſeven hundred thouſand Souls, *Aſdrubal* was drawing near with his Army to defend it. Any other Nation but the *Romans* would have been diſcouraged and have abandoned the Enterprize, but Conſtancy was the peculiar Virtue of this People. In the firſt Attacks the *Romans* had always the Diſadvantage; and they every Day perceived more and more the Dangers of the Undertaking in which they were engaged. They found it difficult to get Proviſions either by Sea or Land; and beſides this, being encamped near a Marſh, the Exhalations drawn from it by the Heat of the Seaſon infected the Air, and cauſed a Sickneſs among them. *Marcius* ordered his Fleet to draw as near the Shore as poſſible to receive the Troops and tranſport them to a healthier Place, but ſtill within reach of *Carthage*. *Aſdrubal* who commanded in the City having Notice of this Motion, ordered all the old Barks, which the *Romans* had ſpared, to be got together, made Fireſhips of them, and taking the Advantage of the Wind which blew towards the Enemy, let them drive upon their Ships. The *Roman* Fleet was almoſt all conſumed. Soon after this Diſaſter *Marcius* returned to *Rome*, to preſide at the grand Elections, and *Manilius* continued the War with no better Succeſs. He would have loſt his whole Army in a raſh * Enterprize, if it had not been for the Bravery and Conduct of *Scipio Æmilianus*, who being only *Legionary Tribune* at this Time, performed an Exploit like that of *Horatius Cocles*. With three hundred Horſe he ſuſtained the Attack of all the Forces commanded by *Aſdrubal* the *Carthaginian* General in the Field, and covered the *Legions* while they paſſed a River in their Retreat before the Enemy. Then he and his Companions threw themſelves into the Stream, and ſwam croſs it. By this and many other glorious Actions of Valour, Prudence and Probity, *Æmilianus*, in this unfortunate Campaign, eſtabliſhed himſelf ſo undiſputed a Reputation of true Heroiſm, that even *Cato* himſelf, who is ſaid never to have commended any body before, gave him the Praiſes due to him. *Cato* died ſoon after at the Age of eighty four or eighty five: Before he expired, he foretold that *Carthage* would never be reduced till *Æmilianus* undertook it.

Vide *p.* 594.

The Romans *beſiege* Carthage.

* *See p.* 599.

§. 15. The Arms of the Republick were yet more unſucceſsful this Year in *Spain* than in *Africa*. *Vetilius* the *Roman Prætor*, who commanded ten thouſand Men in the *Farther Province*, loſt four thouſand of them in a Battel againſt the *Luſitanians* under the Conduct of *Viriathus* (who from a Captain of *Banditti* was become General of the Rebels.) *Vetilius* was himſelf taken Priſoner; but the Soldier who took him ſeeing him old and heavy, and fancying he would not ſell well, killed him. Upon the News of this Diſaſter, the Republick in all haſte ſent *C. Plautius* into

The Roman *Arms unſucceſsful in* Spain.

Spain with a Reinforcement of ten thouſand Foot and thirteen hundred Horſe, and theſe being joined by thoſe *Spaniards* who adhered to the *Romans* made a formidable Army. However *Viriathus* entirely defeated likewiſe this new General and new Army in a pitched Battel. Year of *ROME* 604.

Macedon *revolts from the* Romans.

§. 16. Nor were theſe all the Loſſes which the *Romans* ſuſtained this Year. In *Macedon* the Work of *Paulus Æmilius* was totally overturned, and that tributary Republick was become an independent Monarchy. One *Andriſcus* (who falſely pretended to be Son of *Perſes* by one of his Miſtreſſes, and took the Name of *Philip*) being aſſiſted by the *Thracians*, had partly by Force of Arms and partly by Perſuaſion engaged the *Macedonians* to own him for their King, and had alſo conquered a part of *Theſſaly*. *Scipio Naſica*, whom the Senate ordered into *Greece* to learn the true State of Things, ſent them the foregoing Account. By the Aſſiſtance of the Allies, and particularly the *Achæans*, he made a Shift before he returned to *Rome* to drive the falſe *Philip* out of *Theſſaly*. But the *Prætor Juventius Thalna* who ſucceeded *Naſica* in *Greece*, and raſhly undertook to force his Way through the narrow Paſſes into *Macedon*, loſt both the *Legion* he commanded and his own Life. By this Means *Theſſaly* became an eaſy Conqueſt to *Philip*, who being now ſettled on his Throne, and elated with his Proſperity, ſhewed himſelf a thorough Tyrant; and by his Avarice, Oppreſſions and Cruelty amply revenged *Rome* on the *Macedonians* for their Revolt.

304*th Conſulſhip.* 605.

§. 17. *Sp. Poſtumius Albinus Magnus* and *L. Calpurnius Piſo Cæſonius* were choſen *Conſuls* at *Rome* for the new Year. The Conduct of the War in *Africa* fell by Lot to the latter. However, he did not haſten to his Province, but let *Manilius* continue to act there for ſome time with the Title of *Pro-Conſul*. During this Interval *Maſiniſſa*, at about ninety Years of Age, died at *Cyrtha* his Capital, and left his Dominions to be divided between his three legitimate Sons, appointing *Scipio Æmilianus* his Executor to make the Diviſion in ſuch manner as his Prudence ſhould Dictate. *Æmilianus* repaired to *Cyrtha* to diſcharge the Truſt repoſed in him, but not thinking it adviſeable to diſmember the Kingdom of *Numidia*, he decreed, that each of the Brothers ſhould have the Title of King, and only divided the Regal Functions among them, ſuitably to their Characters and Inclinations. To *Micipſa*, who was a Prince of great Prudence, but loved a ſedentary Life, he allotted the Government of the Finances; to *Guluſſa*, who delighted in War, he gave the Command of the Troops; and *Maſtanabal* the third Brother being a Man of Letters, was conſtituted ſupreme Judge in all civil Cauſes. Thus the three Brothers, though all Kings, were Miniſters to each other; and what is very admirable, an uninterrupted Concord reign'd among them. They were all pleaſed with the Diſpoſition *Æmilianus* had made; and *Guluſſa*, to ſhew his Gratitude to him, attended him back to the *Roman* Camp with a Body of *Numidian* Horſe, which he ſucceſsfully employed in the Service of the Republick. (His Father *Maſiniſſa* had lent the *Romans* no Aſſiſtance in this War. They had undertaken it without imparting their Deſign to him, and this had piqued him.) §. 18. 19. *Æmilianus*, ſoon after his Return to the Army before *Carthage*, found Means to have a private Conference with *Phameas*, General under *Aſdrubal* of the *Carthaginian* Cavalry, and brought him over, together with two thouſand two hundred of his Horſe, to the *Roman* Intereſt. *Phameas* was an able Commander, who by his Bravery and Skill in War had exceedingly diſtreſs'd and harraſs'd the *Roman* Army, ſo that the gaining of his Friendſhip was reckoned an important Acquiſition; and the *Pro-Conſul Manilius* ſent him ſoon after with *Æmilianus* to *Rome*, to receive the Honours and Rewards which he deſerved from the Republick. The *Pro-Conſul* at the ſame time wrote a Letter to the Senate, doing Juſtice to *Æmilianus*, to whom he acknowledged himſelf indebted for whatever Succeſſes he had met with.

Whilſt *Æmilianus* was receiving the Applauſes of the Senate and People at *Rome*, the *Conſul Piſo* and the *Prætor Mancinus* arrived in *Africa* to continue the War there; and whether they deſpaired of taking *Carthage*, or had a Mind to diſtinguiſh themſelves by a different Conduct from that of *Marcius* and *Manilius*, they, inſtead of purſuing the Siege of the Capital, applied themſelves wholly to take ſome other Cities on the *African* Coaſt, which they attacked both by Sea and Land. The Succeſs did not anſwer their Expectations. They were repulſed with Loſs before *Clypea*, nor could they take *Hippogreta*, though they beſieged it almoſt the whole Summer; and in ſhort, without having performed one valiant Action in all the Campaign, they were at length forced to retire with the Army and Fleet to *Utica* and ſpend the Winter there.

§. 20. In the mean time the *Carthaginians* ſent Deputies to the new King of *Macedon* to make an Alliance with him, and to encourage him to continue the War againſt the *Roman* Republick. They promiſed to aſſiſt him hereafter with Ships and Money, to maintain him in the Poſſeſſion of his Throne. The Hiſtori-

Year of *ROME* 605. ans have not told us the Anſwer which the *Macedonian* returned; but whatever were the Engagements he entered into with *Carthage* they were of little Service to him. The *Prætor* Q. *Cæcilius Metellus*, who now commanded the *Roman* Forces againſt him, defeated his Army in two pitched Battels, the firſt in *Macedon* and the ſecond in *Thrace*, where one of the petty Kings of the Country, to whom he fled for Refuge after the Battel, deliver'd him up Priſoner to the *Romans*. This Impoſtor was no ſooner reduced but another ſtarted up, who called himſelf *Alexander*, and pretended likewiſe to be a Son of *Perſes*. His Followers were rather a Mob than an Army, and they were eaſily diſperſed and quell'd.

Macedon *reconquered by the* Romans.

§. 22. The News of the reconquering of *Macedon* raiſed the *Romans* out of that general Dejection into which they were fallen, on account of their ill Succeſs the two laſt Years. And now all Eyes at *Rome* were fixed on *Scipio Æmilianus*, as the only Man who could recover the Reputation of the *Roman* Arms in *Africa*. And though he was too modeſt in the midſt of Applauſe to carry his Pretenſions beyond the Rank to which a Man of his Age might legally aſpire, and aim'd at nothing higher than the *Ædileſhip*, yet the People promoted him to the *Conſulate*. The *Villian Law*, which required every Candidate for the *Conſulſhip* to be forty three *Years old*, was diſpenſed with in his Favour, and at the Age of thirty ſeven he took Poſſeſſion of the *Faſces*. Nor would the Republick ſuffer him to draw Lots with his Collegue for the Conduct of the *Carthaginian* War; he was appointed to ſucceed *Piſo* by a Decree of the Senate and People. The ſame Decree gave him Power to raiſe as many Volunteers as he pleaſed, and to demand Succours in the Name of the Republick of all the Kings and Nations her Allies. Theſe Marks of Diſtinction were ſtrong Proofs of the high Expectations his Country had from him; nor were they diſappointed. §. 23. *Æmilianus* ſailed from *Italy*, and entered the Port of *Utica* with his Fleet and new Levies, juſt at the Time when three thouſand five hundred of the *Roman* Army before *Carthage* were in imminent Danger of being deſtroyed, either by the Sword of the Enemy or by Famine. Theſe bold Enterprizers (in the Abſence of *Piſo* their General, who was making Incurſions into the inland Country) had ſeized *Megalia* one of the Suburbs of the City, but had not furniſhed themſelves with any Proviſions to ſubſiſt there; and as this Poſt was ſituated upon a Rock, waſhed on two Sides by the Sea, and there was no retiring from it but over Precipices, their Caſe was deſperate. The new *Conſul* ſignalized his Arrival in *Africa*, by reſcuing this Body of *Roman* Citizens out of Danger into which they had brought themſelves by their Imprudence. §. 24. His next Buſineſs was to reſtore Diſcipline in his Army, which had been much neglected by his Predeceſſors. The *Roman* Soldiers were become a Gang of Robbers. Without any Orders from their Commanders they made Incurſions into the Country, plundered the Farms, and ſold their Booty at low Prices to covetous Merchants, who crowded to the Camp to make cheap Purchaſes. Quarrels often aroſe among theſe *Banditti* about ſharing the Spoil, and many of them were killed in Duels. The *Conſul* having happily reformed theſe Abuſes, applied himſelf wholly to the taking of *Carthage* alone, as the only Means to reduce at once the *African* Republick. §. 25. His firſt Attack was upon *Megalia*, which he carried by Aſſault, the *Carthaginians*, who had been poſted there to defend it, retiring into the Citadel of *Byrſa*. *Aſdrubal*, who had commanded the Forces of his Republick in the Field, was now Governor of *Carthage*. [*He had got rid of his Rival, the other* Aſdrubal, *by accuſing him before the Senate of Treaſon; a Charge which was the more eaſily believed by the Senators, becauſe the latter was Nephew to* Guluſſa *(the Son of* Maſiniſſa*) who ſerved in the* Roman *Army; and without giving him time to juſtify himſelf, they had knocked him on the Head in the Senate Houſe.*] *Aſdrubal* was ſo enraged at the Loſs of *Megalia*, that to revenge it, he ordered all the *Roman* Captives, who had been taken the two laſt Years, to be brought upon the Rampart, and there murdered in the moſt cruel Manner, in Sight of the *Roman* Army. His further Deſign in this was to make the *Carthaginians* deſperate, by rendring a Reconciliation with the Enemy utterly impracticable. §. 26. The *Conſul*'s next Enterprize was to ſhut up all the Avenues on the Land-ſide of *Carthage*, that ſhe might receive no Proviſions that Way; and this he did by drawing Lines of Circumvallation and Contravallation, three Miles long croſs the Neck of Land which joined the *Iſthmus*, whereon *Carthage* ſtood, to the Continent. §. 27, 28. Then he applied himſelf to block up *The Old Port*, in order to hinder Proviſions from being brought to the City that Way (*The New Port* was ſhut up by his Fleet;) and this likewiſe the *Romans* effected with immenſe Labour, by raiſing a Mole in the Sea. But now Deſpair carried the *Carthaginians* to attempt and execute Things which ſeemed beyond the Power of Man. With miraculous and incredible Induſtry they in a little time cut out a new Paſſage into the Sea, whereby they could ſometimes receive Neceſſaries which were ſent them by their Troops in the Field. And not only this, but they built a Fleet of fifty *Triremes*, with which they ventured to give the Enemy's Fleet Battel.

606. *305th Conſulſhip.* Scipio Æmilianus.

The Siege of Carthage *renew'd.*

Battel. The Action lasted the whole Day, and was glorious both for the Besiegers and Besieged, little Advantage being gained on either Side. §. 29. But when soon after this Engagement the *Consul* attempted to make himself Master of a Terras which covered the City on the Side next the Sea, the Besieged signalized their Resolution in the most remarkable manner. Great Numbers of them, naked and unarmed, waded through the Water, and with lighted Torches set Fire to his Machines, and put his Troops to flight. However, he soon after gained his Point, and made a Lodgment of four thousand Men upon the Terrass. §. 30, 31. This being an important Post, because it pent *Carthage* in on the Sea-side, *Æmilianus* took great Care to fortify and secure it against the Sallies of the Enemy; and then Winter approaching, he suspended all further Attacks upon the Place till the return of good Weather. Nevertheless, the *Consul* was far from being idle during the cold Season. The *Carthaginians* had a numerous Army strongly encamped near *Nepheris*, about twenty four Miles from the Capital. *Æmilianus* undertook with a part of his Troops to force their Lines, and succeeded. Seventy thousand of the Enemy were slain and ten thousand taken Prisoners. §. 32. *Asdrubal* who commanded in *Carthage* being disheartened by this Misfortune, and moved with the Misery of the Besieged who were perishing by Famine, sollicited and obtained an Interview with *Gulussa* the *Numidian* King, hoping by his Mediation to prevail on the *Consul* to spare the City. This was all he ask'd, and upon this Condition offered, in the Name of the *Carthaginians*, to submit to Slavery itself. *Gulussa* undertook to intercede with the *Consul*, and among other Arguments, urged to him the approaching Expiration of his *Consulship*, and the Hazard he was in of being robbed of the Glory of finishing the War by a Successor. But this Negotiation was fruitless; *Æmilianus* offered Life and Liberty to *Asdrubal*, and to any ten Families he should name, but absolutely refused to recede from his Instructions, with Regard to the Demolition of *Carthage*. Which when *Asdrubal* understood from *Gulussa* at a second Interview, he immediately assumed the Airs and Gestures of a Bully: *No*, cried he, striking hard and often upon his Thigh, *The Sun shall never see* Carthage *destroyed and* Asdrubal *alive*. Big Words, which he soon contradicted by his Actions!

Year of *ROME* 606.

306th Consulship. §. 33, 34, 35. The Time for the grand Elections at *Rome* being come, the Republick chose *C. Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Mummius Achaicus* to be the new *Consuls*; but *Æmilianus* was continued General of the Army in *Africa* in Quality of *Pro-Consul*. Early in the Spring he renewed the Siege of *Carthage*, took the little Island of *Cotho* which divided the two Ports, and thereby opened a Way for his Troops into the City itself. Here the Slaughter was inexpressibly great and dreadful. The Air rung with Shrieks and Lamentations. Some were hewn in pieces by the Sword, others threw themselves down from the Tops of their Houses, whither they were pursued, and the Streets were filled with dead and mangled Bodies. And the Destruction was yet greater, when, by Order of the *Pro-Consul*, Fire was set to that Quarter of the Town which lay next to the Citadel. Incredible Multitudes perished in the Flames and by the Fall of the Houses. When the Fire had lasted six Days, and there were Houses enough demolished for the *Pro-Consul*'s Purpose, he ordered the Rubbish to be removed, and a large Area to be made where all his Troops might have room to act. §. 36. Then he appeared with his whole Army drawn up before *Byrsa*, the Citadel; and this Sight so terrified the *Carthaginians* who had retired thither, that first of all twenty five thousand Women, and soon after thirty thousand Men came out of the Gates, looking all so pale and ghastly that they moved Pity. They threw themselves prostrate before the *Roman* General, asking no Favour but Life. This the *Pro-Consul* readily granted, not only to them but to all that were in *Byrsa*, excepting only the *Roman* Deserters, whose Number amounted to nine hundred. *Asdrubal* set these Men to guard his Wife and Children, and then surrendered himself Prisoner to the *Pro-Consul*. The Deserters being reduced to Despair, retired into the Temple of *Æsculapius*, resolving to defend themselves to the last Extremity; and when they found there was no Way to escape, they set Fire to the Temple, chusing rather to perish in the Flames, than to deliver themselves up to the Vengeance of *Rome*. As the Fire spread they retreated from one Part to another, till they got to the Roof of the Building. Here *Asdrubal*'s Wife appeared, finely adorned, as if the Day of her Death had been a Day of Triumph to her. She uttered the most bitter Execrations against her Husband, whom she saw standing below with *Æmilianus* before the Temple; and then added, *Base Coward, not all the mean Things thou hast done to save thy Life shall avail thee, thou shalt die this instant in thy two Sons.* Which said she drew out a Dagger and stabbed them both. Then while they were yet struggling for Life she threw them from the Top of the Temple, and leaped down after them into the Flames.

Year 607.

Year of *ROME* 607. §. 37. So many Scenes of Horror drew Tears from the Eyes of the *Roman* General himſelf, and caſt him into a penſive Silence. The utter Deſtruction of a Capital which had ſubſiſted near ſeven hundred Years, given Law to ſo many Provinces, and extended her Fame ſo far by Sea and Land; the miſerable Fate of her Inhabitants, partly deſtroyed by Fire and Sword, and the reſt reduced to Slavery, theſe Things greatly affected him. At length recovering himſelf from his deep Muſings, he repeated two Lines of *Homer*, in which the Poet makes the Deſtruction of *Troy* to be foretold. *The Day will come when proud* Troy *ſhall fall a Prey to the Flames, and the Sword ſhall mow down* Priam *and his People.* The *Pro-Conſul* ſighed as he pronounced theſe Words; and *Polybius*, who was always near him, ventured to ask him, what he meant by *Troy* and the *People of Priam.* *Æmilianus*, without naming *Rome*, gave him ſufficiently to underſtand, that he feared his own Country would meet with the ſame Fate as *Ilium* and *Carthage.* *The greateſt States*, ſaid he, *have their Periods, after which Fortune overturns what ſhe took Pleaſure in raiſing.* When the *Pro-Conſul* had given up the City to be plundered by the Soldiers, and had diſtributed the Rewards of Valour among them, he ſent Advice to the Senate that he had finiſhed the War in *Africa*; at the ſame time he deſired new Inſtructions from the *Conſcript Fathers* as to the Demolition of the Walls, Temples and Houſes of *Carthage.* His good Nature and Compaſſion made him willing to ſpare what yet remained of them; and he was reſolved to ſhew the World, that if he muſt uſe the utmoſt Severity it ſhould be purely in Obedience to Authority. §. 38. The Joy at *Rome* was inexpreſſibly great on the News of the total Deſtruction of the *African* Republick. Thoſe of the Citizens who told the News to others embraced them at the ſame time, and they congratulated one another upon it, as if each of them had gained ſome perſonal Advantage. Some few indeed, of more Foreſight than the reſt, entered into *Naſica*'s Fears. *We have now*, ſaid they, *no Rival left. The Gods grant that the Virtue of the* Romans *may not ſuffer by it. Our Dread of the* Carthaginian *Republick kept us in Concord. It is now to be feared that foreign Wars will be ſucceeded by inteſtine Diviſions. We are too reſtleſs a People to continue idle.* Rome *will tear and rend her own Bowels for want of other Enemies to fight or fear.* However, the Multitude enjoyed the preſent Advantages, and gave themſelves no Concern about Futurity. The Regulations made by the Senate and ſent to the *Roman* General were theſe. 1. *The City of* Carthage, *with* Byrſa *and* Megalia, *ſhall be entirely demoliſhed, and no Traces of them left.* 2. *All the Cities that have given* Carthage *any Aſſiſtance ſhall be diſmantled.* 3. *Rewards ſhall be given to thoſe Cities which declared for the* Romans; *and their Territories ſhall be enlarged with Lands taken from the Enemy.* 4. Utica, *which ſurrendered the firſt to the* Romans, *ſhall be amply recompenſed; all the Lands between* Carthage *and* Hippo *ſhall be divided among her Inhabitants.* 5. *All the* Africans *of the* Carthaginian *State, both Men and Women, ſhall pay an annual Tribute to the* Roman *People at ſo much* per *Head.* 6. *The whole Country which was ſubject to the* Carthaginians *ſhall be turn'd into a* Roman *Province, and be governed by a* Prætor *in the ſame manner as* Sicily. 7. Rome *ſhall ſend ten Commiſſioners into* Africa, *there to ſettle jointly with the* Pro-Conſul *the State of the new Province, ſee the Statutes obſerved, and decide all Diſputes.* This Decree was carried by the ten Commiſſioners to *Æmilianus*, and ſtrictly executed. But before the *Pro-Conſul* deſtroyed *Carthage*, he performed all the Ceremonies that were required on ſuch Occaſions. He offered Victims to the Gods, and caus'd a Plough to be drawn round the Walls of the City. (This was cuſtomary as well when Cities were to be demoliſhed as when they were to be built.) We may judge of the large Extent of *Carthage* by the time it took to reduce it to Aſhes. Though the Fire began in all Quarters at the ſame time, it continued for ſeventeen Days together before all the Buildings were conſumed. When the Demolition was finiſhed, and *Æmilianus* with the Commiſſioners had ſettled the Affairs of the new Province, he embarked his Troops, returned to *Rome*, was there honoured with a magnificent Triumph, and took the glorious Surname of *The Second Africanus.*

Carthage *deſtroyed.*

§. 39. *Carthage* was not the only great and wealthy City which the *Romans* gave a Prey to the Flames in this remarkable Year. *Corinth* had the ſame Fate. The Occaſion of it was this. A Diſpute ariſing between the *Lacedæmonians* and the reſt of the *Achæan* Confederacy, the *Romans* ſent Ambaſſadors into *Greece* to determine the Cauſe upon the Spot. *Polybius* ſays, that theſe Ambaſſadors exceeded their Commiſſion, and that their Inſtructions were only to threaten the *Achæans*, in order to bring them to Concord. But be that as it will, when they came to *Corinth*, they aſſembled the Diet of *Achaia*, and there declared that it was the Will of the Senate and People of *Rome*, that *Corinth*, *Lacedæmon*, *Argos*, *Heraclea* in *Phtiotis*, and *Orchomenos* in *Bœotia*, all which Cities were not anciently of the *Achæan* Circle, ſhould immediately become independent of the General Confede-

Corinth *deſtroyed.*

racy,

racy, and be governed by their own Laws. The *Corinthians* were ſo provoked at this Decree that they inſulted the Ambaſſadors, and forced them to fly for their Lives. It is not to be doubted but the *Roman* Senate were full of Indignation at the Affront offer'd to their Miniſters. However, as *Carthage* was not taken at this time, they thought it adviſeable, before they engaged in a new War, to endeavour by a ſecond Embaſſy to bring the *Achæans* to Reaſon. *Sextus Julius*, a Man of Prudence and of a pacifick Diſpoſition, being ordered with two more into *Peloponneſus* for this Purpoſe, the *Achæan* Diet aſſembled at *Ægium* to hear him. But though he conducted himſelf with great Moderation, offering Pardon for what was paſt, and avoided ſaying any thing of the Diſſolution of the general League, or even of ſeparating *Lacedæmon* from it, his Negotiation proved fruitleſs. *Diæus* and *Critolaus*, two turbulent Men, who were ſucceſſively placed at the Head of the *Achæan* Republick, inſinuated to the *Achæans* that the Condeſcenſion of *Rome* was owing to her Fears; and their Influence was ſuch, that not only the new Ambaſſadors were treated with Contempt, but War was declared againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, and conſequently againſt the *Romans*, who had eſpouſed their Cauſe. *Metellus* was ſtill in *Macedon* at the Head of the *Prætorian* Army with which he had vanquiſhed the two Impoſtors *Philip* and *Alexander*; and he no ſooner heard of this Step taken by the *Achæans*, but without waiting for any Orders from the Senate, he advanced with his Troops towards *Greece* by the Way of *Theſſaly*. He Overthrew the Forces of *Critolaus* the *Achæan* General near *Scarphea* in *Locris*, and then hearing that the *Conſul Mummius* was coming with an Army from *Italy* to finiſh the War, he would fain have had the Honour of ſettling a Peace with the Enemy, before the Arrival of his Succeſſor. But *Diæus*, whom the *Achæans* had choſen in the Place of *Critolaus* (who killed himſelf after his Defeat) was ſo headſtrong and untractable, that he deſpiſed very advantageous Offers. At length *Mummius* appeared before *Corinth* with an Army of twenty three thouſand Foot and three thouſand five hundred Horſe, and ordered *Metellus* back into *Macedon*. The *Achæan* Forces were all ſhut up in *Corinth*, intending to ſuſtain a Siege; but the *Conſul* by pretending Fear, encouraged *Diæus* to draw his Troops out into the Plain and offer him Battel. *Mummius* declined it, and retired before the Enemy till he had decoyed them into a Valley, where the *Romans* having all the Advantage of the Ground gave them an entire Overthrow. *Diæus* fled to *Megalopolis*, ſet Fire to his Houſe, threw his Wife into the Flames that ſhe might not fall into the Enemies Hands, and took Poiſon himſelf. The *Achæans* had been ſo confident of Victory that they had neglected to ſecure a Retreat to *Corinth*; a City of ſuch Strength that *Diæus*, notwithſtanding the Loſs of the Battel, might have defended it longer than *Aſdrubal* had done *Carthage*. The *Conſul* found *Corinth* deſerted, entered it without Oppoſition, and gave it up to be plundered by the Soldiers. The Riches found there were immenſe. *Corinth* may be ſaid to have been the univerſal Magazine where *Europe* and *Aſia* were furniſhed with Veſſels of all ſorts of Metals. The fineſt Statues for Temples and Palaces were likewiſe caſt in this City, where Sculpture and Painting were brought to great Perfection. When the Spoils were put up to ſale, the King of *Pergamus* offered near five thouſand Pounds for a Picture of *Bacchus* by *Ariſtides*, which the *Conſul* being no Virtuoſo was ſo ſurprized at, that he fancied there was ſome magical Vertue in it, and therefore would not ſell it but carried it to *Rome*, where it was placed in the Temple of *Ceres*. What Taſte *Mummius* had in Painting and Statuary is further evident from the Bargain he made with the Captains of the Veſſels who were to tranſport into *Italy* ſome of the greateſt Maſter Pieces in thoſe Arts; he covenanted with them, that in caſe any of the Statues or Pictures were loſt, they ſhould find him others in their ſtead. After the ſacking of *Corinth*, nothing remained but to reduce it to Aſhes; ſuch was the Decree of the Senate, in order to ſtrike a Terror into the reſt of the World. Fire being ſet to every Corner of the City at the ſame time, the Flames ſoon reach'd the Centre, and there uniting formed one vaſt Conflagration; and then was produced that famous mixed Metal, which Art could never imitate. The celebrated *Corinthian* Braſs was a Mixture of the Gold, Silver and Copper which the *Corinthians* had hid from the Soldiers, and which being now melted, ran together down the Streets in Streams. Thus was deſtroyed this famous City, which ſome make to have been founded as early as the Days of *Moſes*, others in the Days of *Othniel*, above thirteen hundred Years before its Deſtruction. But it is more probable that it was built by *Alethes* the Son of *Hippotes*, one of the Deſcendants of *Hercules*, and that it did not ſubſiſt above nine hundred and fifty two Years.

Year of ROME 607.

Soon after this, ten Commiſſioners arrived from *Rome* to ſettle the Government of *Greece*; and they ordered that *Peloponneſus* ſhould be reduced to the State of a *Roman* Province; ſo that the General Diets, and the Confederacy of the Cities were aboliſhed, but each City continued to be governed by its own Laws, under the Superintendency of a *Prætor*, annually ſent by the Republick into *Achaia*.

Year of *ROME* 607. As for the two Conquerors *Metellus* and *Mummius*, they both triumphed at their Return to *Rome*, the former taking the Surname of *Macedonicus*, and the latter that of *Achaicus*.

And thus ended a Year which greatly extended the Dominions of the *Roman* Republick, and increas'd the Reputation of her Arms. However it muſt be own'd, that if on the one Hand it was remarkable for the Bravery of her Generals and Soldiers, it was no leſs ſo for the Avarice and Inhumanity of her Senate. To deſtroy every thing that gave them Umbrage, and to make War only for the ſake of Plunder, what was this but to act the Part of Barbarians? In a Word, if *Rome* was now more formidable than ever, yet it muſt be allowed that ſhe had leſs Virtue than in former Ages.

BRITISH MUSEUM

ERRORS in the CONTENTS.

PAGE 3. Line 33. *of Leaſes*, read *of any thing like Leaſes*. p. 6. l. 44. *after Life*, add, *as he did the Battel*. Ibid. l. ult. *Carthage*, r. *Corcyra*. p. 18. in the Margin, r. *Flamininus marches*; and below, r. *between him and Nabis*. p. 29. l. 19. *ſtrongeſt*, r. *ſhorteſt*. p. 35. in the Margin, r. *Scipio Aſiaticus*. p. 48. l. 54. *Kings*, r. *Things*.

ERRATA.

PAGE 7. Line 14. *Country*, r. *Field*. p. 8 l. 44. r. *their Demands were not that Vermina, &c. to the Prejudice of Maſiniſſa, but only that &c.* p. 14. l. 23. r. *might have been a Bridge*. p. 22. l. 16. *after Villius*, r. *the former, who from being Conſul there was now become Pro-Conſul, was more intent*. p. 32. l. 22. *Helmets*, r. *broad Shields*. p. 45. l. 9. *Eaſtern*, r. *Weſtern*. p. 51. l. 7. *and*, r. *having before*. p. 62. l. 7. r. *Pro-Conſul*. p. 63. l. 2. *As he*, r. *As Alexander*. p. 70. l. 13. *unſpeakable*, r. *unſeaſonable*. p. 73. l. 20. *ſinking*, r. *being overpowered*. p. 87. l. 5. *after*, r. *before*. Ibid. n. 5. l. 13. r. *South weſt*. p. 105. l. 16. r. *Cato, though a good-natured Man, is a very ſevere Orator*. p. 107. l. 25. r. *Conſul's Camp*. p. 110. l. 28. r. *ſparing in his own Commendation*. p. 116. l. 2. *Journey*, r. *Voyage*. p. 119. l. 33. r. *without Arms*. p. 125. l. 30. r. *to fight, keeping their Ground*. p. 126. l. 52. r. *Lacedæmonian*. p. 144. l. 14. dele *Act of*. p. 156. l. 50. *at*, r. *with*. p. 157. l. 37. *might*, r. *weight*. p. 160. l. 6. *unfortunate*, r. *infamous*. p. 164. l. 34. *Ætolia*, r. *Achaia*. Ibid. ult. *Antiochus*, r. *the Faction of Antiochus*. p. 165. l. 29. r. *Attilius*. p. 171. l. 1. dele, *and*. ibid. l. 2. *ſince*, r. *and that*. p. 179. l. 1. r. *treat the Ætolians in the ſame manner if*. p. 181. l. 27. *laid waſte by*, r. *diſconſolate for*. p. 189. l. 37. r. *that it was the Conſul's own Fault if he did not go*. p. 192. l. 29. *Recompence*, r. *Counterpoiſe*. p. 198. l. 4. *Corcyra*, r. *Corycus*. 199. l. 14. r. *He ſet out with Eumenes's Fleet which he found ready equipped*. p. 202. l. 32. *Acilius*, r. *Æmilius*. p. 204. l. 35. *Eubœa*, r. *Elea*. p. 205. l. 43. *Athenians*, r. *Achæans*. p. 228. l. 17. r. *that all Lycaonia the two &c.* ibid. l. 20. *Romans*, r. *Rhodians*. p. 235. l. 28. *takes not into*, r. *takes root in*. p. 240. l. 8. *They had likewiſe*, r. *But they had not*. ibid. l. 9. *light Places would not*, r. *high Places would*. p. 254. l. 7. *Land*, r. *Band*. p. 262. l. 41. *thirty*, r. *twenty*. ibid. l. 49. *and condemn'd him*, r. *in order to a Condemnation*. p. 268. l. 26. r. *Gracchus*. ibid. l. 45. r. *Conſul Æmilius*. p. 272. l. 43. *Legionaries*, r. *Luſitanians*. p. 277. l. 20. *leading &c.* r. *looking towards the Street Care was taken to ſhut up all the Windows on that Side*. p. 280. l. 9. *Hetruria*, r. *Liguria* p. 284. l. 17. *juſt*, r. *outward*. p. 285. l. 50. *Temper*, r. *Temperament*. ibid. l. 53. *till*, r. *even*. p. 287. l. 4. r. *on the two Prætorian Legions were founded all their Hopes of Victory*. p. 293. l. 9. *The Senate &c.* r. *He therefore ordered the Farms to be let by Auction*. p. 294. l. 39. r. *he required great Exactneſs from his Servants*. p. 296. l. 9. *beſt*, r. *laſt*. p. 301. l. 30. *Lacedæmonians*, r. *Macedonians*. p. 303. l. 42. *beſt*, r. *laſt*. p. 306. l. 18. dele, *called for Poiſon and*. p. 327. l. 46. r. *new Prætor*. p. 333. l. 53. r. *though before thought*. p. 355. l. 39. *tiled*, r. *roof'd*. p. 366. l. ult. *Philip's*, r. *Perſes's*. p. 375. l. 56. r. *honeſt Birth*. ibid. l. 57. dele, *a numerous Offspring*. p. 396. l. 46. *Minucius*, r. *Mucius*. p. 398. l. 45. *People*, r. *Peace*. p. 405. l. 27. *Demetrius*, r. *Lucretius*. p. 406. l. 40. *retired again*, r. *was there for ſome time*. p. 413. l. 12. *Siſter of thoſe two great Men*, r. *the Daughter of Africanus*. p. 422. l. 12. *with*, r. *kill'd*. p. 427. l. 28. *fell down*, r. *ran under*. ibid. l. 33. *its Fall*, r. *it*. p. 433. l. 19. *juſtified*, r. *ſatisfied*. ibid. l. 50. *was that it ſunk &c.* r. *was that of preſerving entire the Eſteem they had for Pruſias*. p. 440. l. 30. *neither ought we*, r. *and we ought*. p. 442. l. 23. dele, *whilſt at the ſame time*. p. 451. l. 41. *it*, r. *them*. p. 456. penult. *Fiereneſs*, r. *Haughtineſs*. p. 471. ult. r. *he was not attended by any one Macedonian*. p. 477. l. 24. *Army*, r. *Arms*. p. 483. penult. *Eumenes*, r. *Attalus*. p. 490. l. 1. *Macedon*, r. *a Freedman*. p. 499. l. 14. *were there*, r. *were three*. p. 509. l. 2. r. *ſeeming Inſenſibility*. p. 515. l. 9. r. *Capital*. p. 530. l. 34. r. *Stone, againſt which you have already ſtumbled*. p. 535. l. 30. *the Army*, r. *Eupator's Army*. p. 539. l. 33. r. *erected to themſelves*. p. 545. l. 41. *Journey*, r. *Voyage*. p. 551. l. 16. r. *going to overwhelm Pruſias by*. ibid. n. 29. l. 4. *The Greeks*, r. *The Gracchi*. p. 552. l. 13. *Ciſalpine*, r. *Tranſalpine*. p. 554. l. 37. dele, *firſt*. p. 560. l. 2. *Cauceans*, r. *Cuneans*. p. 564. l. 53. r. *Conſul*. p. 565. l. 18. r. *the two Kings*. p. 566. l. 23. *ought*, r. *deſerv'd*. p. 567. l. 41. r. *any great*. p. 578. l. 49. r. *and they very*. p. 615. l. 46. *Port*, r. *Poſt*. p. 616. l. 34. r. *and as for you*.

The following Advertiſement is prefixed to the twelfth Volume in Quarto *of the Original.*

The Bookſellers to the Reader.

THE Subſcribers had Reaſon to expect, that theſe four laſt Volumes [*the ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth, which were publiſhed together*] would complete the Hiſtory of the *Roman* Republick. The Authors themſelves propoſed no more than twelve Volumes; but they have been forced to acknowledge that they confined themſelves within too narrow a Compaſs.

THEY promiſed the Publick a complete Hiſtory; and that nothing might be wanting in a Work of this Importance, they have made it their Buſineſs to lead the Reader, Step by Step, from the Foundation of *Rome*, to the Time when the Empire of the *Cæſars* began. They have followed the *Romans* into all thoſe Parts of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, to which theſe Conquerors extended their Dominion. They have regularly run through the ſeveral Ages of the Republick, given an Account of the different States of ancient *Rome*, and of her frequent Revolutions. After having brought together that vaſt Number of memorable Events, which ſucceeded one another in the Space of above ſeven hundred Years, they have ſhewn the gradual Increaſe, and prodigious Progreſs of this Capital of the World, according to the Order of Time. Nor is this all. To make the Reader thoroughly acquainted with the Hiſtory of *Rome*, it was not ſufficient barely to mention the Facts; it was neceſſary likewiſe to examine into the Springs and Circumſtances of them. It was not enough to deſcribe *Rome* in the Hurry of Arms, and the Splendor of Victory; they were likewiſe to conſider from different Points of View the Genius of her Citizens, the Wiſdom and Majeſty of her Senate, her Proceedings at Home, her Negotiations Abroad, the Form of her Government, the Great Men ſhe produced in all Ages, her Intereſts, Laws, Manners, Cuſtoms, Soldiery and Religion. In ſhort, to make the Work as perfect as poſſible, it was neceſſary to collect into it whatever is moſt curious and worthy of Notice, both in the *Greek* and *Roman* Literature.

IT is frankly owned, that twelve Volumes [in *Quarto*] were not ſufficient to contain the whole of an Hiſtory which is of ſo vaſt an Extent, as to be in ſome Meaſure the Hiſtory of all Nations, and of all prophane Antiquity.

EVERY Reader may now judge for himſelf of the Faithfulneſs with which the two Hiſtorians have executed a Scheme which was thought abſolutely chimerical and impoſſible by ſome Men, whoſe only Merit is that of Abridgers. Neither learned Notes nor Diſſertations on all Sorts of Literature which have any proper relation to the *Roman* Hiſtory, nor Variations among the Ancients in their Accounts of hiſtorical Events, nor Monuments of any Sort which were neceſſary to eſtabliſh the Truth of the Facts, nor Medals, nor Maps, nor Plans of Cities and Battels engraven by the moſt famous Artiſts are here wanting; nothing has eſcaped the Care and Attention of the two Hiſtorians. This Teſtimony we have had the Pleaſure of extorting even from thoſe who conſpired together againſt the Work, long before it appeared. And indeed no one can refuſe the Authors this Juſtice who has but curſorily perus'd the twelve Volumes, the leaſt of which contains above eighty Sheets, the greateſt Part printed in ſmall Characters. The immenſe Labour of the two Authors ſufficiently appears in the great Number and Variety of the Subjects which they here handle critically. Almoſt every Page preſents us with ſome of the rich Fragments of learned Antiquity, digeſted into Order.

To avoid therefore the Reproach of having given the Publick a maimed and imperfect Hiſtory, contrary to their Promiſe, the Reverend Fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé* will add four other Volumes [*Quarto*] to the twelve already publiſhed. Theſe four Volumes, *viz.* the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth and ſixteenth *(French)* will complete the Hiſtory of the *Roman* Republick in all its Extent, and will be publiſhed in the Courſe of the Year 1729.

A MAP of PELOPONNESUS.

39 40 41 42 43

38 37 36

THE IONIAN or GRECIAN SEA

ACHAIA

ARCADIA

LACONIA

MESSENIA

ELIS

SICYONIA

CORINTHIA

ARGOLIS

ATTICA

ÆGÆAN SEA

CYCLADES ISLANDS

CRETAN SEA

CEPHALENIA I

ZACYNTHOS I.

Strophades Islands.

Gulph of Corinth

Gulph of Cyparisso

Gulph of Messene

Gulph of Chelonites

Gulph of Argolis

Gulph of Laconia

Euboea Isle

Cape Caphareus

Cape Malea

Cape Matapan

Cape Tenarus

Cape Platanistus

Cape Chelonites

Cape and City of Tenarium

Isthmus

Lake Copais

Lake of Phoneus

Lake of Lerna

Forest of Nemea

Mount Helicon

Mount Cytheron

Mount Parnes

Mount Taygetus

Mount Zarex

Mount Lycæus

Mount Menalus

Megara

Eleusis

Athens

Salamis Isla. and City

Thebes

Chalcis

Eretria

Aulis

Thespiæ

Coronea

Platæa

Delium

Tanagra

Marathon

Panormus Port

Lecheum Cand Port

Port of Jupiter Soter

Port of Piræus

Port of Munichia

Anthedon Port

Ephyræ

Epidaurus

Epidaurus Limera

Epidelium

Asopus

Prasiæ

Prasiæ

Zarex

Tiparenos I.

Hermione

Trœzen

Sellæum Promontory

Epidaunus

Belbina I

Regina Island and City

Salauria I

Sunium Promont

Aristera I.

Coronus I.

Lerna R.

Tamis R.

Sellasia

Cyphanta

Larya

Bellbina

Megalopolis

Mantinea or Antigonia

Tegea

Argi

Nauplia

Mycenæ

Pelasgus

Inachus R.

Olympia or Pisa

Epitalia

Gortys

Lycæsura

Triphylia

Phialia

Thea

Olura

Andania

Aulon

Pylos of Messenia

Pylos of Elis

Pylos Nestor

Steniclare

Pherea

Corypharium

Methone

Corone

Abæ

Thalame

Las

Leuctrum

Teuthrone

Amathus

Mesola

Onugnatos Prom

Cythera I

Cythera

City of Moreclaus

Ægiliam or Epla I.

Cape Minoa

Delium

Temple of Apollo

Bea

Cape Malea

Cape of Lecheum

Lecheum

Panormus Port

Panormus Port

Lampræ

Gaurium

Matris or Helene Island and City

Gyaros Isla. and City

Andros

Andros

Tenos I

Tenos

Chartæa

Corissia

Myconi I

Syrus

Syrus

Rhenea

Delos I and City

Cythnos

Cythnos I

Seriphos

Serinthos

Paros I

Siphnos I

Siphnos

Paros

Naxos

Naxos I.

Cimolis I. and City

Polyegosa Desert I

Nicasia I.

Melos I

Melos

Sicinus I.

Pholegandros I.

Lagusa I.

Ios I.

Thorasia Island and City Eleusina

Thera I.

Cimarus Prom

Dictynnæum Prom.

Corycæ I.

Phalarne

Polyrrhenia

Cisamos

Budoræ Islands

Leuce I.

Rhamnus

THE ISLAND OF CRETE

Roman Miles of 5000 Feet each.

Studia of 125 paces each.

A MAP of EPIRUS. THESSALY, AND ACHAIA.

38 39 40 41 42 43

MACEDON
Amantini
Aeracceraunian M.
Amantia
Europus
Elymea
EMATHIA
Tyrissa
Myeza
Bercea
Methone
Spartolus R.
Pella
Thermæ
Thessalonica
Apollonia
Mount Athos
Gulph of Singus
Singus
Gulph of Torone
Torone
Acerdus R.
Astræus R.
Elymiotes
Ægæa
PIERIA
Pydna
Aliacmon R.
Gulph of Thermæ
AMPHAXITIS
PARAXIA
Smila
Antigonea
Chalcis
Olinthus
Potidæa or Cassandria Colony
Pallene
Mendis
Thermaicus Sinus
Cranum
CHAONIA
Phanotes or Phenice
Pindus Mt.
Deluche
Tripoliis
Pythium
Eginium
Valla
Phyla
Mount
Mount Cercine
Pamisus R.
Curalii R.
Pieria
Olympus
Genusus R.
Pyrrhus R.
Palæste
Chimera
Atintanes
Azorus
PELASGIOTIS
Panormus Port
Syhonei
Eleus
Stymphali
Gyrtona
Larissa
Peneus R.
Plaine of Cynocephalæ
Tyrone
Melibœa
Ossa
Olympus
Magnesia
Cassiope Port
Cassiope
Maxandria
Malthace
Cape Amphipheque
Bachrotum Colony
Petinæum
Atrax
Gonnus
Valley of Tempe
Peneus R.
Cyretia
Mylæ
Scotussa
Elatia
Melambius
Cranon
Pharsalus
Tetidium
Pheræ
Demetrias
Phalanna
MAGNESIA
Corcyra
THESPROTIA
Cassiopæi
Cassiope
Helicopus
Menelaus
Phalonia
Tricca
Gomphi
Ithome
Pheca
Lampus
Acheron R.
Thimar
Lisima
Achara
Metropolis
Phæa
Phænix R.
Eurotas R.
Thiamis R.
Lake Acherusia
Acheron
Pandosia
Passaro
Pherræ
Eurumene
THESSALY
Erætrea
Tyminia
Xinias
Homilæ
Apidanus R.
Amphrysus R.
Thebes
Pelasgic Gulph
Scopelos Isle and City
Sciathos
SCIATHOS I
Ilus Isle and City
PHEACIA or CORCYRA I
Ephyra
Getanes
Cocytus R.
Molossi
Elatria
Dodone
Ambracia
Pindus
Peneus R.
Homolæ
Phtiotis
Melitæa
Phthia
Pitelum
Thessaliotis
Mount Othrys
Lamia
Echinus
Antron
Cape Leucymne
Erineus
Glykys Port
Elæa Port
Nicopolis
Gulph of Ambracia
Amphilochi
Argi
Athamanes
Argithea
Dryopes
Œtæi
Heraclea
Asopus R.
Thermopylæ
Maliac Gulph
Cape Clenæum
Diium
Euboea
EUBŒA
Oreos
Cyrus
Cerinthus
ISLE
Eretria
SKYROS I
Skyros
Nerites
Ajenvardi
Leucas
Cape of Leucas
Actium Mount
Anactorium
Aracynthus
Petus R.
Cranon
Parachelois
ACARNANIA
Phalerus
Teleboæ
Halyzon
Boium
Tichium
DORIS
Epicnemii
Locri Thronium
Starphia
Elatea
Tithorea
Cynus
Locri Opuntii
Alope
The Gulph of Opus
Atalanta I
Opus
Agræa
Arsinbes
Lake Melita
Lycnia
Achelous R.
Ithaca Isle and City
Same
Echinades I
Evenus R.
Mt. Thaumacus
Calydon
Naupactus
ÆTOLIA
Eupalium
Amphissa
Delphi
Daulia
ACHAIA
Hyampolis
Crissa
PHOCIS
Cephisus R.
Mt. Parnassus
Mt. Parnassus
Mt. Phœcis
Antiphria
Eurip.
Cirrha
Gulph of Crissa
Ambrysus
Orchomenus
Coronea
Lake Copais
Salganea
Chalcis
Aulis
Delium
Tanagra
Thebes
Platæa
Onchestus
Thespiæ
Alalcomenæ
Mt. Phœnix
BOEOTIA
Cape Caphareum
Rhium
GULPH OF CORINTH
Cape & Straight of
Patræ
Ægium
Lechæum
Cape & Fort of Juno
Arax Prom.
Olenus
ACHAIA
Pellene
Dyme
Tritæa
Colony
Pyrus R.
Sicyon
Corinth
Isthmus
Geranea
Megara
Eleusis
ATTICA
Marathon
Parnes
Asopus R.
Cape of Leonium
Leonium
Zacynthos I
Zacynthus
Larissa
Penæus R.
Elis
Pylos of Elis
Cape Cholomata
Peneus R.
Nemea
Forest of Nemea
Inachus R.
Cephisus R.
Athens
Salamis Isle and City
Port Piræus
Mt. Hymettus
Panormus Port.
Andros I
Gaurion
ELIS
Erymanthus R.
Ladon R.
Orchomenus
Stymphalus
ARGOLIS
Argi
Anthedon
Nauplia
Ichthys Prom.
Phœa
PELOPONNESUS
Megalopolis
Mycenæ
Macris or Helena I & City
Pisa or Olympia
Alpheus R.
Tegea
Gulph Cheloniles
Pylos of Nestor
ARCADIA
Mantinea
Epidaurus
Ægina City
Hermione
Calauria
Sanium Prom.
CIA I
ARGOLIC GULPH
SARONIC GULPH
Ionian Sea
Ægean Sea

Roman Miles of 5000 Feet each
5 10 20 30 40 50 60
Stadia of 125 paces each

THE Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK XXXVII.

Year of ROME DLII. C. Cornelius Lentulus, P. Ælius Poetus, Conſuls.

§. I. THE Concluſion of the ſecond *Punic* War had delivered *Rome* from continual Uneaſineſs; but then, it had on the other hand, multiplied her Labours. It was neceſſary for the Republick to keep a watchful Eye, over the Behaviour of *Carthage*, and of the Allies *Rome* had made in *Numidia*, and over the Dominions of King *Ptolomy* in *Egypt*. On the Side of *Aſia*, *Attalus* indeed kept faithful to his Alliance with the *Romans*; but the League which the King of *Pergamus* had made with the *Rhodians*, and other *Greek* Nations, was thwarted by the Hoſtilities of *Philip* King of *Macedon*. Tho' this turbulent Prince had three Years ago made a Peace with the *Romans*; he now acted in ſuch a manner, as muſt in all appearance ſoon draw all their Forces into his Territories. The *Athenians*, and many other Nations of *Greece* which were Confederates with *Rome*, wanted her Aſſiſtance to repel the Outrages of the *Macedonian* by Force. Beſides, the *Spaniards* began to be wavering in their Fidelity; and *Italy* itſelf was not ſo perfectly ſettled in Peace ſince *Hannibal*'s Departure, but that the Republick had reaſon to be under Apprehenſions from ſome Enemies there. The *Gauls*, [1] *Boii*,

[1] The *Boii*, originally *Gauls*, inhabited the Territories of *Imola*, *Faenza*, and all the Lands along the Rivers which the *Italians* call the *Reno*, the *Idice*, the *Utens* or *Montone*, and the *Santerno*. The Country between *Ravenna* and *Bologna* belonged to them. See *Vol.* 2.

Year of ROME DLII.

C. Cornelius Lentulus, P. Ælius Poetus, Conſuls.

Inſubres [2], and *Ligures* [3], were already talked of; and it was viſible that their Hatred to *Rome* ſurvived the Humiliation of *Carthage*. So that tho' the War in *Africa* was ended, the Republick could not promiſe herſelf one Year's Repoſe; and therefore had no Thoughts of ſhutting up the Temple of *Janus*. We now come to give a Detail of the new Steps ſhe was obliged to take in *Africa*, *Aſia*, and *Europe*. For ſhe, from this time, extended her Care to all the three Parts of the known World.

The *Conſuls*, *Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Ælius Pætus*, were yet in their Office. The former, who had continued in *Sicily* with his Fleet, had only been a Spectator of the Peace which had been made with *Carthage*. The latter had been obliged to leave *Rome*, and take the Field againſt the *Boii*. The *Gauls* had taken up Arms again; whilſt the *Romans* were forcing the *Carthaginians*, their Friends, to lay them down. The *Boii* had tumultuouſly entered the Territories of the Allies of *Rome*, and laid them waſte. *Ælius* therefore haſtily aſſembled two *Legions*, and joined with them about two thouſand Auxiliaries, commanded by *Oppius*. Then he ordered this General to go before him, and enter the Country of the *Boii*, with a ſmall Part of the Army, and ravage it. The *Conſul* himſelf marched more ſlowly on with his *Legions*, and took the Road over the Mountains. *Oppius* penetrated into the Enemy's Country by [4] *Umbria*, and encamped near [5] *Mutilum*, to make his Incurſions into the Fields of the *Boii*, from thence. The Corn was then ripe; and *Oppius* ſent out Detachments to reap it. But he was not ſo cautious as to place Centinels, and ſuch other Troops, at proper Diſtances, as were ſufficient to ſuſtain the Reapers. So that the *Boii* eaſily ſurrounded his Soldiers when buſy at their Work, and made a terrible Slaughter of them. *Oppius* loſt ſeven thouſand Men in the Rout, and periſhed himſelf, without having given Battel. The Soldiers that were left, firſt retired to their Camp; and then finding that they had loſt their General, reſolved to go and join the *Conſular* Army. But it was with Difficulty that they made their Way to it. They were forced to paſs through Foreſts, which ſeemed impaſſable. Then the *Conſul*, to revenge the Defeat of *Oppius*, advanced with them into the Country of the *Boii*; but the *Gauls* appeared no more in the Field. They left their Country to be pillaged by the *Romans*, who fell down on *Liguria*. The *Conſular* Army ſpread Terror there, and forced the [6] *Ingauni* to enter into an Alliance with *Rome*. Theſe were the only Exploits of *Ælius* during the Summer. He returned to the City loaded with more Spoils than Glory.

Livy, B. 31. c. 2.

§. II. The Senate were then engaged in a Multitude of Affairs, which increaſed upon them, as faſt as the Republick enlarged her Dominions. What moſt embarraſſed *The Conſcript Fathers* at preſent, were the Complaints they had continually received from *Greece*, againſt the King of *Macedon*. *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* had very lately ſent [7] Deputies to *Rome*, to inform the *Romans*, that *Philip* was ſoliciting the Cities of *Aſia* to unite with him againſt them. The Republick was already

2 The *Inſubres*, who were deſcended from thoſe ancient *Gauls*, who overſpread *Italy*, got Poſſeſſion of Part of the Dutchy of *Milan*, all *Cremaſco*, and Part of *The Cremoneſe*.

3 Old *Liguria* comprehended what is now called, *The Marquiſate of Saluzzo*; the greateſt Part of *Piedmont*, *Montferrat*, and *The County of Nice*; all the Coaſt of *Genoa*; *The Lordſhip of Mourgues*; and that Part of the Dutchy of *Milan*, which lies on this Side the *Po*.

4 *Umbria* formerly reached on both Sides the *Apennines*, and comprehended a Part of *La Romagna*, *Romagna Florentina*, *The Marquiſate of Ancona*, *The State of Fano*, *The Peruſin*, *The Territory of Citta Caſtellana*, and the Dutchies of *Spoletto* and *Urbino*. It ought to be here obſerved, that *Livy* ſpeaks of that Part of *Umbria* which was poſſeſſed by *The Sapinian Tribe*. Whereas we don't find the Name of this *Tribe* among the thirty five which had Suffrages at *Rome*. Perhaps the Hiſtorian meant by this *Tribe*, ſome particular Nation, which inhabited one of the Cantons of *Umbria*.

5 *Mutilum* was then only a Fort, ſituated, according to ſome Geographers, in that Part of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, which the Ancients called *Æmilia*, and which is now known by the Name of *La Romagna*. It is now the little City of *Modigliana*, or *Modiana*, which ſtands above *Faënza*, ten Miles from *Forli*. Nevertheleſs, the City here ſpoken of ſeems to have ſtood at the Foot of *The Apennines*, at a little diſtance from *Modena*, near a Place which the Natives call *Medolo*, or *Medola*. This Situation, as *Cluver* obſerves, agrees better with *Livy*'s Narration.

6 The *Ingauni* anciently inhabited a ſmall Canton of *Liguria Maritima*. They were ſo called from the Name of their Capital, which the Geographers and Hiſtorians ſometimes call *Ingaunum*, ſometimes *Albingaunum*, and ſometimes *Albigaunum*. This laſt Denomination may have been given to it, becauſe it ſtood near the *Alpes*, which the Ancients called *Albii Montes*. It is now *Albenga*, or *Arbenga*.

7 The *Romans*, on the other hand, had ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to *Egypt*, to *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, or *The Illuſtrious*, who had ſucceeded his Father *Ptolomy Philopator*, about three Years ſince. The three Deputies were *Caius Claudius Nero*, (probably the ſame

ready discontented with this Prince. She bore in mind the Injuries he had done the *Ætolians*, and other *Greeks*, her Allies; and the Succours he had sent with *Sosipater* to *Carthage*: and the Senators gave the Ambassadors of *Rhodes*, and of *Attalus*, this Answer; *That the Republick would take care to secure their Countries against the Attempts of King* Philip. Year of *ROME* DLII. C. Cornelius Lentulus, P. Ælius Poetus, Consuls.

And the Promise was almost as soon performed, as made. *The Conscript Fathers* passed a Decree, whereby they empowered *Ælius* to chuse what General he thought fit, to go into *Macedon*, with the Fleet which *Cn. Octavius* was to bring back to *Sicily*. *Lævinus* was nominated by the *Consul*, for this Expedition; and he sailed, without Delay, from the Port of *Hipponium* [8], with thirty eight Galleys. As soon as he appeared on the Coasts of *Macedon*, the Lieutenant-General *Aurelius*, who had long resided in *Greece*, to defend it with a small Body of *Roman* Troops, came to join *Lævinus*, and receive his Orders. The two *Romans* consulted together about the State of *Greece* and *Macedon*; and agreed, that there was reason to suspect the Fidelity of King *Philip*. This Prince was assembling Ships together from all Quarters; and was either in Person, or by his Emissaries, stirring up Cities, Islands, and Provinces, to War. They therefore concluded, that *Rome* ought immediately to declare War with him. *If*, said they, *we don't prevent him, he may perhaps attempt more than* Pyrrhus, *or even* Hannibal *did. He will make a Descent in* Italy, *and bring upon us there all the Forces of the East.* So that the Result of the Deliberation was, that *Aurelius* wrote the Senate an Account of his own Sentiments, and those of *Lævinus*. But tho' the Letters were immediately sent away, they did not arrive at *Rome*, till after she had changed her *Consuls* [9].

§. III. The *Centuries* were assembled in the *Campus Martius*, and *Ælius* presided in the *Comitia*. *Sulpicius Galba* was then honoured with the *Consulate* a second time; and his Collegue was *C. Aurelius Cotta*. *Prætors* were also chosen, in the same Assembly, and they drew Lots for their *Provinces*. *Sergius Plancus* had the Government and Jurisdiction of *Rome*; *Cisalpine Gaul* fell to *Furius Purpureo*; *Bruttium*, to *Minucius Rufus*; and *Sicily*, to *Fulvius Gillo*. As for the *Consuls*, they would not draw Lots for their *Provinces*, till such time as the War with *Macedon* was appointed. On *The Ides of March*, that is, the very Day they entered upon their Office, they (as was then usual) made a Report of the State of Affairs in *Greece* and *Macedon* to the Senate; and *The Conscript Fathers* thought a War there a Matter of great Importance. Not that they judged it so dangerous as that with *Carthage*. They thought *Hannibal* a much more dangerous Commander than King *Philip*. But after all, *Macedon* had appeared with great Lustre, under *Alexander the Great*, and his Father *Philip*; and the *Romans* remembered the Valout of the one, and the Prudence of the other. The latter had put his Son into a Condition of conquering the East. The former had conquered it. And their Successor, who was now arming against *Rome*, seemed to have inherited the Ambition of the first *Philip*, and the Bravery of *Alexander*. These Considerations Year of *ROME* DLIII. P. Sulpicius Galba, C. Aurelius Cotta, Consuls. *Livy*, *B.* 31. *c.* 4.

same who conquered *Asdrubal* on the Banks of the *Metaurus*) *Marcius Æmilius Lepidus*, and *Publius Sempronius Tuditanus*. Their Instructions were, to notify to the King of *Egypt*, the Victory gained by the *Romans* over *Hannibal*, and the Treaty of Peace concluded between *Rome* and *Carthage*; to thank him for his inviolable Attachment to the Republick, at a time when the neighbouring Nations had in a cowardly manner deserted her in her Distress; and lastly, to exhort him always to continue this good Understanding with the *Romans*, in case *Philip*'s wrong Proceedings should force them to carry the War into *Macedon*. *Ptolomy Epiphanes* had mounted the *Egyptian* Throne, towards the Close of the Year of *Rome* 549, in which his Father *Philopator* died. *Justin* says, the young Prince was then but five Years old; and he had now reigned three Years, at the Discretion of his Guardians. So that he was but eight Years old, when the *Roman* Ambassadors set out for *Egypt*. Both *Justin* and *Polybius* describe the Troubles which disturbed the Beginning of his Reign, and the tragical Events which the mad Ambition of an aspiring Family produced in this Kingdom.

8 The Historians and Geographers differ as to the Name of this City, which they sometimes call *Vibo Valentia*, sometimes *Vibona Valentia*, sometimes *Hippo*, and most commonly *Hipponium*. It stood on that Sea-Coast of *Bruttium*, which is now a Part of *The Further Calabria*. Its ancient Situation is known by that of the Castle of *Vibona*, near *Monte Leone*. *Hipponium* gave its Name to a neighbouring Gulph, which the Natives now call *Golfo di Sante Eufemia*.

9 According to *Livy*, about the end of the Year 552, the old Soldiers which had served in *Africa* under *Scipio*, obtained the Reward of their Labours. The Senate unanimously allotted them all the Lands in *Samnium* and *Apulia*, which had been confiscated for the Use of the *Roman* People. The Conduct of the new *Colony*, and the Care of distributing the Lands, was committed to ten Persons, whom the *Prætor of Rome*, *Marcus Junius*, had chosen out of the *Decemviri*. They were *Publius Servilius*, *Caius* and *Marcus Servilius Geminus*, *Lucius* and *Aulus Hostilius Cato*, *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus*, *Marcus Fulvius Flaccus*, *Publius Villius Tappulus*, *Publius Ælius Pœtus*, and *Quintus Flaminius*.

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therefore ſuſpended the Determination of *The Fathers*, for ſome time; and that they might not act precipitately in the Affair, they ordered, that the Gods ſhould be conſulted, before they would pronounce concerning this War. Nor was this all. The Senate themſelves drew up the Form of Prayers that were addreſſed to the Gods during the Sacrifices appointed for diſcovering their Will. Their Decree was punctually obeyed; many Victims of the largeſt Size were ſlain on the Altars; after which, *The Conſcript Fathers* again aſſembled. And then arrived the Letters which *Aurelius* and *Lævinus* had written concerning the Affairs of *Greece*, and the Preparations the *Macedonian* made for War. At the ſame time came to *Rome* a Deputation from the *Athenians*, to demand Succours of the *Romans*, to guard them againſt the Attempts of *Philip*. Theſe Ambaſſadors reported, That the King of *Macedon* was drawing near their Frontiers; and That their Lands, and City itſelf, unleſs relieved, would ſoon be in the Power of this Conqueror. And the *Conſuls* took this Opportunity to declare to the Senate, That the Gods accepted of their Sacrifices and Prayers; and That the *Aruſpices* were of opinion, that the Entrails of the Victims foreboded nothing but what was favourable to the Republick. They alſo ordered, that the Letters from *Lævinus* and *Aurelius* ſhould be read in full Senate; and that Audience ſhould be given to the Ambaſſadors of *Athens*. And all theſe Circumſtances together made an Impreſſion on the Minds of the Senators. They were affected with the Misfortunes which threatned the *Athenians*, their Allies; were wrought upon by the Letters of *Lævinus* and *Aurelius*; and depended on the Protection of the Gods, who declared their Approbation by happy Preſages. So that, without further Delay, they paſſed a Decree, which contained theſe three Articles. 1. That Thanks ſhould be returned to the *Athenians*, for having continued faithful to the *Roman* Republick, at a time, when their City was threatned with a Siege. 2. That no Succours ſhould be ſent to the Eaſt, till the *Conſuls* had drawn Lots for their *Provinces*. And 3. That the *Conſul*, to whoſe Lot *Macedon* fell, ſhould get the War with King *Philip* approved by the People aſſembled *by Centuries*, and immediately afterwards embark with an Army. Then the *Conſuls* drew Lots without Delay; and *Sulpicius* had *Macedon* for his *Province*; and *Aurelius*, *Italy*. It therefore belonged to the former, to get the War with King *Philip* approved in the *Comitia*; and he met with more Difficulty in this Affair than he had expected. *A Tribune of the People*, named *Bæbius*, had perſuaded the Commons, that the Nobility continually entered upon one War after another, on purpoſe to prevent *Rome*'s enjoying any Repoſe. This was an old Complaint which the *Tribune* revived; but it was not without ſome Appearance of Truth. The War with *Carthage* had been ended but a few Months; and the Senate were already beginning another War with *Macedon*. The People were full of theſe Prejudices when the *Comitia* were aſſembled. So that the War with *Macedon* was rejected by a Majority of Voices; and it is eaſy to judge, that the Senate were not very well pleaſed with this Oppoſition from the *Comitia*. The Name of *Bæbius* became odious to *The Conſcript Fathers*, who ſpoke warmly againſt him in their Aſſemblies. But ſtill it was the Prerogative of the Commons, to determine concerning Peace or War. So that the only Refuge the *Conſul* had left, was to aſſemble theſe People, who were ſo fond of Repoſe, a ſecond time; and to endeavour to perſuade them to conſent to a War, by Force of Argument. *Sulpicius* addreſſed himſelf to them in this manner.

ROMANS, *you are weary of bearing Arms, and long for Tranquillity; and I heartily wiſh the Gods would grant it you, and your Enemies ſuffer you to enjoy the Fruits of it! But* Philip *is a reſtleſs Prince; we have diſcovered his Intrigues. Is it not then better to carry the War into his Dominions, than to ſee him, at the Head of his* Macedonians, *pillage our Countries, and ſack our Provinces?* Italy *has already but too ſeverely felt the Cruelty of* Hannibal, *and the Ravages of* Pyrrhus. *Our* Grecian *Allies now implore our Aſſiſtance againſt* Philip, *as the* Saguntini *formerly did againſt* Hannibal. *We then delayed ſending Succours to thoſe faithful* Spaniards; *and the* Carthaginian, *taking Advantage of our Delays, demoliſhed* Saguntum, *and had the Boldneſs to paſs the* Alps. *If we poſtpone ſending Relief to the* Athenians; *if we don't oblige the King of* Macedon *to continue in his own Dominions, and find him Employment there; what will be the Conſequence? We ſhall ſee him, and perhaps* Hannibal *with him, croſs the Sea, and renew our Alarms in* Italy. *You know the Friendſhip* Philip *has always had for* Hannibal.

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How easy will it be for him, to bring him back hither, and put him at the Head of another Army here! And then, how many of our Provinces, *which did not leave* Hannibal *till reduced to the last Extremity, will rejoin this formidable* Carthaginian? *What imminent Dangers will threaten your Wives, and Children, and your selves? All these Calamities will be the Effects of your Obstinacy. Nor are they, even now, at any great Distance from us.* Hannibal *was indeed five Months coming from* Spain *to* Italy; *but five Days are sufficient to bring* Philip *on our Coasts. Perhaps* Hannibal *may not come with him; I grant it. But will not* Philip *alone be able to lay our Countries desolate? Remember* Pyrrhus. *Was his Power comparable to that of* Philip? Epirus, *of which the former was King, is but a small Tract of Land, if compared with* Macedon. *Consider how far* Philip *has already extended his Dominions. He is Master of* Epirus *it self, of* Thessaly, *and of* Macedon; *and* Peloponnesus *and* Argos *are subject to him. Let it be likewise considered, That in* Pyrrhus's *Time, our Republick was not exhausted of Men, Money, or able Officers: And yet he came to the Foot of our Walls, and made our Forefathers tremble, even behind their Bulwarks. The* Lucani, Samnites *and* Bruttii, *joined him. And do you think that these Nations will continue faithful to us, when they see a* Macedonian *Army here? These People will never be at Peace as long as* Rome *shall have any Enemies in their Neighbourhood. You refuse,* Romans, *to send Troops into* Macedon. *But could you have enjoyed your present Security, if you had not suffered* Scipio *to have carried some into* Africa? *The great Secret of State, is to know how to keep Hostilities at a Distance, and to make War only in an Enemy's Country. Let then the Fire and Sword be felt only in* Macedon! *You have already experienced how useful a Diversion is. You have already made War Abroad, to prevent having it at Home. With these Sentiments then, go into the Voting-place, and give your Suffrages! The Senate, your* Consuls, *nay the Gods themselves, sollicit you to declare against* Philip.

This said, *Sulpicius* succeeded to his Wish; all the *Tribes* voted for War; and it was immediately resolved on. And after this Resolution, the first Step the *Romans* took, was to endeavour once more to render the Gods propitious. They always made Religion their first Concern. The Senate ordered Prayers for three Days. All the Temples were opened, and the People crowded to them, there to implore the Protection of Heaven. Nor did *Rome* omit any of the Ceremonies usually practised in declaring War. She was scrupulously exact in the Performance of them. The College of *Feciales* were consulted, whether it was necessary to signify to *Philip* himself, that the Peace was at an End; or whether it was sufficient, to declare it in one of his Frontier-Towns, which was nearest to *Rome*. And they answered, That it would be sufficient to send, in the Name of a *Consul*, a *Fecialis*, (who was in no Office in the Republick,) to declare War, in one of the Towns in *Macedon*. But tho' these *Romans* were thus timorous, even to Superstition, in what related to the Worship of their Gods, they were Heroes in Battel. So true is it, that Religion does not abate Mens Courage, but raises and improves it!

§. IV. After they had rendered the Gods propitious, the Senate made it their next Concern, to settle all the Armies, which were to act the next Year. *Sulpicius*, who was to make War in *Macedon*, had Leave to get as many Voluntiers as he could, out of the Troops *Scipio* had brought from *Africa*; but he was forbidden to force any of them into his Service. These brave Men were only to be Supernumeraries to the two *Legions* of which the *Consular* Armies always consisted. The *Consul Aurelius* raised two *Legions*, to march wheresoever the wavering Nations of *Italy* should make his Presence necessary. And then the *Consuls* formed the *Prætorian* Armies. Besides the *Legion* which *L. Furius* was to command in *Cisalpine Gaul*, and that which *Minucius Rufus* was to command in *Bruttium*, five thousand Auxiliaries were divided between them. *Fulvius Gillo* obtained Leave to add to the *Legion* he was to lead into his *Province* of *Sicily*, no less than five thousand of the *Latins* and other Allies, and to chuse them out of the Army the *Consul Ælius* had commanded the last Year. Nevertheless, he was ordered to chuse such only as had served the least time. And lastly, *Valerius Falto* (continued *Prætor* in *Sardinia*) was ordered to keep for himself five thousand of those *Latins* who had yet paid the Republick but little of the Service

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they owed her. So that the whole Number of the *Roman Legions* which were to be employed in different Places the next Campaign, was no more than ſeven. A conſiderable Diminution of that prodigious Number of Troops which the Republick had employed in the Heat of the War with *Hannibal!*

After this, all the Attention of the *Romans* was fixed on *Macedon*; when an Embaſſy arrived at *Rome*, from *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, King of *Egypt*. The Dominions of this young Prince, during his [10] unfortunate Minority, had fallen a Prey to rapacious Uſurpers; and he had, at length, put himſelf under the Protection of the *Romans*. He had even received from the Republick one *Marcius Lepidus*, to be his Guardian, and to defend his Dominions againſt the Invaſions of the Kings of *Syria* and *Macedon*. Indeed *Antiochus* [11] *the Great*, and King *Philip*, had already divided between them the *Egyptian* Territories, which they expected to conquer. *Antiochus* had choſen [12] *Cælo-Syria*, and [13] *Phœnicia*; and *Philip* was to have *Egypt* and *Caria* [14]: And *Rome* had not yet overturned theſe vaſt Projects of the *Syrian* and *Macedonian*. So that young *Ptolomy*, now thirteen Years of Age, did not yet enjoy a perfect Tranquillity, tho' under the Guardianſhip of *Lepidus*, and the Protection of the *Roman* Republick. He was full of Apprehenſions, when he received the News of the Ravages *Philip* had committed in *Attica*, and of the Motion of the *Macedonian* Troops to lay Siege to *Athens*; and having entertained juſt Suſpicions and Reſentments towards the *Macedonian*, he was inclined to aſſiſt the *Athenians*. But he durſt not undertake any thing without the Conſent of the *Roman* People. Doubtleſs his Guardian *Lepidus* adviſed him to ſend an Embaſſy to the Republick, to inform her, That he was very ready to deliver *Athens*

10 After the Death of *Ptolomy Philopator*, *Agathocles*, the prime Miniſter, and chief Inſtrument, of the Debaucheries of that Monarch, was forced to ſhare the Adminiſtration of *Egypt*, and the Guardianſhip of *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, a Minor, with *Tlepolemus*. But he ſoon looked on his Collegue as a hateful Rival, who was very capable of thwarting him in his ambitious Deſigns. And he therefore reſolved to get rid of him by unjuſt Means; fully purpoſing to attempt the Life of his Pupil afterwards, and place himſelf on the Throne. Theſe Schemes he formed in Conjunction with his Siſter *Agathoclea*, and his Mother *Enanthe*. The former had captivated the late King, who being charmed with her extraordinary Beauty, had implicitely given himſelf up to the Caprice of this artful Woman. This coſt the unfortunate *Euridice*, Mother to *Ptolomy Ephiphanes*, her Life And when *Agathoclea* was become a Queen, and married to *Philopator*, ſhe no longer ſet any Bounds to her Deſires. Her Brother *Agathocles*, and her Mother *Enanthe*, were the only Perſons who ſhared the ſovereign Authority with him. The King, wholly ſwallowed up in Love, was entirely guided by their Ambition. After this, *Ptolomy* died, and his Death only haſtened the Execution of the Deſign *Agathocles* had formed, of aſcending the Throne. Being backed by his Siſter and Mother, he had already ſeized the late King's Treaſures. But the Plot was diſcover'd by thoſe who were watchful to preſerve the young Prince; and the Tyrant being inveſted on all Sides, could not eſcape the Fury of the People of *Alexandria*. He was ſtabbed; and his Mother and Siſter being ignominiouſly expoſed to the Fury of the Citizens, were torn in pieces by them. And laſtly, the Remains of this proud Family underwent as ſevere a Fate. According to *Juſtin*, *Enanthe* and *Agathocles* expired on a Gibbet. When *Egypt* was delivered from her Tyrants, ſhe claimed the Protection of the *Romans* againſt foreign Enemies. The Grandees thought they could not better ſecure the Life of the young King, than by putting him and his Kingdom under the Protection of the Senate of *Rome*. And this was the Deſign of the Embaſſy the People of *Alexandria* had juſt ſent to that venerable Body. The Republick granted the Requeſt of the Ambaſſadors; and diſpatched *Lepidus* to *Egypt*, there to take upon him the Office of Guardian to the young King, and Regent of the Kingdom. She had alſo already ſent Deputies to *Antiochus* and *Philip*, to require them, in the Name of the *Roman* People, to deſiſt from their Enterprizes upon *Egypt*. So that whilſt *Rome* gloried in being the Refuge of oppreſſed Princes, ſhe took upon her to give Law to Crowned Heads. But after all, it is very ſurprizing that ſo remarkable a Fact as the transferring the Guardianſhip of the King of *Egypt* to the *Romans*, ſhould eſcape the two moſt exact and moſt celebrated of all the *Roman* Hiſtorians. Is not their Silence a reaſonable Proof againſt the ſingle Teſtimony of *Juſtin*?

11 This *Antiochus*, the third of the Name, had now reigned in *Syria*, twenty four Years. He was the Son of *Seleucus Callinicus*, and had ſucceeded his Brother *Seleucus Ceraunus*. His warlike Exploits, and the Reputation of being a Lover of Equity, gained him the Surname of *The Great*. After the Death of *Ptolomy Philopator*, he had taken Advantage of the Infancy of *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, and ſeized *Judea*: But in the Year of *Rome* 551, according to *Euſebius*'s *Chronicon*, *Scopas* the King of *Egypt*'s General at the Head of a numerous Army, recovered that *Province*, and brought it again into Subjection to its old Maſter. And to this Conqueſt, he added that of ſeveral Cities of *Syria*, which he took from King *Antiochus*.

12 The Name of *Cælo-Syria*, was anciently given to all that Country which lay between the Mounts *Libanus* and *Anti-Libanus*. *Ptolomy the Geographer* places the Territory of *Damaſcus* in that Country. But others make it a diſtinct Province, and call it *Syria of Damaſcus*.

13 *Phœnicia*, properly ſo called, was the maritime Parts of *Syria*. Some of the moſt conſiderable Cities in this *Province* were thoſe of *Tyre* and *Sidon*. Several Geographers have comprehended in *Phœnicia*, all that vaſt Country which reaches along the *Mediterranean*, from the River *Eleutherus* to *Peluſium* in *Egypt*.

14 *Caria* was a Province of *Aſia Minor*. It is now called *Aidinelli*. It is bounded by *Lycia*, to the Eaſt; and by the *Mediterranean* and *Archipelago*, to the Weſt and South. The River *Madre*, formerly ſo well known by the Name of *Meander*, is its Border to the North. *Caria* is now a Part of *Germian*.

out of the Danger that threatened her, if it would be at all agreeable to the *Romans*. And this Act of Submiſſion, from a powerful King, was highly acceptable to the Senate. They returned *Ptolomy* Thanks for the Reſpect he had paid them, and gave the Ambaſſadors this Anſwer: *That* Rome *was reſolved to aſſiſt the* Grecks *againſt* Philip; *That ſhe would give* Ptolomy *Notice when ſhe wanted his Aſſiſtance; and That ſhe was fully convinced of their Maſter's Fidelity and Affection to her.* Then ſome Preſents were made the *Egyptian* Envoys, and they were diſmiſſed. *Rome* alſo nominated three Ambaſſadors to go to King *Ptolomy*; and ordered them, to coaſt along the *Mediterranean*, and, if poſſible, obtain a Conference with the King of *Macedon*.

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§. V. As for the *Conſuls*, each was intent on the War in his own *Province*; but they were very ſlow in making their Preparations. They liked very well to continue at *Rome*. They appeared every Day in publick, and their Dignity procured them Honours here, which they could not have had in the Country. *Sulpicius* eſpecially, was very dilatory in ſetting out for *Macedon*. He continually found Pretences to poſtpone it; ſometimes on account of Religion, ſometimes on account of the important Affairs which were depending in the Senate. At firſt, a religious Ceremony detained him. In the Beginning of a new War, the People would have nothing of that kind neglected. The leaſt Omiſſion of the uſual Formalities, was thought to affect the Succeſs of the Enterprize: and it was remembered, That many *Conſuls* had, before they went on important Expeditions, vowed to celebrate publick *Games* in honour to *Jupiter*, and to make him a Preſent. *Sulpicius* therefore was obliged to make the ſame Vow; but he met with ſome Oppoſition in it. The Republick had not then ready the Sum ſettled for the Expence of theſe *Games*; and *Licinius* the *Pontifex Maximus* was of Opinion, That no Promiſe could be made to the Gods, but of a fixed Sum; and That it was neceſſary, at the time of making it, to ſet apart the Sum vowed, and not mix it with the Funds deſigned for the War. But tho' great Regard was ſhewn to this Opinion of the *Pontifex Maximus*, the *Conſul* thought fit to appeal from him to the *Pontificial* College. And they determined, That it was not neceſſary, for the Validity of the Vow, either to aſcertain the Sum, or ſet apart the Money. So that *Sulpicius* pronounced the Form of the Vow, concluding with this Clauſe, That the Senate ſhould determine the Expences of the *Games*, and the Value of the Preſent, when they thought proper. And this was the firſt time that ever a Vow was made at *Rome* of an indeterminate Sum. Thus we ſee what Regard was then paid by the *Romans* to religious Affairs. They were very fearful of omitting any, and ſtrictly examined into the Extent and Bounds of their Duty, with reſpect to the Promiſes they made their Gods.

Plut. Life of *Flaminius*.

Livy, B. 31. c. 9.

After this, a ſudden Commotion among the *Gauls* kept *Sulpicius* yet in the City, and forced his Collegue to prepare for taking the Field. The *Inſubres*, [15] *Cænomani*, and *Boii*, had joined the [16] *Statiellates*, and [17] *Iriates*, Nations of *Liguria*; and theſe Rebels had choſen for their Leader, that *Hamilcar* the *Carthaginian*, whom *Aſdrubal* had left in *Italy*, after his Defeat. So that a Subject of *Carthage* renewed the War; tho' his Republick neither took Part in it, nor had given Riſe to it. The Army *Hamilcar* commanded had ſeized [18] *Placentia*; and after having put a great Number of the Inhabitants to Death, and burnt a great many Houſes, had advanced towards *Cremona*, to ſack it. But *Cremona* was a *Roman Colony*, and had kept upon her Guard, as ſoon as ſhe had heard of the Misfortune of *Placentia*. She ſhut her Gates againſt the Army of the *Gauls*; and

15 The *Cænomani*, originally *Gauls*, as we have obſerved, *Vol.* 2. ſettled beyond the *Po*, and took Poſſeſſion of the greateſt Part of *The Veroneſe*, *The Mantuan*, *The Breſſan*, and a little of *The Cremoneſe*.

16 The *Statiellates* inhabited that Canton of *Liguria*, which is now a Part of *Montferrat*. Their chief City, which the *Latin* Authors call *Aquæ Statiellorum*, is ſtill in being, and is now called by the Natives *Acqui*.

17 The *Iriates* took their Name from the City of *Iria*, their Capital. Its Situation agrees with that of *Voghiera*, which now belongs to the Duchy of *Milan*. Indeed it ought to be owned, that in ſeveral Copies of *Livy* we read *Salyis Ilvatibuſque*. But ſo groſs a Blunder can only be aſcribed to the Copyiſts. It is certain the *Salyes* inhabited that Part of *Gallia Narbonnenſis*, of which *Aix* was the Capital. And as for the *Ilvates*, they had ſettled in the Iſland of *Ilva*, over againſt the Coaſts of *Hetruria*, as we have already obſerved. We have ſpoken of the *Salyes*, *Vol.* 2.

18 *Placentia* ſtill retains, in ſome meaſure, its firſt Name, in that of *Placenza*. This City now belongs to the Duchy of *Milan*. We have ſpoken of it in the preceding Volumes.

thereby

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thereby the faithful *Cremoneſe* preſerved themſelves from Slaughter. Whilſt *Hamilcar* was preparing to beſiege them, they had time to ſend an Account of their Danger to *Furius Purpureo*, who, as *Prætor* of *Gaul*, commanded a Body of five thouſand Allies there; and who loved Glory, and ſought all Opportunities to acquire it. Beſides, the Name of *Furius* had always been fatal to the *Gauls*; and the Great *Camillus*, one of his Anceſtors, had often triumphed over them. The *Prætor* therefore made ready with all Diligence, to leave the Neighbourhood of *Ariminum*, where he was encamped, and march towards *Cremona*. But nevertheleſs, he thought it neceſſary, before his Departure, to write to the Senate, and deſire Succours of them. *One of the two famous* Colonies, ſaid he, *which the* Carthaginians *ſpared, has juſt been ſacked by the* Gauls, *and the other is beſieged. And I have only five thouſand Men to make Head againſt the Enemy. Would it not then be expoſing this little Body of Allies to be ſlaughtered, if I ſhould lead them againſt the* Gauls? *The latter are forty thouſand ſtrong.* Upon the Receipt of this Letter, the Senate ordered, That either the *Conſul Aurelius* ſhould put himſelf at the Head of his Army, which was encamped in *Hetruria*; or elſe That the *Conſular* Army ſhould march without him to *Ariminum*, to be there commanded by the *Prætor*. And they added, That upon the *Conſul*'s declining that Enterprize, *Furius* ſhould lead the *Legions* to the Relief of *Cremona*; and ſhould ſend his own five thouſand Allies into *Hetruria*, to guard it. It was natural indeed for *Aurelius* immediately to take upon him the Command of his *Legions*, and fight the *Gauls*; but he choſe to continue in *Rome*.

§. VI. The *Conſcript Fathers* alſo came to another Reſolution; which was, to ſend a Deputation to *Carthage*, to complain of one of her Subjects. *Hamilcar* had, notwithſtanding the Peace, put himſelf at the Head of an Army of *Gauls* and *Ligures*; and *Rome* demanded, that this perfidious Man ſhould be recalled to *Carthage* to be puniſhed, or elſe delivered up to the Vengeance of the *Romans*. The Ambaſſadors were likewiſe ordered to repreſent to the *Carthaginians*, that they had not faithfully executed the Conditions of the Treaty. All the *Roman* Deſerters had not been delivered up to the Republick; ſeveral of them yet appeared in the Streets of *Carthage*. The ſame Ambaſſadors were alſo directed to go to *Numidia*, and compliment *Maſiniſſa* on the Recovery and Increaſe of his Dominions. They were to inform this faithful King, that *Rome* was going to begin a new War with *Philip*, and that it would be very acceptable to her, if he would lend her ſome Squadrons of *Numidian* Horſe. They alſo carried ſome [19] Preſents to *Maſiniſſa*.

This Prince was now in Poſſeſſion of the Capital, and great Part of the Kingdom, of *Syphax*; and this Conqueſt gave great Uneaſineſs to *Vermina*, the ſecond Son of *Syphax*. The eldeſt had been taken Priſoner, and carried into Captivity, with his Father; and the young Prince his Brother now had Thoughts of reconciling himſelf to the *Romans*. To this End, he ſent his Envoys to *Rome*, and they were admitted into the Senate. Their Speech chiefly turned on the Miſery of a deprived Prince, and the Deceitfulneſs of the *Carthaginians*, who, to his great Misfortune, had drawn off his Father from his Alliance with *Rome*, and made him her Enemy. Their Demands were only, That *Vermina* might be put into Poſſeſſion of the *Provinces* conquered from him, which was a Prejudice to no body but *Maſiniſſa*; and That the Senate would give the former the Title of *King*, and rank him among the Allies of the *Romans*. So exceeding great was the Power of theſe Republicans, that the Son and Heir of a great Monarch could not take the Quality of King without their Conſent; and their Alliance was not to be purchaſed by him, otherwiſe than by the moſt humble Submiſſions. They gave his Deputies this haughty Anſwer: *An Enemy of the* Roman People, *has no Right to demand of them the Title of* King, *and the Honour of an Alliance with them. Let him firſt obtain a Peace, and a Pardon; and then let him endeavour to make Amends for the Unfaithfulneſs of* Syphax, *and the Attempts of his Son.* To which it was added, *That the greateſt Kings did not obtain an Alliance with* Rome, *but by long*

19 The Republick could not diſtinguiſh *Maſiniſſa*'s Valour in a more honourable Manner than ſhe then did. Beſides the Vaſes of Gold and Silver which were given him, ſhe preſented him with all the Ornaments of a triumphant Victor, and a Magiſtrate, The embroidered Robe and *Tunic*, The Ivory Scepter, The Robe bordered with Purple, and The *Curule Chair*.

and important Services. Nevertheleſs, the Ambaſſadors had ſome Hopes given them. They were told, *That* Vermina *might have Recourſe to the* [20] Roman *Ambaſſadors which were going into* Africa; *That the latter would be empowered to declare the Terms upon which the Republick would enter into a Treaty with him; and That if he would have any Alterations made in the Terms they offered, he muſt again have Recourſe to the Senate.* It muſt be granted, that the *Romans*, though naturally imperious, never carried their Pride to this height, till after the Victories of *Scipio.* They then firſt began to aſſume that exceſſive Arrogance, and Haughtineſs, which all the Monarchs of the World experienced in their Turns. Year of *ROME* DLIII. P. Sulpicius Galba, C. Aurelius Cotta, Conſuls.

§. VII. But this Pride of the *Roman* Senate was accompanied with many Virtues, which made them as venerable as they were imperious. Their Equity diſtinguiſhed them from all the Nations in the World: and they gave ſome Inſtances of it, whilſt the preſent *Conſuls* continued at *Rome.* The *Prætor Minucius* ſent *The Conſcript Fathers* an account, That the Treaſury of *Proſerpine* had been again plundered, and That the Robbers could not be diſcovered. The Senators were [21] ſurpriſed to find that there were yet new *Pleminius's*, who were bold enough to repeat this Crime, after the Sacrilege had been ſo ſignally puniſhed; but ordered, as before, That what was left in the Treaſury of the Goddeſs ſhould be examined, what had been ſtolen reſtored, and That Victims ſhould be bought by the Publick for Expiations.

At the ſame time, the private Citizens of *Rome*, who had lent the Republick Money in her late Difficulties, and whoſe Debts were ordered to be diſcharged at three different times, demanded the laſt Payment. It had been delayed, becauſe Money was wanted for the *Macedonian* Expedition; and the Creditors loudly complained of theſe continual Wars, which tended to deprive the zealous *Citizens* of what they had lent *gratis.* The Senate therefore, who always acted with great Equity, came to ſuch a Compromiſe with them, as ſuited the preſent Neceſſities, and was not injurious to the Creditors. They ſurrendered up to them certain Lands, which belonged to the Republick, and were near [22] *Rome*; upon Condition, that they ſhould pay one *As per* Acre Rent for them, and ſhould reſtore them, whenever the Exchequer ſhould think fit to redeem them. This is the firſt Inſtance we meet with in Story, of granting Leaſes for long Terms. The Lenders were ſatisfied with them; and the Republick gave a ſignal Proof of her Juſtice and Honour.

And indeed, it will not ſeem ſurpriſing, that the *Conſuls* ſhould continue ſo long in *Rome*, in a Year ſo fruitful in great Affairs; if we conſider That they were the chief Perſons in the Senate where they were continually employed; and That they were the Managers of all thoſe Deliberations and Decrees, by which all the Affairs of *Italy*, *Africa*, *Aſia*, and *Greece*, were regulated and ſettled. However, at laſt, the *Conſul Sulpicius* left the City to go to the *Levant.* But his Collegue choſe to preſide in the Senate; and left to the *Prætor Furius*, the Care

20 *Caius Terentius Varro*, *Publius Lucretius*, and *Cneius Octavius*, were the three Ambaſſadors who embarked for *Africa.* Each of them went on board a *Quinqueremis* prepared by Order of the Senate.

21 The Horror of the Crime was increaſed by the Reports ſpread of ſeveral late Prodigies, whether real or imaginary; and the Alarm was univerſal. Every one took theſe Sorts of Events for manifeſt Signs of the Anger of the Gods, which was ready to break out againſt the *Romans*, to puniſh the Sacrilege. The Heavens had appeared to be all on Fire, in *Lucania.* Some Women, in ſeveral Parts of *Italy*, had brought forth Monſters. Nothing was talked of but new-born Children, which either were ſo formed that it was doubtful of which Sex they were, or in whom the Parts that diſtinguiſhed the Sexes were imperfect. In this Confuſion of Nature, the People expected nothing but terrible Calamities. And in order to prevent the Evils with which they thought themſelves threatened, thoſe unhappy Victims to a barbarous Superſtition were immediately devoted to Death. All theſe deformed Infants were ſought for, and not one of them ſpared. By Order of the Prieſts, they were thrown into the Sea, as accurſed Creatures. Nor was this all. The *Decemviri* were ordered to conſult the *Sybilline* Books, the uſual Reſource of the *Romans* in Alarms: And upon the Report of theſe Prieſts, *The Conſcript Fathers* ordered Sacrifices to be offered, and Preſents made, to Queen *Juno.* Moreover, a Ceremony was renewed which had been introduced ſome Years before. Twenty ſeven young Girls, divided into three Choirs, ſung a Song in honour to the Goddeſs, in the Streets of *Rome.* It was compoſed by an ancient Poet, whoſe Name was *Licinius Tegula*, and was much of the ſame kind, as that made by *Livius Andronicus*, on the like Occaſion.

22 Theſe Lands were, according to *Livy*, fifty Miles, that is, ſixteen or ſeventeen *French Leagues*, from *Rome.*

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of relieving *Cremona*. And we now come to relate in their Order, the military Expeditions of the *Romans*, in *Greece*, and *Italy*.

§. VIII. [23] *Sulpicius* embarked at *Brunduſium*, and had a ſafe Paſſage to *Macedon* [24]; where he [25] found the Affairs of *Greece* embroiled by the Proceedings of *Philip*. This King intended to have deſtroyed the Liberty of all *Greece*. The Meaſures he had taken to this end were very proper ones; and if the *Romans* had not diſconcerted them, he would have become the moſt powerful Monarch in the World. The League he had entered into with *Antiochus* King of *Syria* made him Enterprizing; and after he had extended his Dominion from *Macedon* over the reſt of *Europe*, he would doubtleſs have invaded a good part of *Aſia*, and joined *Egypt* to his Conqueſts. This was the Scheme he had formed, and in order to purſue it, he had already actually broken the Peace he had made with the *Romans*, and committed Hoſtilities in the Countries of their Allies. King *Attalus*, the *Rhodians*, and the *Athenians* were the moſt ſenſible of any Nations of *Greece*, of their want of the Protection of *Rome*. The *Ætolians* were equally afraid of quarrelling with *Macedon*, and *Rome*; and therefore reſolved to ſtand neuter. *Achaia*, *Lacedæmon*, and *Corinth*, joined with King *Philip*. And before the *Conſul Sulpicius* arrived, the *Macedonian* made uſe of a ſlight Pretence to carry the War into *Attica*. Two young *Acarnanians*, who happened to be at *Athens*, at the time of the Celebration of *The Myſteries* [26] *of Ceres*, had ſlipped into the Temple

23 The *Conſul*, *Publius Sulpicius*, did not begin his March, till after he had gone to the *Capitol*, to implore the Protection of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Times.

24 The Paſſage was not long. In two Days, the *Conſul* appeared off the Coaſts of *Macedon*, with his Fleet, which partly conſiſted of the Fleet of twenty Ships, with which *Cornelius Lentulus* was to have gone into *Africa* the laſt Year. And moſt of the Volunteers who had ſerved under *Scipio* in *Africa*, attended the *Conſul* in this Expedition.

25 *Sulpicius*, upon his Arrival in *Macedon*, found Deputies, who came to claim his Aſſiſtance in favour of *Athens*, and againſt the Enterprizes of *Philip*. The *Conſul* therefore immediately granted them a Reinforcement of Troops, and twenty Galleys, under the Command of *Caius Claudius Centho*.

26 Among all the Feſtivals of the ancient Pagans, the *Myſteries of Ceres* were, beyond all Contradiction, the moſt eminent, whether we conſider the vaſt Preparations made for them, or the Devotion with which the People came from all Parts of *Greece* to celebrate them. The *Sicilians* claimed the Glory of having firſt inſtituted this ſolemn Worſhip. They boaſted that they had been inſtructed by *Ceres*, in the ſecret Ceremonies which were performed in this Solemnity. Having been taught by her, according to the Tradition of the Country, the Art of cultivating the Earth, and by her united in Societies in Cities, there to live under the Influence of the wiſe Laws ſhe had dictated, they twice a Year renewed the Remembrance of theſe ſignal Benefits. The Mother and the Daughter were alternatively worſhipped by theſe Iſlanders. The Harveſt was the Seaſon dedicated to *Proſerpine*, and the firſt Seed-time to her Mother. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that the Feaſt of *Ceres* laſted ten Days. Therein was repreſented, by ſeveral Symbols, the ſavage Life of the firſt Men, when they were diſperſed in Foreſts, and had no Food but Acorns, no Law but Inſtinct. In this manner, the *Sicilians* renewed the Remembrance of their Benefactreſs. According to the ſame Author, an indecent Figure was then led about *Sicily*, called *Myllos*. It was made of Honey and *Seſamin*. This Figure put the Spectators in mind of the Obſcenities which the Pagan Mythologiſts have inſerted in the fabulous Hiſtory of the Adventures of the Goddeſs. Nevertheleſs, the People worſhipped it. Hence the *Fathers* of the Church concluded, that the Pagans had, under the venerable Name of Myſteries, conſecrated Proſtitutions, and other Crimes too horrible to be named by modeſt Perſons. But if that was the Caſe, it is hard to reconcile this monſtrous Licentiouſneſs with the Teſtimony of prophane Authors. They all agree in declaring the Sanctity of theſe ſecret Aſſemblies which were held all the time of the Feſtival. They repreſent them as Schools of Virtue and Purity. The Women themſelves did not enter upon the Celebration of theſe Myſteries, till after they had kept the moſt exact Continence for ſeveral Days.

After the Example of the *Sicilians*, the Inhabitants of *Attica* (who had been likewiſe enriched by the Gifts of *Ceres*) ſignalized their Gratitude to this Goddeſs, by inſtituting three great Feſtivals to her Honour.

The firſt was called *Proeroſia*, becauſe it preceded the Ploughing-time, and Seed-time. It was inſtituted, according to ſome Writers, by Order of the Oracle of *Delphi*, on occaſion of a Plague and Famine which then laid all *Greece* deſolate. So that the *Athenians* celebrated it in the Name of all the *Greeks*. They then offered up many Sacrifices in hopes of obtaining a plentiful Harveſt. The Name of *Proeroſia* was afterwards given to the Goddeſs. It was cuſtomary among the Ancients, to give the Gods and Goddeſſes Surnames taken from the Temples and Feſtivals which were conſecrated to them.

The ſecond Feſtival celebrated at *Athens*, and in the chief Cities of *Greece*, was called *Theſmophoria*. This *Greek* Word alluded to the Worſhip the Nations there paid *Ceres*, as a *Law-giver*. *Triptolemus* was thought the firſt Inſtitutor of this Feaſt. *Plutarch*, *Diodorus of Sicily*, and after them *Theodoret*, ſays it was celebrated with the ſame Ceremonies, that the *Egyptians* practiſed in *The Myſteries of Iſis*. At leaſt it is certain, the Ancients have obſerved, that there was a great deal of Reſemblance between the two Goddeſſes. They had all the ſame Attributes; inſomuch, that moſt of the *Greek* and *Latin* Authors have confounded them together, and made both to be but one Goddeſs.

The *Athenians* ſet apart five Days together for the Celebration of this Feſtival. Every Day, the Women of the ten *Tribes*, of which the Republick of *Athens* conſiſted, choſe out two among them to preſide in the Ceremonies practiſed at this ſolemn Seaſon. But this Prerogative was granted only to ſuch as were born in lawful Wedlock. And their Inſpection did not reach to the ſacrificing of the Victims. This belonged to the *Stephanophoros*, that is, the Prieſt who officiated with a Crown upon his Head.

Temple of the Goddeſs with the Croud. But it was not lawful for any Perſon to bear a part in thoſe Ceremonies, who had not been initiated. The two *Acarnanians* were diſcovered to be Strangers, by their Language; and upon asking them

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Head. The Women, who had had at leaſt three *Talents* each to their Portions, had a Right to demand of their Husbands the neceſſary Sums for the Expences of the Sacrifices. Every one was indiſpenſably obliged to contribute to them, according to his Riches.

When all theſe Women were aſſembled together, they marched in Proceſſion from *Athens* to *Eleuſis*, a little City in the Neighbourhood. All the Way they went, they made all Places reſound with the Hymns they ſung in honour to the Goddeſs, and accompanied with Inſtruments. They carried in this kind of Proceſſion the Books, which contained the ſecret Myſteries of the Solemnity, and the Laws for which *Attica* was indebted to *Ceres*. But this Depoſitum was not entruſted with any, but ſuch of the *Athenian* Ladies, as were moſt famous for their Virtue and Regularity of Life. A certain Number of Virgins, brought up at the Expence of the Publick, had the greateſt Share of this Diſtinction, and of the Offices performed in the Temple at *Eleuſis*. In order to ſecure their Virtue, they were confined in the *Theſmophorion*, a publick Building in *Athens* appropriated to that Uſe. The Perſons ſet over them, to educate them, uſed all imaginable Precautions to prevent their being ſeduced. And when they came to *Eleuſis*, they prepared themſelves for the ſecret Offices of their Prieſthood, by Faſtings and Mortifications. In this penitential State, if I may ſo ſpeak of a Pagan Ceremony, they continued a whole Day at the Feet of the Statue of *Ceres*. And then this Severity ended in a very groteſque kind of Comedy. They with Jeſts and Inventions did all they could to make one another laugh. According to the Fable, *Ceres* laughed ſo, at the ſight of an old Woman, who inſulted her. The following Days were ſpent in Luſtrations, and Sacrifices, from which the Men were not excluded. The Priſoners themſelves, who were initiated in the Worſhip of *Ceres*, obtained their Liberty, and were ſuffered to join in thoſe religious Practices with the reſt, provided they did not ſtand convicted of any Crime. The Feaſt ended with an expiatory Sacrifice, to repair the Defects of the preceding ones.

The third Feſtival, conſecrated to *Ceres* by the *Greeks*, was deemed the moſt holy, and the moſt ſolemn; and was for this Reaſon called, by way of Eminence, *The Myſteries of Ceres*. Whether it was inſtituted by *Erechtheus*, *Muſeus*, *Eumolpus*, or *Orpheus*, cannot now be diſcovered, in the Darkneſs of thoſe diſtant Ages. The Temple of *Eleuſis*, was the Place where all thoſe were appointed to meet, who were admitted into theſe myſterious Ceremonies. It was ſo large, according to *Strabo*, that it would hold an innumerable Multitude of People. Thither the *Greeks* came in Crouds about *Auguſt*; but no Foreigner was ſuffered to celebrate what they called *The Great Myſteries*. None could partake of theſe, till he had been initiated in *The Little Myſteries*, which were always celebrated at *Agra*, near *Athens*, about *November*. Thoſe who were deſirous of being admitted, underwent very ſevere Trials. They were indiſpenſably obliged to Purifications, Luſtrations, Faſting, Continence, and Retirement. In this purgatorial State, they were, as it were, made to paſs through Fire and Water, to purify them from their paſt Faults, and prepare them for a better Life. But we will not trouble the Reader with recounting all the little trifling Obſervances which were uſed in theſe Acts of Mortification. He may have recourſe to the Collection *Meurſius* has made, of the ſeveral Authors, who have treated of *The Myſteries* of *Venus Eleuſina*.

After they had gone through theſe Forms, the Candidates acquired the Quality of *Muſtai*, that is, they were qualified for being *Epoptai*, or Eye-Witneſſes of *The Great Myſteries of Venus Eleuſina*. Nevertheleſs, they were not honoured with this Title till the ſixth Year after their Purification. Nor did they yet ſee all. There were ſeveral things reſerved for the Prieſts alone, and which no Body was ſuffered to know but themſelves. And till the five Years were ended, the *Muſtai*, were only ſuffered to appear in the Porch of the Temple of the Goddeſs. They were forbidden to enter her Sanctuary. When the five Years were expired, the Candidate was admitted into the Temple by Night. But before he preſented himſelf he waſhed his Hands. This Precaution was required by the Laws. Then he appeared at the Place appointed, wearing a Crown of Myrtle on his Head; and there was told, that the ſecret Myſteries were not communicated to any but ſuch as had *clean Hands and a pure Heart*. At the ſame time, he proteſted, that he had performed all the Conditions Religion required of the Candidates, and ſaid, *I have faſted, and I have drank Cyceon*. This Drink ſeems to have been a kind of Beer made of Wheat-Flower, or roaſted Barley. At leaſt *Ovid* leaves room to think ſo, when he ſpeaks of *Ceres*'s meeting old *Baubo*. Inſtead of giving her a Glaſs of Water, which the Goddeſs, quite ſpent with Fatigue and Thirſt, had deſired; ſhe gave her an agreeable Liquor of her own making.

Lymphamque roganti
Dulce dedit teſtâ, quod coxerat ante farina.

After the Miniſters of *Ceres* had ſecured the Diſpoſitions of the *Muſtai*, a kind of little Cheſt was opened, and out of it was taken the Collection of the Laws and Myſteries of *Ceres*; Which were read to them, and they tranſcribed them themſelves. After this the Prieſts led them into the moſt holy Part of the Temple, which was very dark, ſo that they could not ſee any thing. Then all on a ſudden, a great Light darted in upon them, and diſcovered a Statue of *Ceres* very finely adorned, and a frightful Figure, like the *Myllos* of the *Sicilians*. As ſoon again the Light diſappeared, and it was as dark as before. And during this Darkneſs, a terrible Noiſe was heard, like Thunder; Fire fell down like Lightning in the midſt of the Temple; and horrible Monſters were ſeen, which, by the glimmering Light of theſe Flaſhes of Fire, appeared very terrible. At this the affrighted *Muſtai* were ſo terrified, that they could not recover themſelves, till they were ſhewn an agreeable Meadow which was behind the Temple, and walled in. And laſtly, the Miniſter called *Hierophantes*, becauſe he *revealed* the *ſacred* Myſteries, took his Leave of the Initiated, with exhorting them to the Practice of Virtue. He alſo gave them at the ſame time a new Robe, which was as it were the Livery of the Goddeſs, and which they thought it an Honour to wear. They never pulled it off, till it was tattered and worn to pieces,

The Prieſt *Hierophantes*, an *Athenian* by Birth, and of the Family of the *Eumolpidæ*, was the chief Perſon concerned in the Ceremony of the Initiation. And as he was the chief Prieſt, and continued ſo for Life, he was obliged to perpetual Chaſtity; and forbidden even luſtful Deſires. His Name was ſo venerable, that the Initiated were expreſly forbidden, not to mention it in the Preſence of the Prophane. One of the other Miniſters who aſſiſted him in his Functions, was called a *Dadouchos*, or *Torch-bearer* (who might marry, though he enjoyed his Office for

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them ſeveral Queſtions, it appeared, that they had never partaken of *The Myſteries of Ceres.* Upon this, they were brought before the *Pontif* of the Place, and condemned to die; though it was well known, that they had not offended, but purely out of Ignorance. The *Acarnanian* Nation reſented this barbarous Sentence, and complained of it to the King of *Macedon.* *Philip*, without ſaying any thing of any other Satisfaction, began with making War upon the *Athenians*, and lent the *Acarnanians* Troops, to go and ravage *Attica.* And then, *Athens* enraged at his Hoſtilities, declared War with him.

Livy, B. 31. c. 14.

§. IX. The *Macedonian* was then embroiled with *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, and the *Rhodians.* They had chaſed him on board his Fleet, as he was returning into *Macedon*; and had come to an Anchor, at the Iſland of [27] *Ægina.* From thence *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* came to [28] *Pyræeus*, that is, the Port of *Athens*, which lay at a little Diſtance from the City, at the Mouth of the [29] *Cephiſus.* And as the *Athenians* were never more nearly concerned in

for Life; and another was ſtiled *The Sacred Herald.* The Buſineſs of the latter, was to forbid all who were not initiated, or were conſcious of any Crimes, to enter the Temple of *Ceres*, upon Pain of Death. A third Aſſiſtant was a young *Greek*, whoſe Buſineſs it was to implore the Protection of the Gods. The Superintendant over theſe Myſteries was a Prieſt who was ſtiled King; and had four Aſſiſtants under him, who helped him to preſerve Order in the Ceremonies.

The Feaſt began in the Month of *Auguſt*, and continued for nine Days together. The different Shows, with which the *Greeks* were entertained every Day of the Feaſt, ſymbolically repreſented the Travels of *Ceres*, and the chief Circumſtances of her Life. In this conſiſted the external Pomp of the Feſtival. The reſt was an impenetrable Myſtery, which the Prieſt *Hierophantes* diſcovered only to the Initiated. But before he ſhewed them theſe Secrets, he bound them to inviolable Secrecy, by the moſt terrible Oaths. Whoever was convicted of divulging theſe Myſteries, was puniſhed with Death; and whoever heard them from the perjured Perſon, underwent the ſame Fate. If the Criminal eſcaped Puniſhment, he ſeems only to have prolonged his Miſery with his Life. He became the publick Curſe of the People; and was looked on as an impious Wretch, accurſed by the Gods. He was excluded all civil Society; his Parents and Friends ſhunned and avoided him, for fear of falling into the Misfortunes which they thought hung over his Head.

This is the general Account the Ancients have given us of *The Myſteries of Ceres*, and what paſſed at the Initiations. Their Religion, and the Reſpect with which they were prepoſſeſſed in favour of theſe Ceremonies, would not permit them to be more particular. Their Reſerve on this Head is very viſible in moſt of their Works. Whenever a fair Opportunity offers to ſpeak of theſe Myſteries, they obſerve a religious Silence. Nevertheleſs, it is certain, the *Fathers* of the Church have exclaimed againſt theſe Myſteries, as a School of Abominations and Debaucheries. They drew their Conjectures from the *Myſtos*, which was ſhewn in the publick Ceremonies, and from the infamous Objects which the prophane Authors themſelves acknowledge were concealed in the Temple of *Eleuſis.* But if this was ſo, why does *Cicero*, who ſo openly declares againſt the Corruptions of Paganiſm in other Places, give ſo favourable an Account of theſe myſterious Societies? He ſays, *B. 2. De Legib. That Men are there taught the Art of living well*; *and confirmed in their Hopes of a better Life. Nequæ ſolum cum lætitia vivendi rationem accepimus, & etiam cum ſpe meliore moriendi.* And he expreſſes himſelf much in the ſame manner, in his *Fifth Oration againſt Verres*, and in ſeveral Fragments which are aſcribed to him. Agreably to theſe Prejudices, the *Greeks* thought, that only thoſe initiated would, after their Death, enjoy the firſt Places, in the fortunate Iſlands, whilſt the Prophane would be plunged into a muddy Pond. In order therefore to reconcile ſo oppoſite Opinions, it may be ſaid, that theſe Initiations were in their firſt Inſtitutions, only a more ſtrict Engagement than ordinary, to obſerve the Laws of Wiſdom and Equity, as they were ſuppoſed to have been dictated by the Goddeſs. For this Reaſon they were read to the Initiated, and every one of them was obliged to tranſcribe them, to make them the Rules of his Life. But that as all things are abuſed in time, theſe Ceremonies afterwards degenerated into Superſtition, and perhaps into Libertiniſm. It is certain, *Socrates* and *Diogenes*, would not have any Share in theſe Myſteries.

27 The Iſland of *Ægina*, is one of thoſe of the *Ægean* Sea, or *Archipelago.* It was anciently called *Oenone*, and *Myrmidonia*, becauſe it was inhabited by the *Myrmidons*, ſo famous in Fable. It is now called indifferently, *Engia*, *Legina*, and *Lalona.* See Vol. 3.

28 *Pyræeus* was a Port, and as it were, one of the Suburbs, of *Athens.* It was at firſt about forty *Stadia*, or ſomewhat better than a *French* League and a half, from the City. But afterwards, it was joined to it by long Walls, which the *Greeks* called *The Legs of Pyræeus.* The *Athenians* removed their Shipping thither, which they before kept in the Port of *Phaleron.* They neglected nothing to put it into a Poſture of Defence againſt all Attacks. There was a great Mart here, famous for the Quantity and Variety of Merchandizes that were brought thither from all Parts. The Hiſtorians call it the triple Port, becauſe it did indeed contain three Ports, *The Port Cantharos*, *The Port Venus*, and *The Corn-Port* the Entrance into which was barred with a Chain, after the *Peloponneſian* War. Beſides the five covered Galleries, which ſurrounded *Piræeus*, there was a Place in it appropriated to the Sale of Merchandizes. The Republick of *Athens* maintained a Garriſon in this Port, to preſerve Order there, and to drive away Pirates, in caſe they attacked it. *Piræeus* had alſo its own Magiſtrates, whoſe Buſineſs it was to take care of the civil Government of it, and to end the Diſputes, which Intereſt continually raiſed among Traders. By theſe Regulations the Honeſty of the Traders was ſecured; and *Ariſtotle* ſays, that the Inhabitants of this Suburb were of a more mild and tractable Diſpoſition than the Citizens of *Athens.* There now ſtands in this Port, a marble Lion, with his Mouth open towards the Sea, as if he was ready to leap upon the Ships which put in there; and therefore the Moderns call it *The Lion's-Port.*

29 The ancient Geographers mention three Rivers in *Greece*, which were all called *Cephiſus*; one which riſes in *Phocis*, and waters a Canton of

Intereſt,

Intereſt, to renew their Alliance with *Pergamus* and *Rhodes*, than ſince the Inſults they had received from King *Philip*; their Joy was never greater, than when they ſaw *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* arrive. All the City came to meet them; and among the reſt the Prieſts, with all the *Inſignia* of their Prieſthood. They ſeemed ready even to have diſplaced the Statues of their Gods, to have made room for him. The *Athenian* People aſſembled in the Market-Place to conclude the Alliance, and expected *Attalus* would have come thither in Perſon. But the King thought it more ſuitable to his Dignity, to treat with them by writing, than by Word of Mouth: And he was alſo willing to ſhun the Acclamations and Flatteries of a People who were immoderate in their Praiſes. In his Letter, *Attalus* gave them a particular Account of his Exploits againſt *Philip*, and the good Offices he had done the Republick; expreſly mentioned the four Ships he had very lately taken from the *Macedonians*, and reſtored to *Athens*; and concluded, with exhorting the Republick to take Advantage, of the Succours he now offered them, and of thoſe of the *Rhodians*, and of the Forces which were expected from *Rome*. The League was concluded, and in their Tranſports of Joy, the *Athenians* paid extravagant Compliments to the King, and the *Rhodians*. To their ten [30] *Tribes*, each of which bore the Name of one of their Heroes, they added an eleventh, which they called *Attalis*, in honour to *Attalus*. And as to the *Rhodians*, the *Athenians* preſented them with a Crown of Gold, and made all the Inhabitants of *Rhodes* free of *Athens*.

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THEN the King of *Pergamus*, and the *Rhodians*, better pleaſed with the Treaty, than the Shouts of the People, returned on board their Gallies. *Attalus* went to rejoin his Fleet, which waited for him at *Ægina*. The *Rhodians* returned to their own Iſland; and in their Paſſage, drew into the new Confederacy all the [31] *Cyclades* Iſlands, except [32] *Andros*, *Paros*, and *Cythnos*, where *Philip* kept *Macedonian* Garriſons. Nevertheleſs, this Separation of *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* proved fatal to the common Cauſe. Whilſt the latter were retiring to their own Country, the former loſt Time in Negotiations at *Ægina*. *Attalus* tarried there for the return of the Deputies he had ſent to the *Ætolians*, to bring them into their old League. Whereas, if the King of *Pergamus* and the *Rhodians* had joined together, and zealouſly purſued the *Macedonian* in his Retreat; or at leaſt, if they had ſhut up all the Entrances into *Greece*; they would have re-eſtabliſhed its Liberty, and *Rome* would not have had the Glory of ſettling it in Peace.

§. X. BUT *Philip* was neither attacked, nor prevented in his Deſigns: and he knew how to improve the Faults of his Enemies, to his own Advantage, like a great General. It muſt be owned, that this Prince had many great Virtues, as well as Faults. He ſhewed a Greatneſs of Soul, and an Intrepidity, on this Occaſion, which was worthy of the *Macedonian* Kings, his Predeceſſors. He ſaw the beſt part of *Greece* conſpire againſt him, with *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, the *Rhodians*, and the *Romans*; and yet was not without Hopes of diſperſing, and overcoming, all theſe confederate Nations. In the firſt Steps he took, there was ſomething very heroical. *Polyb. B.* 16. *c.* 7.

Bœotia; another which waters *Argolis*, according to *Pauſanias*; and a third, which runs through *Attica*, and falls into *The Saronic Gulph*, near *Pyræeus*, which lies by the Mouth of it.

30 The Number of the *Tribes*, of which the Republick of *Athens* conſiſted, was not always the ſame. It varied according as the City increaſed. At firſt they were but four in all. Soon after they became ſix. In the time of *Æſchines* and *Demoſthenes*, they were increaſed to ten. And in after Ages, the *Athenians* erected three more, *viz.* the Tribes *Ptolemais*, *Attalis*, and *Adrianis*, in honour to *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus*, King *Attalus*, and the Emperor *Adrian*; and in order thereto, ſome of the old *Tribes* were leſſened. The Clans, or Towns, which were incorporated in theſe three *Tribes*, were in all, a hundred and ſeventy four. The ten firſt *Tribes* took their Names from ten *Attic* Heroes. *The Tribe Acamantis*, was ſo called from *Acamas* the Son of *Theſeus*, *The Ajantis* from *Ajax*, the Son of *Telamon*; *The Cecropis*, from *Cecrops*, the Founder and firſt King of *Athens*; *The Aigeis*, from *Ægeus*, the ninth King of *Athens*, and Father of *Theſeus*; *The Erechtheis*, from *Erechtheus*, the ſixth King of *Athens*; *The Hippothoontis*, from *Hippothoon*, the Son of *Neptune*; *The Leontis* from *Leo*, who ſacrificed his Daughters to the Welfare of his Country; *The Oeneis*, from *Oeneus* the Son of *Pandion*; *The Pandionis*, from *Pandion* the fifth King of *Athens*; and laſtly, *The Antiochis*, from *Antiochus* the Son of *Hercules*.

31 Thoſe Iſlands were anciently called *Cyclades*, which are now called *The Iſlands of the Archipelago*. See Vol. 3.

32 The Iſland of *Andros*, anciently called *Caurus* and *Antandrus*, ſtill in ſome meaſure retains its ancient Name in that of *Andro*, its preſent one. The Iſlands of *Paros* and *Cythnos*, are two of *The Iſlands of the Archipelago*. The former, which is near *Naxi*, and famous for its Marble-quarries, is now called *Pario*, or *Paro*. The latter, which is leſs than the former, is now called *Cythno*.

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Without tarrying to ſee his Enemies join, he proceeded with great Expedition; and firſt he divided his Forces into two Parts. One, he ſent under the Command of *Philocles*, to ravage the Territory of *Athens*. The other he put on board his Fleet, which ſailed for [33] *Meronea*, on the North Coaſt of *Thrace*. As for himſelf, he marched by Land, attended only with two thouſand Foot, and two hundred Horſe, to *Meronea*, whither *Heraclides*, one of his Commanders, had brought his Ships. This City could not long hold out againſt the *Macedonian* Forces, both by Sea and Land; it was taken upon the firſt Aſſault. And on the ſame Shore ſtood the City of [34] *Ænos*, formerly founded by *Æneas* the *Trojan*, after he had fled from *Troy*. It was now defended by an *Egyptian* Garriſon, under the Command of one *Ganimedes*, a mercenary Man, very capable of Treachery, whom *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, had made Governor of the Place; and this *Ganimedes*, after he had a great while ſuſtained a Siege, ſold the Place at laſt to King *Philip*. Then all the [35] Caſtles along the Coaſt immediately ſurrendered to the Conqueror; who paſſed on from thence, to *The* [36] *Thracian Cherſoneſus*. This is a Peninſula, ſurrounded on one ſide by *The* [37] *Helleſpont*, on the other by the *Ægean* Sea; and joined to the Continent by a narrow Neck of Land. This Country was at that time incredibly populous; and *Philip* took four Cities in it, [38] *Eleus*, *Alopeconeſus*, *Callipolis*, and *Madytos*.

§. XI. From the *Cherſoneſus*, the King of *Macedon* paſſed over the *Helleſpont* to *Aſia*, where one ſingle City ſtopped him in his Career. This was [39] *Abydos*, a ſtrong Town on the Streight over againſt *Seſtos*, in the Place where the Paſſage from *Aſia* to *Europe* was ſo narrow, that there was a Bridge built over it from one City to the other. Beſides the Inhabitants which defended *Abydos*, *Attalus* had three hundred Men there, and the *Rhodians* one of their Gallies; which was indeed but little to defend the Place againſt the Army of the *Macedonian*. Nevertheleſs, the Beſieged made ſo long a Reſiſtance, that the King of *Pergamus* and the *Rhodian* Fleet, might eaſily have come to their Relief. But the Dilatorineſs of the King and the *Rhodians* proved fatal to the Beſieged. Nevertheleſs, they defended themſelves with ſuch Conſtancy, as has made this one of the moſt memorable Sieges, that ever were carried on.

33 The City of *Meronea* in *Thrace*, ſtands on the Coaſts of the *Ægean* Sea, at the Mouth of the River *Iſmarus*, which gave its Name to that City. *Homer* calls it by that Name. Nevertheleſs, *Pliny the Naturaliſt* makes them two different Cities. The Moderns call it *Marogna*.

34 The City of *Ænos*, which acknowledged *Æneas* for its Founder, ſtood on the Sea-Coaſt of *Thrace*, at the Mouth of the *Hebrus*, near *The Gulph Melas*, which the *Greeks* now call *The Gulph of Eno*. *Strabo* gives this City the Name of *Poltiobria*; and *Stephens* thoſe of *Poltumbria* and *Apſynthas*. The Natives now call it *Eno*, or *Ygnos*.

35 Among theſe Caſtles, or ſtrong Places, *Livy* reckons *Cypſela*, *Doriſcon*, and *Sarrheum*. Some place the firſt on the Banks of the River *Melas*, others near the Banks of the *Hebrus*. This laſt Situation agrees beſt with that of *Chapſilar*, which *Bellonius* ſays is the remains of the ancient *Cypſela*. Nevertheleſs, *Leunclavius* conjectures, that it ſtood near a Town called *Ipſala*. The ſecond of theſe Cities was in a little Plain, watered by the *Hebrus*. Its Territory lay North of the City of *Ænos*. The third was ſituated on the Sea-Coaſt of *Thrace*, between *Ænos* and *Maronea*, over againſt the Iſland of *Samothrace*. It gave Name to Cape *Serrhium*.

36 The Ancients gave the Name of *The Thracian Cherſoneſus* to that Peninſula of *Romania*, which is bounded on one ſide by *The Propontis*, and on the other, by *The Ægean* Sea, *The Streights of Gallipoli*, and *The Gulph Melas*. This Peninſula is joined to the Continent by a Neck of Land, of about thirty ſeven *Stadia* broad, that is, about four thouſand ſix hundred *Italian* geometrical Paces, or one *French* League and an half. In this *Cherſoneſus* there were formerly eleven or twelve conſiderable Cities; among others *Callipolis*, *Seſtos*, *Cardia*, &c.

37 The *Helleſpont* is that famous *Streight*, which is now known by the Name of *St. George's Arm*, or *The Streights of Gallipoli*. It lies between *Europe* and *Aſia*. It is but ten or twelve Leagues long at moſt, and not above a League broad in the wideſt Place.

38 *Eleus* was formerly a conſiderable City in *The Thracian Cherſoneſus*. It ſtood on the Coaſt of the *Helleſpont*, over againſt Cape *Maſtuſia*, now *Capo Greco*. Some Geographers confound it with a little City in that Canton called *Critea*. But *Ptolomy* makes them two different Cities.

Alopeconeſus ſtood in the moſt weſtern part of the Peninſula, over againſt the Iſland of *Samos*. It is no longer in being. *Pliny the Naturaliſt* mentions an Iſland of this Name. The *Greek* Word *Alopeconeſus* ſignifies *An Iſland of Foxes*.

Callipolis, now *Gallipoli*, ſtands in the extreme Parts of the *Cherſoneſus*, on the Coaſts of the *Propontis*, towards the northern Mouth of the *Helleſpont*. It has given its Name to the famous *Streights*, which divide *Europe* from *Aſia*.

Madytos, the Capital, and one of the largeſt Cities of the *Cherſoneſus*, is now buried in its Ruins. The Place where it ſtood is called *Maiton* by the Moderns. *Mela* ſpeaks of this ancient City under the Name of *Macidos*.

39 *Abydos* does not now retain any Footſteps of its ancient Grandeur. It is at preſent a poor Village in *Phrygia*, near *The Thracian Boſphorus*. The Natives call it *Avido*, and *Aveo*. It ſtood on the Sea-Coaſt, over againſt *Seſtos*. Theſe two Cities were the Boundaries of *Aſia* and *Europe*. Near that Place the *Turks* have built one of thoſe Caſtles which are called *The Dardanelles*.

In

In the first Place, the *Abydenians* placed on their Ramparts a great Multitude of *Balliſtæ* and *Catapultæ*; and thereby kept their Walls long inacceſſible. Theſe Machines made a great Slaughter, not only among the Land-Forces, but likewiſe on board the *Macedonian* Ships, till at length *Philip* advanced by Degrees towards the Place, came near enough to ſet his Miners to work, and undermining the Wall, threw it down. But behind the firſt Wall the Beſieged had raiſed a ſecond, in which it was neceſſary to make a Breach. And this was accordingly done, upon which the Beſieged had Thoughts of capitulating. The Terms they asked of the King of *Macedon* were, That they ſhould have Liberty to ſend home the three hundred Men of the Garriſon ſafe to *Attalus*, and the Galley which they had received of the *Rhodians*; and That the Inhabitants of *Abydos* themſelves, ſhould have Leave to march out of the Place, carrying only their Clothes with them, and leaving all their Effects to be pillaged by the *Macedonian*.

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But theſe Conditions were not accepted. *Philip* would have all, or nothing. And then the *Abydenians* acted in the ſame deſperate manner by which the *Saguntini* had formerly ſo much ſignalized themſelves. Nay, there was one Circumſtance which made the Reſolution of the *Aſiaticks* more glorious, than that of the *Spaniards*. The *Abydenians* were obſtinate, in preferring Death to Captivity, purely out of Regard to the auxiliary Troops, which had ſerved them during the Siege. They therefore aſſembled their Wives in the Temple of *Diana*, and their Daughters and young Children in the *Gymnaſium*. There the *Pontifices* prepared the Altars, and conducted the Victims, which were ready to be ſacrificed on the firſt Signal. All the Gold and Silver in the City, was brought into the Market-place. And laſtly, all the valuable Moveables in *Abydos*, were put on board two Gallies, one of *Cyſicus*, and the other a *Rhodian*. Then the Order was given, that as ſoon as the Defenders of the City ſhould be killed in the Breach, their Wives, Daughters, and young Children, ſhould be inſtantly put to Death; the Gold, Silver, and Moveables thrown into the Sea; and all the Quarters of the City ſet on Fire. The Execution of this cruel Deſign was left to Men, who were too old to endure the Fatigue of a Battel, but ſtrong enough to kill the Women, and Children; and they bound themſelves by the moſt execrable Oaths, to execute the Will of the *Abydenian* Senate and People. Whilſt thoſe Men, who were capable of bearing Arms, ſwore likewiſe, that they would not leave off Fighting, till they died, or became victorious.

And indeed, theſe brave Men, animated by their Oaths, and their Deſpair, fought with ſo much Valour, that *Philip* was terrified at their Courage, and could not ſuſtain their Fury for a whole Day together. Before Night, he put an end to the Attack, and returned to his Camp. And then the Chiefs of the *Abydenians* made very ſenſible Reflections, on the Inhumanity of the Orders they had given, before they went to the Battel; and became convinced, that it was more natural to ſollicite the Clemency of the Conqueror, than to cauſe a Company of defenceleſs Perſons to be aſſaſſinated. *If they muſt periſh*, ſaid they, *let them rather periſh by the Sword of the Enemy, than by the Hands of their fellow-Citizens and Relations.* At break of Day therefore, all the Miniſters of the Gods, Men, and Women, were ſent to *Philip*'s Camp, covered with Veils, and dreſſed in their ſacerdotal Habits.

Their Commiſſion was to ſurrender up the City at Diſcretion; but to demand the Lives of the few Inhabitants, who had ſurvived this long Siege, and bloody Battel. *Glaucides* and *Theognetes*, were the Authors of this prudent Advice; and the *Abydenians* would have ſpared themſelves much Blood, if they had followed it. But whilſt they were deliberating about it, *Attalus* at length appeared with his Fleet, at the Iſland of [40] *Tenedos*, and was within reach of *Abydos*; and though theſe Succours came very late, the King's Ships gave the unfortunate *Abydenians* ſome Hopes. We have already obſerved, that *Rome* had ſent three Ambaſſadors to King *Ptolomy*, with Orders to coaſt round *Greece*; and the youngeſt of the three, named *Æmilius*, had, with the Conſent of the other

[40] *Tenedos* is an Iſland in the *Ægæan* Sea. There was a City in it of the ſame Name. It joined to *The Sigæan Promontory* in *Thrace*. This Iſland is famous for the Fruitfulneſs of its Soil, which produces excellent Wines. Modern Geographers call it *Tenedo*.

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two, went on board King *Attalus*'s Fleet. His Orders were to repair to the King of *Macedon*, once more to uſe all means with him, to bring him to a Peace. *Æmilius* ſet out from *Tenedos*, and came to *Philip*'s Camp, who was then buſy in the Siege of *Abydos*, and ready to take it; and both the King and Ambaſſadors behaved themſelves at the Interview, with an Haughtineſs ſuitable to both their Characters. *I am ordered by my Republick*, ſaid *Æmilius* to the King, *to demand an Account of your Proceedings. You have attacked the King of* Pergamus, *and the* Rhodians, *our Allies, notwithſtanding the Peace concluded between us and you. You extend your Pretentions even to* Egypt, *and the Places belonging to it. Nor is this all. You are come from* Europe *into* Aſia, *and are now beſieging* Abydos, *and ready to deſtroy it.* Attica *is become a Prey to your Soldiers, and you have already formed Deſigns againſt* Athens. *Pray, my Lord, are you for Peace, or War? If for War, we are ready to purſue it. If for Peace, ſubmit your Intereſts and Pretenſions to the Arbitration of the* Romans. This haughty Speech ſurpriſed the King of *Macedon* for the preſent; and he excuſed his Conduct, and threw the Blame of the firſt Hoſtilities on *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*. Then *Æmilius* interrupting him ſaid, *Be it as it will, with Reſpect to* Attalus *and the* Rhodians; *what have the* Athenians *done to you? What Injuries have you received from the Inhabitants of* Abydos? *Your Ambition alone has been the Cauſe of their Misfortunes.* But the King was not uſed to bear Reproaches; and the Truth ſowering him, he then grew haughty in his turn. *You are a young Man*, ſaid he to the Ambaſſador, *have the Air of a Man of Conſequence, and a* Roman; *and theſe three Conſiderations ſuſpend my Reſentments which you have deſerved. Go, I forgive you. But take this as my laſt Anſwer, and report it to your Senate. I am for Peace, and deſire that* Rome *would not violate the Treaty. But if her Ambition makes her my Enemy, I ſhall have the Gods on my Side, and ſhall know how to defend my ſelf.* After this Audience, which put an end to all Thoughts of a Peace, the Ambaſſador was diſmiſſed; and *Philip* immediately renewed the Attack of the beſieged City. The Breach was made; and the *Macedonian* entered it, and took the Place by Aſſault. And then the unfortunate *Abydenians* did but too literally execute the Orders they had given, from the time of the firſt Aſſault. They ſpared no Body; but mutually killed each other. Their Wives, Daughters, and Children, were all put to Death; and never was a more horrible Sight. Some hanged themſelves, others threw themſelves down into Wells, others from the Roofs of the Houſes. They thought it their Duty to ſacrifice their Lives to the *Manes* of their Countrymen, who were killed in the Breach. *Philip*, who advanced to the Market-place, found there all the Gold and Silver of the City, in an Heap; and ſeized it. Then being ſtruck with Horror, at the ſight of ſo many Murders, he cried out to the few *Abydenians* that were left; *I give you three Days time to finiſh the Maſſacre you have begun among your ſelves.* By that means, the King of *Macedon* ſecured a great Booty of Gold and Silver, and Moveables, in the City; but made not one Slave. It may be obſerved, that this Declaration of War with *Macedon*, was made in Circumſtances very like thoſe, when *Hannibal* declared War with the *Romans* in *Spain*. It was after he had broken a Treaty of Peace, that the *Carthaginian* General beſieged *Saguntum*. This City, then in Alliance with *Rome*, ſuſtained the Siege, with as much Courage as the *Abydenians* had now done. In both Caſes, the Beſieged defended themſelves to the laſt Extremity; and at length, both ſignalized their Courage, or rather Fury, by a Reſolution of the ſame kind, and periſhed in the Ruins of their Country. And laſtly, *Hannibal* and *Philip* were both great Men, and intrepid Generals. Nevertheleſs, we ſhall now ſoon ſee that there was a great Difference in the Conduct and Succeſs of the *Carthaginian* and the *Macedonian*.

§. XII. The Seaſon was now far advanced; and Winter approaching, *Philip*, after this glorious Campaign, retired into his own Dominions. He had overrun *Thrace* with Succeſs, and gone from *Europe* to *Aſia*; and he might now have enjoyed an Interval of Tranquillity, if the *Conſul Sulpicius* had not been in his Neighbourhood, with a Fleet, and *Conſular* Army. This gave the *Macedonian* ſome Uneaſineſs. Nevertheleſs, *Sulpicius* was not in a Condition to undertake any thing the reſt of the Year. He had left *Rome* too late; and had not arrived in *Epirus*, till towards the end of Autumn: And then the Seaſon would

not ſuffer him to keep out at Sea, or take the Field. The *Conſul* therefore ſent his Fleet to Winter in the Port of [41] *Corcyra*. As for himſelf, he quartered, with his Land-Forces, in, and near, [42] *Apollonia*. He had taken care to ſecure the *Athenians*, whoſe Lands *Philocles* the *Macedonian* had ravaged. Immediately after his Arrival in *Macedon*, *Sulpicius* had ſent *Claudius Centho* to *Athens*, with twenty Galleys, and a Detachment of *Roman Legionaries*. And this brave Lieutenant-General himſelf performed ſuch Exploits in *Greece*, as were worthy of the *Conſul*. As ſoon as he appeared at *Piræeus*, *Athens* gained a little Reſpite. A Stop was put to the Hoſtilities in the Plains; and the Pirates of *Chalcis*, who had been ſo troubleſome to the Inhabitants of *Attica*, no longer infeſted the Seas, or made any Deſcents on the Coaſt. Their Incurſions were confined to the *Euripus*. The Enemies of *Athens* no longer durſt croſs *The Iſthmus of Corinth*, and lay waſte the Country.

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AND when all was quiet, *Centho* ſeized an Opportunity which offered itſelf to puniſh *Chalcis* for her Robberies. This Capital of *Eubœa* ſided with the *Macedonian*, and *Philip* kept a Garriſon in it. Some *Chalcidians*, who were uneaſy at the *Macedonian* Tyranny, and in Exile, gave *Centho* Advice, that it would be eaſy to ſurprize *Chalcis*. The *Macedonian* Garriſon, who had no Enemies to fear, often left the City, and ran into the Country. The *Chalcidians* themſelves depended on the *Macedonians* to guard their Walls; and all military Duty was neglected on the Ramparts. This gave *Centho* Hopes of being able to take it. He thought ſix Galleys ſufficient to defend *Attica* from Pillage; and left two *Macedonian* ones, and four which were lately arrived from *Rhodes*, for that Purpoſe. Then he ſailed from *Piræeus* with his *Roman* Squadron, and arrived at the Cape of *Sunium*, early enough to have entered *The Streights of Eubœa* by Day-light. But he choſe to paſs the reſt of the Day, off of *Attica*, for fear of being ſeen in *The Streights*. After the Sun was down, *Centho* continued his Courſe, and arrived before *Chalcis* before Day-break. Then the *Romans* ſcaled the Walls, and made themſelves Maſters of a Tower, which anſwered to that Part of the City which was leaſt peopled. The Centincls poſted on the Walls were aſleep, as were the main Body of the Guard; ſo that it was eaſy for the *Romans* to paſs ſilently thro' the City, and open the Gates to their Companions, who were waiting without the Walls. Then their next Buſineſs was to ſet Fire to one Quarter of the City; and to diſperſe themſelves in the Streets, and publick Places. All the Inhabitants, or Soldiers, who fell into their Hands, were maſſacred without Mercy. *Sopater*, the Commander of the Garriſon for *Philip*, loſt his Life. The *Romans* opened the Priſons, and ſet free the Captives confined in them. The Statues of *Philip* were beat down; and his Magazines, Arſenals, and Machines of War, burnt. The Spoil taken in the City was firſt brought into the Market-place, and immediately after carried on board the Ships. After which, the Squadron weighed Anchor, and returned to *Piræeus*, from whence it came. Thus the *Athenians* were revenged on the *Chalcidians*, for the Robberies they had committed in their Territories; and *Athens* was ſtill more obliged to the *Romans* for returning to her Port, to continue to defend her, and neglecting, on her Account, to keep *Chalcis*, of which they had made themſelves Maſters. Theſe were all the Exploits which *Sulpicius* performed in *Greece*, in Perſon, or by his Generals, during the firſt Year of the War with *Philip*. The Dilatorineſs of this *Conſul* in leaving *Rome*, made his Campaign the leſs glorious. Whilſt on the other hand, the *Conſul Aurelius*, his Collegue, ſignalized himſelf leſs in his *Conſulſhip*, than even *Sulpicius* had done. *Aurelius*'s *Province* was *Italy*, and he had an Opportunity of acquiring great Glory there; but he ſuffered *Furius* to rob him of it; and the *Prætor* conquered and triumphed, inſtead of the *Conſul*.

§. XIII. WHILST *Aurelius* continued at *Rome*, and there enjoyed the Honours of the *Conſulſhip*, *Furius*, according to the Commiſſion he had received, put himſelf at the Head of the *Conſular* Army, left [43] *Ariminum*, advanced towards *Cremona*, *Livy, B.* 30. *c.* 12.

41 The Iſland of *Corcyra* here ſpoken of, ſtood on the *Adriatick* Sea, over againſt *Dalmatia*. The other Iſland of this Name is in the *Ionian* Sea. The latter is now called *Corfu*; the former *Curſola*, or *Curſoli*, by the Natives of the Country. We have ſpoken of it, *Vol.* 3.

42 The City of *Apollonia* here ſpoken of, ſtood on the Borders of *Macedon* and *Epirus*. It now belongs to *Albania*. See the preceding Volumes.

43 See what we have ſaid of *Ariminum*, now called *Rimini* by the *Italians*, Vol. 2.

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which was beſieged by the *Gauls* and *Ligures*, and came and poſted himſelf about a Mile and half from the Beſiegers. And had he ventured to force the Trenches of the *Gauls* immediately, they had infallibly been routed, and deſtroyed. Few of their Troops were in their Camp, and almoſt all *Hamilcar*'s Soldiers were diſperſed in ſeveral Places in the neighbouring Countries. But *Furius* was afraid of tiring his *Legions* too much, they being already fatigued with a long March; and whilſt he was giving his Men ſome Reſt, the *Gauls* which were in the Camp made ſuch great Shouts, that their Troops left off pillaging, and immediately returned. The next Day, *Hamilcar* formed his Army, and bid the *Romans* Defiance. However, the Number of the Enemy did not terrify *Furius*. He looked on forty thouſand *Gauls* and *Ligures*, under the Command of a *Carthaginian* General, only as a Band of Robbers, tumultuouſly aſſembled; and marched out his *Legions* into the Plain. As ſoon as they appeared, the *Gauls* fell on them with ſuch Fury, that they ſcarce gave the *Roman* General time to form his Army; but nevertheleſs, he found Means to draw it up in two Lines. In the firſt, he placed the Troops of the Allies, in two Bodies; in the ſecond, his *Legions*. The Cavalry of the Allies, and of the *Legions*, flanked the Infantry, and covered them on both Sides. The *Prætor* took upon himſelf the Command of the right Wing, and ordered two of his Lieutenants to attend him, to carry his Orders, wherever it ſhould be neceſſary. *M. Cæcilius* had the Command of the *Legions*, and *L. Valerius* that of the Cavalry. The Action was begun by the *Gauls*, who advanced, with the beſt Part of their Forces, againſt the right Wing; and *Furius* made ſuch a Reſiſtance there, as left the Enemy no Hopes of breaking it. *Hamilcar* therefore took a different Courſe. His Troops were more numerous than thoſe of the *Romans*, and he thought to have ſurrounded the *Roman* Army, and attacked it in the two Flanks. But the *Prætor* perceived his Deſign, and foreſeeing the Danger of ſuch a Motion, inſtantly had Recourſe to the Gods, and took the beſt Meaſures he could to guard againſt it. He made a Vow to *Jupiter*, to build him a Temple, if he gained the Victory; and ordered the *Legionaries* of his ſecond Line to advance to the firſt. By this means, he made a larger Front towards the Enemy, and prevented his being ſurrounded. All that remained then, was to put the Enemy into Diſorder; and to this End, he directed *Valerius*, who commanded the Cavalry, to fall with his Squadrons on the two Extremities of the Enemy's Army, who had widened their Ranks, to ſurround the *Romans*. At the ſame time, the *Prætor* himſelf made a vigorous Charge with his Infantry, on the main Body of the *Gauls*. And then the *Roman* Cavalry, in the two Extremities, and their Infantry in the Center, gained great Advantage over the Enemy. The *Gauls* were repulſed and broken in all Places, and at length gave way, and fled. The *Romans* purſued them, and took their Camp. Of an Army of forty thouſand Men, ſcarce ſix thouſand eſcaped. Near thirty five thouſand were killed on the Spot, or made Priſoners of War. The *Romans* took eighty Standards, and two hundred Waggons loaded with Cloaths and Utenſils. To which we ſhall not add, with ſome Authors, who contradict themſelves, that *Hamilcar* the *Carthaginian* was ſlain in the Battel. We chuſe rather, with other Authors, who were better informed, to let him eſcape; otherwiſe we ſhould ſoon be obliged to bring him to Life again. Such was the glorious Victory which a *Prætor* gained with a *Conſular* Army. *Furius* made his Name famous by it. *Rome* acknowledged, in him, the Blood, and uſual Succeſs, of the Great *Camillus*, againſt the *Gauls*. As ſoon as the Senate were informed of his Victory, they ordered *Supplications* for four Days. What augmented the Joy of it was, that the *Prætor* had loſt but two thouſand Men, and a few *Legionaries*. The Enemy had ſpent all their Efforts againſt the right Wing, which conſiſted only of Auxiliaries.

It is eaſy to judge of the Chagrin and Jealouſy of the *Conſul Aurelius*. He had by his Delays, loſt the Opportunity of acquiring Glory: And he thought he might repair the Loſs, by leaving *Rome*, and putting himſelf at the Head of an Army which he had a Right to command. At leaſt, he hoped to have put an End to the War with the *Gauls*, and received the Honours of it. But *Furius* had prevented him, and left him nothing to do. Nevertheleſs, the *Conſul* took the Command of the victorious Army out of the Hands of the *Prætor*, who returned to *Rome*, loaded with Glory, and firmly reſolved to demand the Honours of a Triumph. His Preſence was no longer neceſſary in *Hetruria*; and he was not to be

blamed for returning to *Rome*. He therefore came thither, when he was leaſt expected, and took up his Lodgings in the Suburbs. This was indiſpenſably neceſſary for the Victorious. They were not ſuffered to enter the City, as long as they had any Pretenſions to a Triumph. Then *Furius*, thinking it neceſſary to take Advantage of the Abſence of the *Conſul*, preſented his Requeſt to the Senate, (who aſſembled in the Temple of *Bellona*, to receive it,) and gave them an Account of his Victory. His Expedition was certainly not inferior to many others, which *Rome* had rewarded with that Honour. Beſides, *Furius* had an Intereſt among the Senators, and was eſteemed by them. Nevertheleſs, the oldeſt of them were againſt granting his Deſire. *Furius*, ſaid they, *is but a* Prætor. *The Army with which he conquered was not his own. It had not been conſecrated by his* Auſpices. *He left his own* Province, *to intrude himſelf into that of another*; *for which he had no Precedent in any former General.* Theſe were the Sentiments of the oldeſt Senators; whilſt they who had been *Conſuls* were for poſtponing the Determination of the Affair till *Aurelius* returned. *When this* Conſul *is here*, ſaid they, *the Affair will be more maturely debated, and all Parties concerned will be heard.* But the reſt of the Senate concluded, That they were only to examine into two Things. 1. Whether *Furius*'s Action was ſuch as deſerved a Triumph. And, 2. Whether he had given Battel under his own *Auſpices*. They urged, That it was not to be doubted, but that the *Conſular* Army was properly become *Furius*'s own. And this Pretence was founded on the Decree paſſed by the Senate, before the *Prætor* went to conquer the *Gauls*. The Houſe declared by this Decree, That if the *Conſul Aurelius* refuſed to take the Field, the *Prætor Furius* ſhould command his *Legions*; which, ſaid they, was giving the *Prætor* the legal Power over the *Conſular* Army. The *Legions* of *Aurelius* were thereby made *Furius*'s *Legions*. The *Auſpices* which had conſecrated them, were transferred to him who had taken the Command of them by a Decree. *What!* added they, *were two* Roman Colonies, *which were planted to be Barriers againſt the* Gauls, *to be given up to their Mercy? They would immediately have proceeded from* Placentia *and* Cremona, *to our fineſt Countries, plundered them, and laid them waſte. Was* Furius *to wait till the Deſolation reached to him? We paſſed a Decree, requiring the* Conſul, *or him, to march againſt the Enemy.* Aurelius *delayed his Departure; and were the* Legions *to continue unactive, under Pretence that they ought not to fight under any* Auſpices *but thoſe of a* Conſul? Aurelius *indeed might have commanded his Troops; and why did he not ſtir? Why did he not go to* Ariminum? *War will admit of no Delays. On numberleſs Occaſions, a haſty Enemy obliges his Adverſaries to give Battel. This therefore* Furius *did; and with what Advantage! He vanquiſhed and diſperſed the Enemy; and took and plundered their Camp. Our* Colonies *are in Safety. The Priſoners which were taken from us at* Placentia *are re-taken from the* Gauls. *And laſtly, the War is finiſhed with one ſingle Battel.* Rome *has publickly teſtified her Joy at it, by* Supplications; *and Heaven has accepted them. It ſeems to be the Fate of the* Furian *Family, to have ſuch unuſual Succeſs againſt the* Gauls. The greateſt Part of the Senators ſpake this Language; ſo that the *Prætor* prevailed over the *Conſul*, by a Majority of Voices; and it was decreed, That *Furius Purpureo* ſhould enter *Rome* in Triumph. Nevertheleſs, they diminiſhed the Honours of a Triumph which had been ſo much oppoſed. The *Victor* indeed cauſed three hundred and twenty thouſand **Aſſes* of Braſs, and one hundred and ſeventy thouſand Pounds Weight of Silver, which he had taken from the Enemy, to be carried before him. But he was not permitted to have the other Spoils of the Enemy carried in Proceſſion, or the Priſoners march before his Chariot. Neither did his Army follow him, in his Triumph. It was left in *Gaul*, under the Command of *Aurelius*.

Year of *ROME* DLIII.

P. Sulpicius Galba, C. Aurelius Cotta, Conſuls.

Livy, B. 31. c. 48.

Livy, Ibid.

Faſt. Capit.

* 97 *l.* 4 *s.* 2 *d. Arbuthnot.*

§. XIV. And now, the Campaign was ſoon at an End, and the time for the Great Elections drew nigh. So that the *Conſul Aurelius* returned to the City, to preſide in the *Comitia*. The Senate expected to have heard him complain of the Decree they had paſſed, to his Prejudice, in favour of *Furius*. He might have reproached the *Conſcript Fathers* with their Precipitation, in decreeing the *Prætor* a Triumph; and accuſed them of having paſſed a Decree, contrary to their Rules. It was cuſtomary in *Rome*, not to grant Triumphs to the Conquerors, till the Depoſitions of the Lieutenant-Generals, *Tribunes*, *Centurions*, and even of the common

Year of *ROME* DLIII.

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mon Soldiers, had been taken. But none of theſe Formalities had been obſerved, before the Decree paſſed for *Furius*'s Triumph. Upon the bare Report of the Perſon intereſted in it, and without any other Proof, the *Fathers* had declared for a *Prætor*, in Derogation of the *Conſular* Dignity. So that ſuch Complaints would have been well founded. But *Aurelius* had the Moderation to ſuppreſs them. Before the *Centuries* were aſſembled, *Rome* was wholly taken up with Shows, and political Matters. *Scipio* had, during his *Pro-Conſulate* in *Spain*, promiſed the Gods to celebrate *The Great Games*, at *Rome*, to their Honour. And now, the Show was made, with all Magnificence, ſuitable to the Regard the Republick had for that Conqueror. Then *Rome* ordered Lands to be diſtributed among the Soldiers who had ſerved under him in *Spain* and *Africa*. A College of *Decemviri* were appointed, to aſſign each Veteran two Acres of Land, for every Year which he had ſerved in the Army, after the legal time. Thus the Republick rewarded the Old Soldiers, by giving them wherewithal to enable them to live the reſt of their Days in Plenty. And the *Colony* of [44] *Venuſia* having ſuffered much during the Wars with *Hannibal*, and the Number of its Inhabitants being conſiderably diminiſhed, a freſh Body of *Romans* were ſent thither, to ſupply that Loſs. And laſtly, the Affairs of *Spain* were ſettled. An Order had been made the laſt Year, That *Cornelius Lentulus* and *Manlius Acidinus*, ſhould be recalled from thence; where they had long commanded, in Quality of *Pro-Conſuls*: and *Cethegus* had been ſent thither, to ſucceed *Lentulus*, who being returned to *Rome*, demanded the Honours of a Triumph. It could not be denied but he had, by his Prudence, the Dread of his Arms, and repeated Advantages, kept the rebellious *Spaniards* to their Duty; and, all things conſidered, he had deſerved a Triumph. But the Want of one ſingle Formality hindered him from receiving an Honour, of which he was deemed worthy. *Lentulus* had not made War either as *Dictator*, *Conſul*, or *Prætor*. He had been appointed *Pro-Conſul* in *Spain*, by an extraordinary Commiſſion, and his Office had not been conſecrated by *Auſpices*. And this was enough to exclude him from a Triumph, as *Scipio* had formerly been. But, as ſtrange as it may appear, more Regard was now ſhewn to *Lentulus*, than had been ſhewn *Scipio*. The former, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of a *Tribune of the People*, was decreed an *Ovation*, by the Senate. So that *Lentulus* was the firſt who obtained this Diſtinction at *Rome*, when not in any *Curule* Magiſtracy. He had alſo brought from his Government, for the publick Treaſury, forty thouſand Pounds Weight of Silver, and two thouſand four hundred and fifty Pounds Weight of Gold. So that by theſe Victories, *Rome* learnt that *Spain* was not entirely peaceable; and ſhe was more fully convinced of it, upon reading the Letters of *Cethegus*, *Lentulus*'s Succeſſor in the *Pro-Conſulate*. They brought an Account, That this General had juſt gained a conſiderable Victory over the *Spaniards*, in the Country of the [45] *Sedetani*; That fifteen thouſand of the Enemy had been killed on the Spot; and ſeventy eight Standards taken. Theſe Beginnings of an open Revolt made *Rome* fear a general Inſurrection of all the *Spaniſh* Nation; and indeed, we ſhall, in a few Years, ſee the whole Country in a Flame.

After the Affairs of *Spain*, thoſe of *Africa* were next to be diſpatched. The Senate heard the Report of the Ambaſſadors the Republick had ſent to *Carthage* and *Numidia*. The *Carthaginians* did not think themſelves obliged to anſwer the Demands made upon them, with regard to *Hamilcar*, the General of the revolted *Gauls*. A Report had been ſpread, That he had loſt his Life in the Battel of [46] *Cremona*. But the *Carthaginians* made the Republick full Satisfaction, as to the Deſerters from *Scipio*'s Army, which were not yet delivered up. And laſtly, they ſent [47] to *Rome* two hundred thouſand *Modii* of Wheat; and as much to the *Roman* Army in *Macedon*. So that the Republick had no Reaſon to complain of *Carthage*;

44 *Venuſia* is now called *Venoſa*, and is in the Kingdom of *Naples*. See *Vol.* 3.

45 The *Sedetani* inhabited the South Part of the Kingdom of *Arragon*, near the River *Sucro*, now the *Xucar*. The Cities of *Sarragoſſa*, *Moniedro*, *Livia*, and ſeveral neighbouring Villages, were in their Territory.

46 According to *Livy*, the *Carthaginians* believing that *Hamilcar* had not loſt his Life in the Battel of *Cremona*, condemned him to Baniſhment, tho' abſent, and confiſcated his Eſtate.

47 *Livy* obſerves, that in this Year 553, *Africa* furniſhed *Rome* with ſo great a Quantity of Corn, that Wheat was ſold there for two *Aſſes per Modius*. This Copper Coin was then reduced to the Weight of one Ounce, as we have elſewhere obſerved. The Corn was diſtributed, by the Orders of the *Curule Ædiles*, *Marcus Claudius Marcellus*, and

thage; and had juſt Cauſe to commend *Maſiniſſa*. He offered the *Romans* a Reinforcement of two thouſand Horſe. But only one thouſand were accepted. Theſe the King tranſported to *Macedon*, at his own Expence; and ſent with his Troops two hundred thouſand *Modii* of Wheat, and as many of Barley. As for *Vermina*, he had received the Ambaſſadors of the Republick, with Marks of the moſt profound Reſpect. He had gone to meet them; and had intreated them to draw up themſelves the Conditions of the Peace with *Rome*. Accordingly, the Ambaſſadors had propoſed them, *Vermina* had agreed to them, and had ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome* to get them ratified. And it is probable, That his Submiſſion was of Service to him; That he then reſumed the Title of *King*, which his Father bore; and That he reigned in that Part of *Maſæſylia*, which *Maſiniſſa* had not conquered from *Syphax*.

Year of ROME DLIII. P. SULPICIUS GALBA, C. AURELIUS COTTA, Conſuls.

§. XV. NOTHING now remained, but to aſſemble the *Centuries*, to create new Magiſtrates; and *Aurelius* aſſembled them, in *The Field of Mars*. They choſe for *Conſuls*, that *Cornelius Lentulus* who had ſignalized himſelf in *Spain*, when *Pro-Conſul* there; and *P. Villius Tappulus*, who had been *Prætor* in *Sicily*, three Years before. The *Prætorſhip* and Juriſdiction in *Rome*, fell to *L. Quinctius Flamininus*; that of *Gaul*, to *Cn. Bœbius Tamphilus*; that of *Sicily*, to *L. Valerius Flaccus*; and laſtly, that of *Sardinia*, to one *L. Villius Tappulus*, who ſeems to have been the *Conſul*'s Brother. After this, the *Cenſors* were choſen. *Scipio Africanus*, and *P. Ælius Pætus*, a very able Lawyer, were honoured with this important Dignity; and never were Collegues more perfectly unanimous. Their *Cenſorſhip* was mild, and blameleſs. They made no Alteration, or Retrenchment, in the Liſt of the Senators. The Great *Scipio* alſo, as he deſerved, was placed at the Head of the Senate; and was declared *Prince* of it. *Rome* could not pay leſs Regard to the Eſteem the Publick had of him, and to his ſuperior Merit. During his *Cenſorſhip* he farmed out the Cuſtoms of the Ports of *Capua*, *Puteoli*, and another City of *Campania*, where he ſettled a *Colony*. And laſtly, he made the forty ſixth *Luſtrum*; but we know not, to what Number the Computation of the *Roman Citizens* amounted.

Year of ROME DLIV. L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, P. VILLIUS TAPPULUS, Conſuls. *Liv. B.* 31. *c.* 49. *Faſt. Capit.*

THEN the *Curule Ædiles* were to be nominated; and there was ſomething ſo ſingular in their Election, that we cannot paſs it over in Silence, as uſual. The aſſembled *Tribes* pitched upon two Men, one of whom was *The Chief Prieſt* * *of Jupiter*; and inſiſted upon both their Elections. The firſt was that *Cornelius Cethegus*, who had ſo lately ſignalized himſelf by a Victory in *Spain*. The ſecond, one *C. Valerius*, Brother to *L. Valerius*, the *Prætor* of *Sicily*. But the former could not poſſibly exerciſe the Office of *Ædile*, whilſt he continued in *Spain*; neither could the latter take the Oaths uſually taken for the *Ædileſhip*. Every Chief Prieſt was [48] above taking any Oaths. It was thought beneath his *Pontifical* Dignity. Nevertheleſs, *Valerius* was ambitious of the *Ædileſhip*. It was a neceſſary Step to the ſuperior Magiſtracies, and particularly the *Conſulſhip*. He therefore preſented a Petition to the Senate, deſiring that he might be permitted to ſwear by Proxy. The *Conſcript Fathers*, with the Conſent of the *Conſuls*, referred his Petition to the People; and they were well diſpoſed towards him. They thought it was of little Importance, whether *Valerius* took the Oaths himſelf,

Livy, B. 31. *c.* 50. * *Flamen Dial.*

and *Sextus Ælius Pætus*. Theſe two Magiſtrates ſignalized their *Ædileſhip* at the ſame time, by celebrating the *Roman Games*, with great Pomp, at *Rome*. The Statues of Braſs they erected in the Hall of the publick Treaſury, contributed likewiſe as much to render their Magiſtracy memorable. Theſe new Decorations were bought by the Fines levied in their Year. The *Plebeian Ædiles* alſo, *Lucius Terentius Maſſa*, and *Cneius Bœbius Tamphilus*, *Prætor* elect for the next Year, entertained *Rome* with other *Games*, called *Plebeian*, which were under their Direction. The Uſe of *Funeral Games* had already began to be introduced among the *Romans*; and *Marcus* and *Publius* now renewed them, in Honour to the *Manes* of their Father *Marcus Valerius Lævinus*. They were celebrated for four Days together, at their Expence, in the *Forum Romanum*; and at the ſame time, the People were entertained with a Fight of twenty five Couple of Gladiators. And laſtly, the Year 553 was alſo remarkable for the Death of *Marcus Aurelius Cotta*, one of the *Decemviri*, who were the Guardians of the *Sybilline* Books; and he was ſucceeded by *Manius Acilius Glabrio*.

48 See what we have ſaid of the Functions, Privileges, and Duty, of the *Flamen Dialis*, *Vol.* 1. Indeed the Prieſthood, when firſt inſtituted, excluded thoſe who enjoyed it from Civil Offices. But thro' Neglect and Connivance, they at length gained a Preſcription againſt that Cuſtom. Theſe Prieſts found it their Intereſt to ſhake off ſo great a Reſtraint on their Ambition; and by the favourable Conſtruction they put upon the Law, found Means to unite Civil and Sacred Offices in the ſame Perſon.

Year of ROME DLIV.
L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, P. VILLIUS TAPPULUS, Conſuls.

ſelf, or by another Perſon; and when the *Prætor* his Brother had performed that Ceremony, *Valerius* was declared *Ædile*. As to *Cethegus*, it was decreed, That *Cornelius Lentulus*, his Relation, and one of the preſent *Conſuls*, ſhould go and ſucceed him in *Spain*, as ſoon as his Campaign ſhould be ended; and the *Tribes* being ſatisfied with theſe Orders, the Perſons they choſe were continued in the *Ædileſhip*.

AFTER theſe Diſpoſitions, the *Conſuls* for the Year drew Lots for their *Provinces*: And *Italy*, where yet there were ſome *Gauls* to be quelled, fell to *Cornelius Lentulus*; and the War in *Macedon*, to *Villius*. But theſe two Heads of the Republick imitated their Predeceſſors, continued long at *Rome*, and did not take the Field till it was very late. Since the Republick was become the Arbitreſs of the Affairs of foreign Nations, the *Conſuls* took Pleaſure in ſuch Delays. Nevertheleſs, the People at *Rome* took theſe Precautions. On the one hand, they nominated the *Prætor Bœbius* to be General of the Troops to be ſent againſt the *Gauls* in *Italy*, during the Abſence of *Lentulus*. And on the other, they left *Sulpicius* the Command of the Troops in *Macedon*, till the Arrival of *Villius*; who from being *Pro-Conſul* there, was now become *Conſul*, and was more intent on ſignalizing himſelf in *Greece*, than he had been the laſt Year.

§. XVI. *PHILIP* had now carried on the War with Vigour, againſt the *Romans*, a whole Year; and ſtill continued to be formidable. His laſt Conqueſts had increaſed his Courage. And therefore, as ſoon as the Seaſon would admit of it, he aſſembled together his Sea and Land-Forces, at *Demetrias*, a maritime City of *Theſſaly*, which he had made the Capital of his Kingdom. Ever ſince the laſt Campaign, the King of *Macedon* had been labouring to make Reprizals on the *Romans*, for the Surprize of *Chalcis*; and he hoped to have ſurprized them there, in their turn. But, for want of Expedition, he had failed of his Deſign. The *Romans* had retired from thence, and left nothing in *Chalcis*, but dead Bodies, Aſhes, and Ruins. From thence, *Philip* had turned his Vengeance againſt *Athens*. After he had croſſed the *Euripus*, over a Bridge, he marched thro' *Bœotia*, towards *Attica*, and expected to have found *Athens* as ill guarded, as the *Romans* had found *Chalcis*. And he had very like ro have ſucceeded in this Attempt. The *Athenians* kept certain Men in Pay, whoſe Buſineſs it was to be continually flying from Place to Place, in the Neigbourhood of their Dominions, in order to make what Diſcoveries they could. One of theſe Couriers, who ſaw the *Macedonian* Army, returned in haſte to *Athens*, at Midnight, and brought thither the News of the Approach of the Enemy. Sleep had cloſed all Eyes there; and the Negligence of the *Athenians* was not leſs, than that of the *Chalcidians* had been. But the Trumpet ſoon rouzed the Soldiers, and Inhabitants: Every one took his Poſt, and the City was in a Poſture of Defence. However, ſince *Philip* could not ſurprize it, he reſolved to attack it. He ordered his Troops to advance towards the largeſt Gate, called *Dipulon*. The Street which led to it, from the Market-place, and that through the Suburbs to which *Philip* came, were both large; ſo that the Beſiegers and Beſieged had room enough to draw up their Troops in Battalia, within and without it. Then the Gate was immediately opened, and the *Athenian* Garriſon marched out. It conſiſted of the auxiliary Troops of *Attalus*, and a Body of *Athenians*, commanded by the General *Dioxippus*. *Philip* was overjoyed at this Opportunity to give Battel. All the Citizens of *Athens* lined the Ramparts, and the Multitude of the Spectators encouraged the King to exert himſelf before them. He was delighted with an Occaſion to raiſe their Admiration of his fine Mien, good Horſemanſhip, and great Valour in Battel. He gave his Men only this ſhort Exhortation; *Fix your Eyes on me, and do as I do.* Of all the *Greek* Nations, *Philip* hated none ſo much as the *Athenians*; and he fell upon them with a Fury which ſtruck Terror into them, for ſome Moments. The *Athenians* retired within their Gate; and *Philip* purſued them up to it, and ſlew many of them. But he then found he had advanced too far. He would have been killed with Darts from the Top of the Ramparts, had not the *Athenians* been afraid of wounding their own Soldiers, who were mixed with the *Macedonians*. However, an End was put to the Battel, and *Philip* ſounded a Retreat. So that the King gained no Glory by the Action, but that of being thought raſh. He went and encamped at *Cynoſarges*,

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Cynoſarges 49, near a Temple of *Hercules*, which was near the City; and the next Day the *Athenians* recovered their Courage. Their Forces were augmented by ſome *Roman* Troops, and thoſe of *Attalus*, which came to the Aſſiſtance of the City, from *Piræeus*; and they then made another Sally, with much greater Advantage than the Day before. *Philip* was forced to decamp, and poſt himſelf about three Miles from *Athens*; and before his Departure thence, he ſignally vented his Rage in that Neighbourhood. He ſpared neither Temples, nor Tombs, nor *Gymnaſia*, nor the 50 *Lyceum*, nor ſacred Groves, nor Houſes of Pleaſure. All were pillaged, and demoliſhed. From thence the *Macedonian* turned towards 51 *Eleuſis*. He was drawn thither by the Hopes of the Pillage of a Temple of *Ceres*, commanded by a Caſtle; which was its Defence. But the Garriſon were upon their Guard; and ſaw the *Roman* Fleet, which was coming to their Aſſiſtance. Then *Philip* decamped, and paſſed on to *Megara*, and from thence to *Corinth*. There he underſtood that the Diet of *Achaia* was aſſembled at *Argos*, and he haſtened thither.

Liv. B. 31. *c.* 25.

§. XVII. THE *Achæans* were deliberating about a Matter of great Importance, which was the providing for the War with the Tyrant *Nabis*. He was the ſecond Uſurper of the *Lacedæmonian* Throne, which had been legally poſſeſſed by the Poſterity of *Hercules*, till the Time of *Machanidas*, who had ſeized it by Violence. *Nabis* had ſucceeded *Machanidas*, and was propoſing to renew the War in *Achaia*. The illuſtrious *Philopœmenes* was no longer at the Head of the *Achæan* Troops; he had been ſucceeded by *Cycliades*, a General of little Reputation. Hence the Reſolution of *Nabis* to carry the War into *Achaia*, where his Troops were already committing Ravages.

Plut. Life of *Philopœmenes*.

THE Buſineſs of the Diet was therefore to ſettle the Contingents of Troops each City in the Country was to furniſh; and they were upon it, when *Philip* came, on a ſudden, to *Argos*. As ſoon as he arrived, the artful *Macedonian*, without Heſitation, promiſed to deliver them from the Inſolences of *Nabis*; and offered to march immediately into *Laconia* (a Diſtrict ſubject to *Lacedæmon*) with his Army. The Offer was received with Joy; but this Joy was much abated, when he artfully propoſed, as the Condition of his March, That the *Achæans* ſhould furniſh Garriſons for the Cities of *Chalcis*, *Orus*, and *Corinth*, which he poſſeſſed. The Deſign of the expert *Macedonian* was to ſtrip *Achaia* of the beſt Part of her Infantry, and make her an Enemy to *Rome*, by her Declarations in his favour.

Liv. B. 31. *c.* 25.

CYCLIADES ſaw through *Philip*'s Artifice; but diſſembled it. He had all along been thought one of the King's Party; but was really in the Intereſt of his Country. He anſwered the *Macedonian*, that the Diet was aſſembled only to ſettle the Contingents; and that it could not go on any other Buſineſs. So that *Philip*'s Hope failed him. He could only pick up a few Voluntiers in *Achaia*, who freely entered into his Service; and he returned to *Corinth*, and from thence to *Attica*. During his March, *Philocles*, one of his Generals, came from *Eubœa* to the Continent with two thouſand Men, paſſed over Mount 52 *Cytheron*, and marched to the Neighbourhood of *Eleuſis*. There he divided his Troops into two Parts; ſent one to commit Ravages, and with the other formed an Ambuſcade, in which he hoped to ſurpriſe the Garriſon of *Eleuſis*, if they marched out againſt the Pillagers. But they diſcovered the Deceit, and kept themſelves upon the defenſive. However, *Philocles* made ſome Attempts on the Caſtle of *Eleuſis*, but got nothing but Blows. This confounded him, and he went to join *Philip*, whoſe Army was advancing towards *Attica*. Then the King and *Philocles* made freſh Attempts together, on the Caſtle of *Eleuſis*; but the *Roman* Fleet ſet ſail very ſeaſonably from *Piræeus*, came to the Relief of the Place, and threw ſome

49 According to *Heſychius*, *Pauſanias*, and *Suidas*, whilſt one *Diomus* was offering a Sacrifice to *Hercules*, a black *Dog* crept into the Temple, and ſtole away a Thigh of the Victim. And from hence the Place was called *Cynoſarges*, by the *Greeks*. The *Athenians* confined in this Place, all thoſe who were not born in lawful Wedlock, and all foundling Children. Theſe were brought up at the publick Expence, and taught all Exerciſes of Body, and all proper Sciences. Inſomuch that the Republick of *Athens* had built a *Gymnaſium* there for their Uſe.

50 The *Lyceum* was a publick Place without the Walls of *Athens*. The Buildings and Trees about it made it one of the moſt pleaſant Walks about the City.

51 *Eleuſis* ſtood in the ſame Place where the Town of *Leſſina* now ſtands.

52 *Cytheron*, a famous Mountain in *Bœotia*, bordered upon the Mounts *Helicon* and *Parnaſſus*, where the Poets fixed the Abode of the *Muſes*. It was conſecrated to *Bacchus*; and it is now called *Cytherone*.

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Reinforcements into it. Upon this *Philip* abandoned his Enterpriſe, and divided his Army into two Bodies. With one, he went down towards *Piræeus*, which he expected to have found defenceleſs; and ſent *Philocles* with the other towards *Athens*. The latter threatened the City with a Siege, thereby to terrify and hinder her from ſending any Succours to *Pyræeus*, which was well fortified. But the *Romans* came time enough to defend a long Street, which led from the City to the Port. They made a Sally through it, and drove *Philip* from that Poſt. However, the *Macedonian* had the cruel Pleaſure of exerciſing his Fury on the Villages in the Country; and committed all kinds of Robbery, and Sacrilege. He prophaned the Temples and Sepulchres, and beat down the Statues and Sanctuaries. What Devaſtations did he commit in a Country, which abounded the moſt with Decorations, of any in the World! The ſacred Edifices, even in the Country, were adorned with fine Marbles, and Maſter-pieces of Art: And the King broke to pieces what he could not carry off, and retired to *Bœotia*.

Liv. B. 31. c. 27.

§. XVIII. ABOUT this time, the *Pro-Conſul Sulpicius* came out of his Winter-Quarters, and encamped between *Apollonia* and *Dyrrhachium* 53, on the Banks of the 54 *Apſus*, a River of *Macedon*. From thence he ſent a Detachment, under the Command of *Apuſtius*, one of his Lieutenant-Generals, to ravage the Frontiers of *Macedon*. There *Apuſtius* took ſeveral 55 Cities, and Caſtles, by Aſſault, and came and fell on 56 *Antipatria*, a conſiderable City ſituated between two Mountains. At firſt the *Roman* offered the Inhabitants to take them under the Protection of *Rome*; but the Situation of their City, and the Height of their Ramparts made them proud. So that *Apuſtius* took the City by Aſſault, plundered it, put all the Men he found capable of bearing Arms to the Sword, gave the Booty to his Soldiers, demoliſhed the Walls, and burnt the Houſes. This Example of Severity, ſtruck Terror into the Neighbourhood. *Codrion* 57, a pretty ſtrong City, ſurrendered at Diſcretion. The City of *Ilion*, which bordered on *Epirus*, made ſome Reſiſtance, and was taken by Force. After theſe Exploits, the Lieutenant-General returned to the *Pro-Conſul*'s Camp, and his Detachment was attacked in the Rear, by a Body of *Macedonians*. But *Apuſtius* inſtantly ordered his Troops to face about towards the Enemy; and the *Macedonians* 58 could not withſtand the *Romans* in Battel.

WHEN an Entrance was thus made upon *Macedon*, ſome petty Kings in that Neighbourhood, who were old Friends to *Rome*, paid the *Pro-Conſul* a Viſit. 59 *Pleuratus*, *Aminander*, and *Bato*, offered the *Romans* their Services and Aſſiſtance; and *Sulpicius* gave *Pleuratus* and *Bato* Hopes, that he would make uſe of their Forces, when he ſhould enter farther into *Macedon*. As for *Aminander*, he was ordered to cauſe the *Ætolians* to riſe, and revive their former Affection for *Rome*. At the ſame time, Deputies came to the *Pro-Conſul* from *Attalus*; and the *Roman* ordered them to tell the King their Maſter, That he ſhould tarry at *Ægina* for the *Roman* Fleet, and join it. Nor were the *Rhodians* forgotten. A Meſſage was ſent them, that they ſhould arm with all Speed, and join in the common Cauſe.

53 The City of *Dyrrhachium*, now *Durazzo*, ſtands on the Coaſt of the *Adriatic* Sea, near the Confines of *New Epirus*, or *Albania*. See *Vol.* 3.

54 The River *Apſus*, after it has run thro' the Weſtern Part of *Macedon*, falls into the *Adriatic* Sea. Modern Geographers call it *Aſpro*, and *Ureo*; and *Brietius* particularly, *Spirnaza*.

55 The *Roman* Hiſtorian reckons among the Cities which were taken by *Apuſtius*, thoſe of *Corragum*, or *Corragium*, *Gerrhunium*, and *Orgeſſus*. The Similitude of the Names gives us room to conjecture, that *Corragium* was the ſame City as *Croia*, which afterwards became the Capital of the Kingdom of *Albania*. At leaſt, there is no Reaſon not to believe it ſtood in the ſame Place, thirty five thouſand Geometrical Paces from *Durazzo*. The Cities of *Gerrhunium* and *Orgeſſus*, were probably in that Neighbourhood; but we don't know where they ſtood. The latter ſeems to be the ſame Place which *Polybius* calls *Orgyſſus*.

56 The City of *Antipatria* is no longer in being. It ſtood in the Country of the *Daſſaretæ*, a Clan of the Weſtern Part of *Macedon*.

57 All we can ſay of the City of *Codrion*, is, That it ſtood in the Weſt of *Macedon*. *Sanſon* places it over againſt *Corragium*, in the Neighbourhood of *Dardas*.

58 Some of the *Macedonians* were killed on the Field of Battel; and *Livy* ſays, that the *Romans* made a conſiderable Number of them Priſoners.

59 *Pleuratus* was King of a Country in *Illyricum*. *Aminander* reigned over the *Athamanes*, a People of *Epirus*, who were bounded by *Theſſaly*, to the North; and *Acarnania*, to the South. *Bato* ſeems to have been a Sovereign in the Country of the *Dardani*, near *Illyricum*. We have ſpoken of them, *Vol.* 3. The Offers of the latter could not be ſuſpected by the *Romans*. He had long been a declared Enemy to the King of *Macedon*. *Longarus*, the Father of *Bato*, had had a difficult War to maintain, with *Demetrius* the Father of *Philip*.

§. XIX. THE

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§. XIX. THE Irruption of the *Romans* into *Macedon*, much altered *Philip's* Meaſures. He no longer continued in *Greece*, but came to defend his own Country. He every where gave good Orders; and every where took care to make the Paſſes difficult. It muſt be owned that *Philip* was a great Soldier. In order to form his Son *Perſes* to Arms early, he committed him in his Infancy, to the Care of his moſt able Generals. He cauſed him to be brought up in Camps, at the Head of Armies; and he left it to him and his Governors to guard the important Paſs of *Pelagonia* [60]. Nor was this all. *Philip* ordered the Cities of [61] *Sciathos* and [62] *Peparethos* to be demoliſhed, leſt the *Romans* ſhould ſeize them. And laſtly, he did his utmoſt to compaſs an Accommodation with the *Ætolian* Nation, whoſe Forces had incommoded him in the preceding War. The Diet of the *Ætolians* was now actually aſſembled at *Naupactos*; and *Philip*, who was an able Politician, as well as a brave Warrior, ſent his Ambaſſadors thither. *Furius Purpureo* came thither on the Part of the *Romans*; and Envoys ſoon arrived from *Athens*. The *Ætolians* were never more honoured than at this time, where they ſaw a great King, and two powerful Republicks, courting their Alliance with Emulation. *Damocritus* preſided in the Diet, in quality of firſt Miniſter of the *Ætolians*. He was as mercenary and pliant, as the *Greeks* generally are; and it is pretended, that King *Philip* had bought him. So that he would have the *Macedonians* ſpeak in the Aſſembly before the *Romans*. His Pretence for this Preference was, that the Alliance between *Ætolia* and *Macedon* was laſt made. The Ambaſſadors of *Philip* ſpoke thus. *Illuſtrious* Ætolians, *we don't deſire any thing new of you. You have already preferred us to the* Romans, *by leaving them, and making Peace with us. We therefore commend your Prudence; and it is your Buſineſs ſignally to diſplay your Conſtancy. Remember the contemptuous Treatment you received at* Rome. *Your Deputies there declared the Peace which was juſt concluded between* Ætolia *and King* Philip. *And then how haughty, how arrogant were the Anſwers of the Senate on that Occaſion! How dare you appear here,* ſaid they, *after having treated of a Peace without our Privity or Conſent? But now, the haughty* Romans *are much changed. They appear here as Suppliants, and come to ſue for your Alliance. Formerly they pretended to be your Defenders, and feigned, that they landed in your Dominions, only to protect you againſt* Philip. *But how inconſiſtent is this! Theſe Peace-makers would now have you take up Arms. They pretend to appeaſe, or enflame you, juſt as they pleaſe. And will you ſuffer this? They now make uſe of the ſame Artifices againſt you, as they employed to oppreſs* Sicily. *They pretended they came to* Meſſana, *with no intent, but to ſettle Peace there. They appeared before* Syracuſe, *only as Friends, and Defenders of her Liberty. And what has been the Conſequence?* Meſſana *and* Syracuſe *are both added to their Dominions; and all* Sicily *is become ſubject to them. The whole Iſland now trembles at the Sight of their* Faſces. *But* Ætolia *is yet free, and has the Liberty of chooſing her own Allies. At* Meſſana, Syracuſe, *and* Lilybæum, *a proud* Prætor, *exalted on a Tribunal, gives Laws to their Senates, and orders all things according to his own Humour.* Lictors, *with their* Axes *and* Rods, *walk before him. Revenge and Cruelty follow him. Such are the Maſters the Republick annually ſends to lord it over* Sicily. *And is it at all to be wondered at? Has* Rome *encreaſed her Dominions otherwiſe than by Violence and Deceit?* Rhegium, Tarentum, *and* Capua, *have felt the Effects of them. Unfortunate* Capua, *how much is thy Fate to be lamented! Thy* Citizens *are driven from their native Country! Thou thy ſelf art degraded, and left without Senate, or Magiſtrates! Art thou not more debaſed, than if thy Walls had been razed?*

Liv. B. 31. c. 29.

60 The Name of *Pelagonia* was given to two little Cantons in *Macedon*. The firſt, which was the moſt South, was bounded by *Theſſaly* to the South, and to the North by the Mountains of *Candavia*, or *Voluzza*, as they are called by modern Geographers. There were three Cities in this Canton. For this Reaſon the Ancients called it *Pelagonia Tripolitis*. *Dolicha*, now *Techala*, or *Alchria*, was its Capital; and *Livy* gives this City the ſame Name as the Canton. That *Pelagonia* here ſpoken of, belonged to *Pæonia*, a northern Province of *Macedon*. Mount *Boreas* divided it from *Dardania*, and made it difficult to paſs from one to the other. *Stobi* was its chief City, according to the ancient Geographers; it is the ſame Place that *Nardus* calls *Starachino*.

61 The Iſland of *Sciathos* is now called *Sciatho*. It lies in the *Ægean* Sea, near the Coaſt of *Magneſia*, between *Eubœa*, and the Iſland of *Peparethos*. The Iſland and its Capital were both called *Sciathos*.

62 See what we have ſaid of the Iſland and City of *Peparethus*, or *Peparethos*, Vol. 3.

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razed? And you, Ætolians, *have great Reaſon to dread the ſame Fate. What will become of you, if the* Romans *once get a footing in your Dominions? What! Shall they have the Dominion over you, whoſe Manners, Cuſtoms, Laws, and Language, are different from ours? But what have you to fear from* Philip? *The War be made with you for a few Years, was ſoon followed by a laſting Peace; and the Propoſal he makes to you this Day, is that of Peace. Will you introduce the* Roman Legions *here? Alas! You will perhaps ſeek the Aſſiſtance of the* Macedonians *againſt them, when it is too late. If Diſſentions have ſometimes ariſen between the* Ætolians *and* Macedonians, *they have ſoon returned to Reaſon, and laid aſide their Animoſities. We all ſpeak the ſame Language; and ought to look on ourſelves, as one People. But under theſe Foreigners and Barbarians your Slavery will be endleſs. It is their Ambition alone that prompts them to commit Hoſtilities in theſe Countries. It is utterly inſatiable, and will at length entirely ſwallow you up. To conclude then where we began;* Ætolians, *we deſire nothing new of you. All* Philip *asks is, that you would faithfully perform your Treaties, and perſevere in maintaining them.*

This Diſcourſe might have turned the Diet; but the *Athenian* Ambaſſadors, who ſpoke next, a little effaced the Impreſſions it had made. *What a cruel Enemy,* ſaid they, *is this who comes here to demand Peace? The* Macedonian *is, properly ſpeaking, the Scourge of* Greece. *We call all* Attica *to witneſs it. He is no ordinary Enemy, who has ravaged it. To ſee their Fields laid waſte, their Granaries burnt, their Cattel carried off, their Subjects enſlaved, are the common Calamities of all States, which are engaged in War. And if* Philip *had confined his Hoſtilities to ſuch things, we might have grieved at it; but ſhould have had no Reaſon to complain. But this King ſets no Bounds to his Inhumanity, which has led him to commit the moſt unpardonable Impieties. He has ſhewn no Regard to the Gods of Heaven, or Hell. The Tombs of our Anceſtors have been beaten down, their Aſhes diſturbed, and their Bones trodden under Foot. How many Sanctuaries have been prophaned! How few of the Images of our Gods are left! Thoſe* Tribes *which ſettled in the Country, becauſe they could not all ſettle in the City, had ſignalized their Zeal for Religion, by building ſtately Edifices, in honour to the Immortals. They had adorned their Towns with them; and their Piety had induced them to heap up Riches in theſe holy Places! The Neighbourhood of* Athens *was famous for them. But what have we now left of the many Monuments which diſtinguiſhed* Attica? *Maimed Statues, demoliſhed Altars, and broken Columns.* Philip, *and the Flames, have ſpared nothing. And all* Greece *ought to expect no leſs from ſo cruel an Enemy. It is to little Purpoſe for him to call the* Romans *Barbarians; he alone has ſhewn leſs Pity to thoſe, whoſe Language he ſpeaks, than the moſt inhuman Foreigners would have done. And what he has done in our Towns, he would have done in* Athens, *if the* Romans *had not relieved it. The Temple of* Minerva, *which is ſo revered throughout all* Greece, *that of* Ceres *at* Eleuſis, *and that of* Jupiter *in the* Pyræus, *would have no longer ſubſiſted, if the* Roman *Valour and Piety had not preſerved them. Why then are you dilatory,* Ætolians, *in joining with theſe Protectors who are ready to help you. Be not afraid to declare War with the Deſtroyer of* Greece. *To take up Arms againſt* Philip, *is to avenge the Injuries done the Gods; and to aſſiſt the* Romans, *is to join in the common Cauſe, of the two moſt formidable Powers, that of Heaven, and that of* Rome.

By theſe affecting Words, the *Athenians* prejudiced the Aſſembly againſt *Philip*; and then the *Roman* Ambaſſador took his turn to ſpeak, and his Speech was this. *To what Difficulties,* Ætolians, *am I reduced! The Harangue made by* Philip's *Ambaſſador, obliges me, inſtead of complaining, as I deſigned, againſt his King, to make an Apology for my Republick. It is not for the Honour of* Rome, *that* Greece *ſhould have any Reaſon to diſtruſt her, or the World to complain of her. And indeed, that is charged as a Crime on the* Roman *People, which ought to be eſteemed their Glory. We are charged with having ſurpriſed* Rhegium, Capua, *and* Syracuſe *by Artifice. The Fact was this. Indeed, a* Roman Legion *poſſeſſed themſelves of* Rhegium, *contrary to the Intentions of the Senate, and drove the* Rhegians *out of their City. But did we authoriſe the Invaſion of our Troops? No; we purſued the perfidious* Legion *with Violence; chaſed the Uſurpers; and reſtored the*

the Rhegians *their City and Eſtates. And where was the Crime, or Injuſtice of this? As to* Syracuſe, *Tyrants had poſſeſſed themſelves of it; and we made haſte to deliver theſe unfortunate People. We carried on a three Year's Siege, with much Difficulty, purely to break off the Chains of the* Syracuſans; *and when we had taken their City, we reſtored it to the Inhabitants, though they had, by their Obſtinacy, ſhewn themſelves unworthy of our Favours. I acknowledge, that we have made* Sicily *tributary, and ſubjected her to our Laws: And let all the World learn from thence, That* Rome *knows how to treat her Enemies according to their Deſerts. And as for* Capua, *how can ſhe complain of the Treatment ſhe received from us? Being expoſed to the Invaſion of the* Samnites, *and ready to ſink under the Power of her Enemies, ſhe entered into ſtrong Engagements with* Rome. *After this the* Romans *and* Capuans *intermarried, ſo that* Roman *and* Capuan *Blood ran in the ſame Veins; and yet* Capua *was the firſt City in* Italy *which joined with* Hannibal; *and began her Revolt, with ſhedding the Blood of the* Roman *Garriſon. For this we puniſhed her; but how far did our Reſentments carry us? If we deprived the* Campani *of their Lands, we gave them others; and their City is ſtill in being. It is now ſcarce to be perceived, that* Capua *was delivered up to the Vengeance of our Soldiers. But what am I ſaying?* Carthage *herſelf has juſt now been re-eſtabliſhed in the Poſſeſſion of her Dominions, and her Liberty, after being ſubdued. If my Republick has any thing to reproach herſelf withal, it is for not having enough conſulted her Intereſt, and for having uſed her Victories with too much Moderation. But as for* Philip, *what room has he given us for Recrimination? You, who are nearer to* Macedon *than we, cannot but know, how many of his Friends and Relations he has murdered and impriſoned. His infamous Debaucheries have led him to Aſſaſſinations. Such is the Friend, who ſollicites an Alliance with you. Ætolians, we have made War with* Philip. *You have made a ſeparate Peace with him, without us. And you will perhaps ſay, That you were compelled to it, by the Fear of a neighbouring King; and That being deprived of any Succours from* Rome, *whilſt ſhe was engaged in the War with* Carthage, *you took ſuch Meaſures as you thought neceſſary for your Safety. But is that the Caſe now? We have no Enemies at preſent but* Philip. *A* Conſular *Army has already penetrated into* Macedon; *and the Gods give you this Opportunity to renew your old Confederacy with us. Seize it then, unleſs you chooſe rather to periſh with* Philip, *than to conquer with* Rome.

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After *Furius* had done ſpeaking, the Aſſembly inclined to favour the *Romans*, and was going to declare for them, when *Damocritus* ſhewed the Effect *Philip*'s Money had had upon him. Indeed, he diſguiſed his Sentiments, and ſeemed to intend nothing, but to gain time. *The Affair you propoſe to us,* ſaid he to the Ambaſſadors, *is of ſuch a Nature, that it cannot be determined, till after a more mature Deliberation. Our Laws forbid us to determine any thing which relates to Peace or War, out of general* [63] *Diets.* So that the *Ætolians* ſuſpended declaring

63 *Livy*, by *General Diets* in this Place, means not only the general Aſſembly of the *Ætolians* at *Naupactus*, (*in Panætolico*;) but likewiſe the Aſſembly of the *Amphictiones*, who met every Year at *Thermopylæ*, to deliberate of the common Intereſts of all *Greece*, (*& Pilaico Conſilio.*) The part this Nation bore in the *Macedonian* War, often occaſioned the aſſembling theſe Diets. So that it is neceſſary to give the Reader a general Account of them, in order to enable him the better to underſtand the Hiſtory. Theſe Diets were eſtabliſhed by *Amphyction*, the third King of *Athens*, about one thouſand five hundred and nineteen Years before the *Chriſtian Æra*, and ſix hundred and ſixty ſix Years before the Foundation of *Rome*. His only Deſign in this was, to unite all the *Greeks* in one Body; believing, that if he could ſucceed in this Point, he ſhould render them formidable to the Barbarians. A hundred and forty Years after this Inſtitution, *Acriſius*, King of *Argos*, made this Aſſembly as it were the States-General of the Nation. He enlarged their Privileges, and granted them an unlimited Power. He likewiſe added to them ſeveral Cantons, whoſe Repreſentatives had not yet been admitted among them. From theſe two different *Epochas*, ſome have inferred that there were two ſorts of *Amphictiones*, or general Aſſemblies; the old inſtituted by *Amphyction*, the new by *Acriſius*. Whereas in reality, the King of *Argos* only perfected what the King of *Athens* had begun.

Æſchines, who lived in the time of *Demoſthenes*, ſpeaks of twelve *Amphictyonic* Nations; for ſo the *Greeks* call thoſe which had a right to ſend their Deputies to this ſupreme Court. But he names only eleven, *viz.* The *Theſſalians*, *Bœotians*, *Dorians*, *Ionians*, *Perrhebes*, *Magneſians*, *Locrians*, *Oetæans*, *Phthiotes*, *Maleans*, and *Phocæans*. Probably, the Name of one of theſe Nations has been loſt by the Negligence of the Copyiſts. There is Reaſon to believe, that the *Dolopes* were one of them. At leaſt, it is certain, that the Ancients ſay, they enjoyed the *Amphictionic* Right. Each of theſe Nations choſe two Deputies, or *Amphictiones*, whom they ſent to the States-General. One of theſe, who had the Title of *Hieromnemon*, was charged with the Care of the Intereſts of Religion. The other ſtiled

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claring themſelves; and *Damocritus* boaſted of his Addreſs, as Matter of Merit, with his Nation. He pretended, that his only Deſign in ſhifting the earneſt Solicitations of the *Romans*, and the *Macedonians*, was to let them begin the War, that he might have an Opportunity to declare himſelf, when he ſhould judge it moſt proper, for the ſtrongeſt Party. Such was the Cunning of the *Greeks:* And the *Romans* ſtood in need of all their Valour, and Conſtancy, to enable themſelves to reduce them.

§. XX. THESE Negotiations did not retard the military Expeditions of the *Pro-Conſul Sulpicius*, or the Preparations of *Philip*. The latter took it for granted, That the *Roman* Fleet would join that of *Attalus* near *Ægina*, as ſoon as the Spring returned; and That they would begin the Campaign together: and he therefore aſſembled all his Sea-Forces, at [64] *Demetrias*, in *Theſſaly*. He gave the Command of his Fleet to *Heraclides*, with Orders to guard the Coaſt; and reſerved to himſelf the Command of the Land-Forces. He was much pleaſed with having drawn off from the *Romans*, the *Ætolians* on one ſide, and the [65] *Dardani* on the other. The latter, how well inclined ſoever they might be, to join their Forces with thoſe of the *Pro-Conſul*, were indeed pent in, by the Troops young *Perſes* and his Governors commanded, in the Paſſes of *Pelagonia*.

HOWEVER *Sulpicius*, though deprived of theſe Reinforcements, continued to carry on his Enterpriſes againſt the *Macedonian*. He entered into his Territories, through the Country of the [66] *Daſſaretæ*, that is, through that Province of *Macedon*, which lay next to *Illyricum*; and all the Cities in this Country either ſurrendered, or were taken by Force. From thence the *Pro-Conſul* came and encamped near [67] *Lycus*, a City ſituated on the [68] *Bevus*; and was ſupplied with all his Proviſions from the Country of the [69] *Daſſaretæ*.

As for *Philip*, he very well knew that his Frontiers were pillaged; but he was at a great Diſtance from them. Nevertheleſs, it was neceſſary to draw near to them, and make Head againſt the *Romans*. *Sulpicius*, on the other hand, was very ardently deſirous of meeting the Enemy ſoon, and fighting him. So that the two Generals were equally impatient to come to a Battel. Each therefore ſent a Detachment of Horſe to diſcover the Enemy; and after long Marches, the flying Squadrons met, in the Country of the *Daſſaretæ*. As ſoon as they heard the

ſtiled *Pilagoros*, or *The Orator ſent to Pylæ*, or *Thermophilæ*, was the Speaker. Sometimes indeed, each Nation ſent three or four Deputies; but whatever their Number was, they all had but two Votes in the Aſſembly. Formerly, the *Phocæans* were excluded from the Aſſembly, for having plundered the Temple of *Delphi*, after the Example of their Leaders, *Onomarchus* and *Phayllus*. *Philip of Macedon*, the Father of *Alexander the Great*, had taken Advantage of this Vengeance of the *Greeks*, or the *Phocæans*, during *The Holy War*; had required, that the vacant Place ſhould in Gratitude be given to him and his Deſcendants; and the *Amphictyones* durſt not oppoſe the Pretenſions of one, who had made himſelf formidable by his Victories. And as the *Phocæans* had been degraded for Sacrilege, they afterwards made Amends for their Crime, and wiped off the Shame of their Degradation, by ſaving the Temple of *Delphi* from being plundered by the *Gauls*, who came into *Greece* with *Brennus*. By this Act of Religion they reinſtated themſelves, and were again admitted into the national Aſſembly, according to *Polybius*, *Pauſanias*, and *Juſtin*. This ſupreme Council of the *Amphictyones*, or of all the Repreſentatives of *Greece*, was held twice a Year. In Autumn, at *Thermopylæ*, in a Temple dedicated to *Ceres*, in a large Plain watered by the *Aſopus*; and in the Spring, in the Temple of *Apollo*, at *Delphi*.

64 This City ſtood in the Place where *Dimitriada* now does, if we may credit *Sophian*. See Vol. 3.

65 The *Dardani*, a People of *Upper Mœſia*, inhabited the South-part of *Servia*, and part of old *Bulgaria*. See Vol. 3.

66 The *Daſſaretæ* poſſeſſed that part of the Weſt of *Macedon*, which borders on *Illyricum* and *Albania*.

67 It is certain, from *Livy*, that *Sulpicius* encamped near a City, in the Neighbourhood of the *Daſſaretæ*. But we know no City in that Country which was called *Lingus*, as we read in moſt Copies. We therefore adhere to *Sigonius*'s Correction, who inſtead of *Lyngus* reads *Lycus*. *Livy* himſelf ſpeaks of *Lycus* in ſeveral Places, as of a City which bordered upon *Illyricum*, and the Canton of the *Daſſaretæ*. It is generally placed in *Eordea*, a little *Province*, in the extreme weſtern Parts of *Macedon*, between the Territory of the *Daſſaretæ*, and that of the *Taulantii*, called by ſome modern Geographers *Tamoriza*, by others *Talland* and *Muſachia*. Indeed, to ſay the Truth, it is not poſſible to form any certain Judgment of the Situation of the many Cities, of which we have nothing left but the Names, and thoſe mutilated, or diſfigured. We are often forced to have Recourſe to Conjecture, in Matters relating to the ancient Geography. It is a vaſt Field, which will always find a great deal of Employment for the Geographers. *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Flamininus*, mentions the River *Lycus*, which ran towards the Country of the *Daſſaretæ*. Perhaps that River gave its own Name to the City of which we are ſpeaking.

68 We know as little of the River *Bevus*, as of the City of *Beia*, which that City watered, if we believe *Ortelius*. But whatever he may ſay to the contrary, we find no Footſteps of either, not even in *Stephens*, whom he quotes for it.

69 This Country was well provided with Magazines of Corn, which *Livy* calls *Horrea Daſſaretarum*.

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Neighings of each other's Horſes, they prepared for the Battel, and had but juſt time to ſet themſelves in order. Both Troops were choſen Men, and equal in point of Valour. So that the Action was long, and the Victory uncertain. The *Romans* loſt thirty five Men, and the *Macedonians* forty. There was nothing conſiderable happened in this Engagement; but the Conſequences of it were very different to the different Parties.

PHILIP was informed by ſome Deſerters, that his Cavalry had engaged with thoſe of the *Pro-Conſul*; and he inſtantly ordered the Bodies of thoſe of his Men who had been killed to be taken care of. The King's Intention was, to ſhew his Troops, that he extended his Care for them, beyond their Death. But before the Dead were buried, they were ſhewn to the Army in the Camp; and this Sight, which *Philip* ſhewed them for their Encouragement, had a quite contrary Effect. The *Macedonians* had hitherto ſcarce fought with any People but *Greeks*, or *Illyricans*; and the Darts and Lances the latter uſed, made very ſmall Wounds. The former were therefore ſurpriſed at the ſtrange Effects of the *Roman* Arms. As the *Legionaries* both cut and ſtabbed with their Sabres, ſuch Wounds appeared on the dead Bodies, as terrified the *Macedonians*. The Arms and Legs of ſome were ſhattered to pieces, or grievouſly mangled; the Sculls of others were broke; and ſome had received large Wounds, which diſcovered the Inteſtines. The Soldiers ſilently gazed upon them, and ſeemed to ſay, *What Enemies have we to deal with*; and it is affirmed, that *Philip* himſelf was ſurpriſed at the Sight. This was the firſt time he had been under a Neceſſity of fighting a pitched Battel with the *Romans*. However, he thought at leaſt to have made Amends for the Diſadvantage of his Arms, by the Number of his Soldiers: And it was his firſt Buſineſs to recall to his Camp, the Detachment he had ſent to guard the Paſſes of *Pelagonia*, under the Command of his Son, and his Governors. So that he thereby opened the Way for the *Dardani* and *Pleuratus*, to enter *Macedon*.

§. XXI. *PHILIP*'s Army was conſiderable. It conſiſted of twenty thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe. With theſe Forces the King ordered the Deſerters to lead him towards the Country of the *Daſſaretæ*, and poſted himſelf about two hundred Paces from the *Roman* Camp, near a Village called [70] *Athacus*. There he entrenched himſelf on an Eminence; dug a wide Ditch between the *Romans* and him; and threw up ſtrong Entrenchments againſt them. It is ſaid, that he took a View of the *Roman* Camp from the Top of the Hill, and was as much ſurpriſed at it, as *Pyrrhus* had been many Years before. He ſaw Trenches regularly thrown up, Tents pitched in ſtreight Lines, and Streets very exactly marked out; and he ſaid, [71] *Theſe Men are no Barbarians! Philip* and *Sulpicius* were two Days looking at each other; and on the third, the *Pro Conſul* drew up his Army in Battalia, and bid the *Macedonian* Defiance. But the King did not think it proper to hazard a general Action ſo haſtily. He had a Mind firſt to ſtudy the Enemy, and try him a little, before he came to a deciſive Battel. So that *Philip* only marched out of his Camp four hundred [72] *Trallians*, and three hundred [73] *Cretans*, all Foot, with a like Number of Horſe, to skirmiſh in the Plain. *Athenagoras* one of his Generals, marched at the Head of them: And the *Pro-Conſul* inſtantly detached a like Number of his light-armed Foot, and an equal Number of his Cavalry, to meet them.

The *Macedonians* thought that the *Romans* fought after the *Macedonian* manner; that is, firſt advanced towards the Enemy, and immediately retired as ſoon as they had thrown their Darts, in order to return again to the Charge. The *Cretans* eſpecially expected to have ſhot their Darts, whilſt the *Romans* were making their firſt Retreat; and *Athenagoras* was much ſurpriſed at the *Roman* way of fighting. It was new to him. The *Roman* Detachment formed themſelves as for a pitched

70 The Town or little City of *Athacus*, ſtood in *Candavia*, a little Canton of *Macedon*, to the right of the River *Genuſius*, or *Paniaſus*, according to *Ptolomy*. It was therefore a very little Way from *Octolophum*.

71 The Reader may have obſerved in the ſecond Volume, that *Livy* there puts the ſame Words in the Mouth of *Pyrrhus*, which he makes *Philip* ſpeak here.

72 The *Trallians* bordered upon *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, according to *Stephens*. Moſt Writers have confounded them with the *Triballes*; and indeed they ſeem to have differed only in Name.

73 *Crete*, now *Candia*, formerly produced excellent Soldiers. The *Cretans* were deemed to have a military Genius; and were particularly remarkable for being very expert Bow-Men.

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Battel, fell on the Enemy with Rapidity, and did not retire at all. They kept their Ground, and fought Sword in Hand; and the *Roman* Cavalry did the ſame. As ſoon as they came up with the Enemy, they ſtood their Ground; and a Party of them diſmounted, and formed a Battalion. This way of fighting, ſo unuſual to the *Macedonians*, ſurpriſed them. They ſoon were ſenſible, that their own way of fighting, by continually flying from Place to Place, was not ſo advantageous, either for the Horſe, or Foot, as that of the *Romans*. And they ſaw likewiſe, that their light Bucklers, and Darts, which were only headed with ſtreight Pieces of Iron, were not ſo good as the *Roman* Arms. In ſhort, the *Macedonians* were worſted in this firſt Shock. This Prelude to the War proved diſadvantageous to them, and nothing ſaved them but their Swiftneſs in running.

THE next Day *Philip* was for trying the Succeſs of a ſecond Skirmiſh, and ſent out a larger Detachment than before. All his Cavalry, and all his light-armed Infantry, were ordered out upon this Expedition. He expected to have ſupplied the want of Strength with Artifice; and planted ſome Cavalry in Ambuſh, in a covered Place, between the two Camps. *Athenagoras* commanded them; and his Orders were to take his Opportunity to fall upon the *Romans*, whether they were worſted, or ſucceeded. But the Commander miſſed his Blow. He came out of his Hiding-Place too ſoon, and being overpowered with the reſt of the Detachment, left the Field free to the *Romans*, who returned victorious to their Camp.

§. XXII. HITHERTO the two Generals had brought only their Cavalry and light-armed Infantry to engage; and at length *Sulpicius* marched out his *Legions*, and drew them up in the Plain. But *Philip* did not ſtir out of his Entrenchments. The *Roman* therefore drew near to them; yet ſtill *Philip* kept cloſe within his Lines. In the mean time, the *Roman* General perceiving that he ſhould find it difficult to get Proviſions to his preſent Camp, left it, and came and poſted himſelf in a Place called 74 *Octolophum*, ſtill within reach of the *Macedonian*. The Confidence of the *Pro-Conſul* was raiſed by the Advantages he had gained over *Philip*; and he ſuffered too great a Number of his Soldiers to leave his Camp, and diſperſe themſelves over the Country to get Corn. *Philip* had Notice of it; and like a great General, made the beſt Uſe of this Opportunity. In order to prevent the Return of the *Romans* to their Camp, he went in Perſon to guard the Roads with part of his Army; and ſent another part of it to chaſe the Enemy's Soldiers, diſperſed about the Country, with Orders to give no Quarter. Accordingly the *Macedonians* fell with ſuperior Numbers on the *Romans*, who were divided into ſmall Parties, to get Proviſions; cut ſome in pieces; put the reſt to flight, and the Fugitives were cut off, by the freſh Enemies that intercepted them in the Roads. More periſhed in the Defiles, than in the Plain; and the *Roman* General was long ignorant of the Danger of his Soldiers. But at length ſome eſcaped, and raiſed a greater Conſternation in the Camp, than the thing deſerved. *Sulpicius* was perſuaded, that his Troops had too eaſily taken the Alarm; but nevertheleſs, he detached ſome Squadrons, to go and aſſiſt his attacked Troops, and marched out his *Legions*, in order of Battel. The *Roman* Cavalry were obliged to break themſelves into ſeveral Parties, to go to the different Places where they heard Shoutings; and they fought the Enemy, but with very unequal Forces. The *Macedonians* were infinitely ſuperior to them in Number; and when, being overpowered with Multitudes, they fled, they found new Enemies in their Way, whom they muſt break through, in order to eſcape. *Philip* himſelf was exhorting his Troops to cut the Enemy's Cavalry in pieces, without Mercy; and his *Cretan* Soldiers were ſhooting them with their Darts. And in ſhort, the King of *Macedon* would have had a complete Victory, if he had not purſued his Advantage too far. But he was pleaſed with following the *Roman* Cavalry, who had made their Way through the *Macedonians*; and in the Heat of Victory, did not perceive, that all the *Legionary* Infantry were advancing ſlowly towards him. The *Roman* Horſe, as ſoon as they found themſelves ſupported, faced about, and turned their Flight into an Attack. The Fugitives all

74 If we judge of this City by its Name, we ſhall imagine it was ſurrounded with *eight Hills*. It ſtood South of *Athacus*, abovementioned. It is placed between the *Panyaſus*, now the *Arzenza*, and the Mountains of *Candavia*.

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on a ſudden became the Aggreſſors; and the Purſuers turned their Backs. And then the *Romans* doubly revenged themſelves on the *Macedonians*, for all they had ſuffered by them. Some were killed in a confuſed Flight; others were forced into the neighbouring Marſhes, and periſhed there; and *Philip* himſelf had like to have loſt his Life. His Horſe was wounded, and threw him; ſo that had it not been for one of his Troopers, who diſmounted, and gave his King his Horſe, *Philip* would either have been trodden under Foot by the Horſes, or have fallen a Priſoner into the Hands of the *Pro-Conſul*. And this generous Action of the *Macedonian* Soldier, was ill rewarded. Being diſmounted, and therefore unable to keep up with his Squadron, who fled full Speed, the brave Man was cut in pieces by the *Romans*. As for the King, after he had fled a great Way round the Borders of the Marſh, he arrived at his Camp; where his Troops deſpaired of ſeeing him. Thus, according to ſome Hiſtorians, the Action of *Octolophum* did not do much Honour to either of the Generals. *Philip* is ſaid to have ſhewn more Raſhneſs than true Valour; and *Sulpicius* to have wanted both Preſence of Mind, and Expedition. Had the *Macedonian*, ſay they, kept in his Entrenchments, without coming too haſtily to a Battel, he had forced the *Roman* to leave *Macedon*, and ſeek for a Subſiſtence elſewhere. And on the other hand, if, ſay they, the *Roman* had immediately after the King's fall, inveſted the Enemy's Camp, he might have taken it by Aſſault, and finiſhed the Campaign glorioufly. But after all, theſe are rather the Speculations of idle unactive Men, than the Reaſonings of Men of Senſe. *Philip*'s Camp was not unprovided; almoſt all his Infantry was left in it. It would therefore have been as raſh in the *Pro-Conſul* to have beſieged it, as it was in *Philip* to purſue the *Roman* Cavalry, in ſight of a great Army. Beſides, it muſt be granted, That the King acted very judiciouſly, in going to cut off the *Romans*; and That *Sulpicius* was not wanting in Prudence, in any Inſtance, but that of ſuffering his Soldiers to ramble too far from his Camp.

§. XXIII. However, theſe three Actions between the Cavalry, in every one of which *Philip* was worſted, obliged him to change his Poſt. Beſides, he had received Information, That *Pleuratus* and the *Dardani* had entered *Macedon*, and wanted to join the *Romans*. Upon theſe Intelligences therefore, *Philip* propoſed to decamp; and that he might do it with Safety, invented a Stratagem, which ſucceeded. He ſent an Officer, with a *Caduceus* in his Hand, to the *Roman* Camp. His Commiſſion was, to deſire Leave of the *Roman* General, to take up the Bodies of the *Macedonian* Horſemen who were killed on the Field, and bury them. But *Philip*'s real Intention was, only to amuſe the *Pro-Conſul* for a little while, that he might have time to file off his Troops to another Place. The Officer did not reach the *Roman* Camp, till it was Night; *Sulpicius* was at Table when he came; and ſent him Word, that he ſhould have his Anſwer the next Morning. But the King did not wait for the Return of his Meſſenger. He made the beſt uſe of his time; and his Camp was empty in a few Hours. Nevertheleſs, he left great Fires burning in it, to deceive the Enemy. As for himſelf, he retired into the narrow Paſſages between the Hills, which were inacceſſible to the *Romans*, who were heavy-armed. It was broad Day, when the *Pro-Conſul* gave the *Macedian* Officer Audience, and he granted him all he asked, and diſmiſſed him. Immediately after, *Sulpicius* was informed, that the Royal Army had diſappeared; but no Body knew whither the King was gone, or how to follow him through the Defiles. Then the *Pro-Conſul* continued ſome Days in the ſame Camp, to conſume the Proviſions which were left in the Neighbourhood; and afterwards marched into a new Country. He entered the Diſtrict of the [75] *Deuriopes*, and encamped firſt near [76] *Stubera*, and afterwards near [77] *Pellina*, and got Proviſions thither from *Pelagonia*. As for *Philip*, he did not long continue hid among the Rocks. He came and encamped at [78] *Bryanium*, and alarmed the

75 *Strabo* places the *Deuriopes* among the Nations of *Paeonia*, an eminent Country of *Macedon*. They dwelt near the River *Erigonus*.

76 *Stubera*, or as others, *Stymbara*, ſtood in that part of *Illyricum*, which then belonged to *Macedon*. It was bounded to the Weſt by the Mountains of *Candaria*; to the North by the *Deuriopes*.

77 The City *Pellina* ſtood near the Country of the *Deuriopes* and *Daſſaretæ*.

78 We alſo find the City of *Bryanium* in the ſame Country, near the River *Erigonus*. This Situation agrees with that which *Strabo* gives it, *B.* 27. *Stephens* ſpeaks of a City of this Name, which he places in *Threſpotia*, a Country in *Epirus*.

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Romans. The *Pro Conſul* decamped, and came and poſted himſelf near a River called the *Oſphagus* [79]. Then the King likewiſe removed, and ſeized the Banks of the [80] *Erigonus*, a River into which the *Oſphagus* runs. *Philip* foreſaw that the *Romans* could not avoid going into [81] *Eordæa*, and therefore reſolved to ſeize the Paſſes, to keep the Enemy out of this fine *Province*. To this end, he entrenched himſelf in the Defiles which lead to it, and guarded them with a wide Ditch, Trunks of Trees, and Heaps of Stones, which he thought a ſufficient Bulwark to keep off the *Romans*. But it unfortunately happened, that all theſe Paſſes were full of Buſhes and Copices, ſo that the *Macedonian Phalanx* had not room to form itſelf cloſe there. Beſides, they had not full play for their long Pikes, in Ground encumbered with Trees, and broken with Brooks. Neither had the *Thracians* room to wield their great two-edged Swords; their Strokes were broken with the Boughs of the Coppice Wood. Only the Arrows of the *Cretans* could be of any uſe againſt the *Romans*; and the Bucklers of the *Roman* Horſe and Foot were Proof againſt them. Beſides, the reſt of their Armour covered their Bodies ſo much, that it was not eaſy to wound them. In the mean time the *Romans* appeared, and prepared to force the Lines of the *Macedonians*; and upon the firſt Onſet, *Philip*'s Army perceived, that their common Arms were uſeleſs. They therefore threw them aſide, and defended themſelves only with the Stones, which were thrown up in Heaps before them. Then the *Legionaries* covered themſelves with their Bucklers, and received the Showers of Stones upon them without Danger. The Noiſe the Stones made on their Helmets, intimidated them for ſome little time; but afterwards they cloſed, formed a ſort of *Tortoiſe*, and advanced towards the Enemy in good Order. Some engaged the *Phalanx* in Front, others gained the Eminencies, and took it in Flank, and broke into it. But it was difficult to fly in a woody Country; ſo that the *Romans*, with their Sabres, cut in pieces a great Number of *Macedonians*, *Thracians*, and *Cretans*; and thereby found it more eaſy to get through theſe formidable Paſſes, than *Philip* had imagined.

By his Victory, *Sulpicius* opened himſelf a Way into *Eordæa*, where he lived ſome time on free-Quarter; and after he had ravaged the *Province*, fell down on [82] *Elymea*, and at length penetrated into [83] *Oreſtides*, towards *Epirus*. A City named [84] *Celetrum*, which was ſtrongly ſituated, ſeemed to lay conveniently for the *Roman*. It ſtood by a great Lake, which almoſt ſurrounded it, ſo that there was no Way to it, but over a very narrow Neck of Land. The Inhabitants depending on the Situation of their City, at firſt denied the *Pro-Conſul* Entrance. But when they ſaw the *Legionaries* advance towards their Gates, and begin an Aſſault, they became more tractable, they then ſurrendered to the *Romans*. From thence the *Pro Conſul* marched into the Country of the *Daſſaretæ*, and there took the City of [85] *Pelium* by Aſſault; carried off all the Slaves he found; plundered the Houſes; gave the Inhabitants their Lives; and placed a ſtrong Garriſon there. *Sulpicius* thought *Pelium* a Key to *Macedon*, and therefore judged it would be of Service to keep it.

And after *Sulpicius* had ravaged ſo many *Provinces*, and gained ſo many Advantages over *Philp*, he at length returned towards *Apollonia*, from whence he had firſt ſet out. It is probable, the Arrival of his Succeſſor, was what recalled him thither.

79 The *Oſphagus* is thought to have been only a little Brook, which ran into the *Erigonus*, at a little Diſtance from *Bryanium* and *Pellina*.

80 The River *Erigonus* riſes in the Mountains of *Illyricum*, runs through a part of *Pæonia*, and falls into the River *Axius*, after it has been enlarged by ſeveral Rivers falling into it. It is now called *Viſtrizza*.

81 The Name of *Eordæa* was common to two Cantons in *Macedon*. One was in *Mygdonia*; the other, which is here ſpoken of, bordered upon the Countries of the *Taulantii* and *Daſſaretæ*.

82 The Territory and City of *Elymea*, belonged to *Macedon*. *Strabo* ſhews us the Situation of both. *Elymea*, or *Limia*, as he calls it, bordered upon *Pelagonia*, *Eordæa*, and the Country of the *Dentiopes*. The River *Haliacmon* watered this Country of the *Elymiotes*. This is the River which is now called *Pelacus*, according to *Sophian*. But *Mercator* calls it *Platamona*. It riſes in the Mountains of *Candavia*, and falls into *The Thermaic Gulph*, or *The Gulph of Salonichi*.

83 *Oreſtides* then belonged to *Epirus*; but it was afterwards annexed to *Macedon*. It is now a part of the Country which the Moderns call *Canina*. See *Vol.* 3.

84 *Celetrum*, a City in the Weſt of *Macedon*, bordered on *Oreſtides* and *Eordæa*.

85 The City of *Pelium* in *Macedon* was built on the Extremity of *The Lake Lychnis*, now *Lago del l'Ocrida*. Its Situation, according to ſome Geographers, agrees well enough with that of *Bichliza*.

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thither. This *Conſul* had tarried a great while at *Rome*, and ſuffered a Subaltern to rob him of the Honour of a glorious Campaign. *Villius* had taken Advantage of the Cuſtom, which the Vanity of the *Conſuls* had lately introduced; had continued long in the Capital, and did not arrive in *Macedon* till Autumn. Then the *Pro-Conſul* delivered up the Army to him, but he found them mutinouſly inclined. The old Soldiers, whom the Republick had employed firſt in *Africa*, then in *Macedon*, complained of the length of their Services, and demanded to be diſmiſſed. This was a juſt Demand; but it was made in a mutinous and ſeditious manner. Theſe Mutineers, who were two thouſand in Number, had voluntarily come from *Africa* to *Macedon*; and yet they pretended, they were forced to it. They had loudly complained for ſome time paſt, and the *Pro-Conſul* had not ſuppreſſed their Murmurs with Rigour enough. And now theſe Mutineers had left their Colours, and would no longer obey their Commanders. *Ought our* Tribunes, ſaid they, *to have engaged us to have gone on board the Fleet, to bring us into theſe Countries? What ſignifies it, whether they uſe Violence, or not, ſince the time of our Services is expired? Shall we be continually led from Country to Country, ſometimes to the South, and ſometimes to the Eaſt? Shall our Labours never be at an end? Shall we never ſee* Italy *again? Our Fatigues have made us grey before our time; and the Blood we have loſt by our Wounds, has reduced us almoſt to a fainting Condition. And ſhall we not be ſuffered to prolong the Remains of our Days, as much as we can, among our Relations, and in our Fathers Houſes?* The *Conſul* did not deny their Requeſt to be reaſonable; but he diſliked the ſeditious manner in which they demanded to be diſmiſſed. *Let theſe ſeditious Men,* ſaid he, *return to their Colours; and then, I promiſe, I will procure the Senate's Conſent, for the diſmiſſing the old Soldiers. If they expect to incline us to favour them, it muſt be done by Submiſſion, and not by revolting.* And it is not at all ſurpriſing, that *Villius* ſhould not perform any Enterpriſe, which gave Luſtre to his *Conſulate*, conſidering that he was at the Head of a Company of Malecontents, and the Seaſon far advanced.

§. XXIV. BUT *Philip*, as ſoon as he ſaw that *Sulpicius* left off purſuing him, and that *Villius* gave him time to breathe, took Advantage of this favourable Opportunity. Beſides the *Romans*, three neighbouring Nations had declared War with him. The *Dardani*, under the Command of *Pleuratus* their King, had entered his Dominions through *Pelagonia*, and laid it waſte. And on another ſide, thoſe *Ætolians*, with whom *Philip* had endeavoured to enter into an Alliance, had at length joined with the *Romans*, ſince the Battel of *Octolophum*. The artful *Damocritus* had prevailed on his Nation to favour *Rome*, which he judged ſtrongeſt; had joined *Aminander*, the King of the [86] *Athamanes*; and the *Ætolians* and *Athamanes* together, had made an Irruption into *Macedon*. So that *Ætolia* and *Aminander* had fallen on *Macedon* one Way, and the *Dardani* another. Nevertheleſs, *Philip* found it eaſy to repulſe the former, and conquer the latter; notwithſtanding that the *Ætolian* Army was ſtrong enough to lay Siege to [87] *Cercinium*, a City of [88] *Magneſia*, which they took, and made all the Inhabitants Captives. This alarmed all the Nations, who dwelt round *The Lake* [89] *Bœbeis*; and they fled to the Mountains. The Country was deſerted, and the *Ætolians* finding no more Booty there, fell upon the *Province* of [90] *Perræbia*. There they took the City of [91] *Cyretiæ*, by Aſſault, and plundered it. [92] *Mallæa*

Livy, *B.* 32. *c.* 40.

86 The *Athamanes* had then a diſtinct Diſtrict of their own. *Theſſaly*, *Epirus*, *Acarnania*, *Ætolia*, and *Doris*, ſurrounded it on all ſides. And therefore ſome have made it a part of *Theſſaly*, others of *Epirus*. *Pliny* places it in *Ætolia*. See *Vol.* 3. Nay ſome, according to *Stephens*, make it a part of *Illyricum*, though there was a conſiderable Diſtance between thoſe Countries.

87 *Cercinium* ſtood at the Foot of Mount *Oſſa*, near *The Lake Bœbeis*, between *Scotſſina* and the *Macedonian* Sea.

88 *Magneſia* anciently contained that little Country, which lies at the eaſtern Extremity of *Theſſaly*, between *The Gulph of Armiro*, and *The Salonic Gulph*. The Name of *Magneſia* was alſo given to a neighbouring Promontory, which *Sophian* calls *Capo Verlichi*; but it is moſt commonly called *Cape St. George*.

89 See what we have ſaid of *The Lake Bœbeis*, which ſome improperly place in *Bœotia*, Vol. 3. It is now *The Lake of Eſero*, according to *Sophian*.

90 The *Greeks* gave the Name of *Perræbia* to a little Country, on the eaſtern Borders of *Pelaſgiotis*, near the River *Peneus*, and Mount *Olympus*.

91 *Ptolomy* reckons *Cyretiæ* among the Cities of *Eſtiotis*, a Country in *Theſſaly*. *Sanſon* places it between the Rivers *Pamiſus* and *Curalius*. The former

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92 *Mallæa* alſo ſurrendred to the *Ætolians*, and made an Alliance with them. Then *Aminander* was for turning their Army againſt 93 *Gomphi*, which was nearer to *Athamania*. It was but weakly guarded, and they would not have found it difficult to have made themſelves Maſters of it. But the *Ætolians*, who were more greedy of Spoil, than of Glory, choſe to pillage *Theſſaly*, rather than take a City, which was convenient for the *Athamanes*. This *Aminander* reſented; but diſſembled his Reſentment, and did not ſeparate from his Allies. Only he admoniſhed them to encamp with Caution; to guard themſelves with good Trenches; and not lay down on the bare Ground, without any Regularity or Order. The prudent King had Reaſon to be apprehenſive, that the *Ætolians* might be deſtroyed by a ſudden Attack, and their Ruin produce his own. But his wiſe Advice did not correct the Negligence and Raſhneſs of his Allies. He therefore encamped ſeparately; and whilſt the *Ætolians* were laying down on the Graſs at Noon-day, deſigning to ſpend the reſt of the Day in drinking, in an Enemy's Country, and within reach of 94 *Phæcadum*, *Aminander* ſeized a Hill about five hundred Paces from the *Ætolians*. This was a very prudent Step. *Philip* came on a ſudden, and found the *Ætolian* Army in Diſorder. Some were rambling about the Country in ſearch of Booty. Others were intoxicated with Wine, or heavy with Sleep, and not in a Condition to fight. *Damocritus*, and other Commanders, upon the firſt Alarm, took care to awaken ſome, order others to Arms, and diſpatch others to gather together the Soldiers diſperſed in the Plain. But they could ſcarce rally ſix hundred Men, Horſe and Foot, to make Head againſt the Enemy. The reſt fled towards *Aminander*'s Camp. So that it is eaſy to judge, that *Philip*'s Troops could find no Difficulty in cutting in pieces an handful of Men, tumultuouſly aſſembled. And now the *Macedonians* were already advancing in good order towards the Camp of the *Athamanes* to force it; but *Philip* ſounded a Retreat. His Horſes were out of Breath, and his Infantry harraſſed with the long March they had taken to ſurpriſe the Enemy. Beſides, all the *Phalanx* was not yet arrived. As ſoon as the *Macedonians* were aſſembled together, and *Philip*'s Army had taken ſome reſt, the King led it againſt the new Camp, which the *Ætolians* had juſt finiſhed in great haſte. As long as the Enemy continued in their Station, the *Ætolians* made a good Appearance. They drew up their Men on the Rampart, and ſet Guards at the Avenues to the Camp. But as ſoon as the *Macedonians* approached, the Cowards, who were bold only in plundering, were ſeized with Terror. They inſtantly took to their Heels, and fled to the Camp of the *Athamanes* for Refuge. This was a bloody Retreat, and coſt the *Ætolians* dear. Had not the Night ſcreened the Fugitives from *Philip*'s Purſuit, even *Aminander's* Camp had been taken and pillaged. But in the Night, the *Ætolians* and *Athamanes* decamped together; and under the Conduct of *Aminander*, the two ſhattered Armies eſcaped through By-ways, and returned into their own Countries.

AND whilſt the King was in Perſon diſperſing the confederate Armies, *Athenagoras* was purſuing the *Dardani*. They were upon their march out of *Macedon*, when the *Macedonian* General attacked them in the Rear. Upon which the *Dardani* faced about, and prepared for a Fight; but *Athenagoras* was not inclined to come to a pitched Battel. He found it more for his Advantage to attack the Enemy ſuddenly by Fits, and haraſs them in their Retreat. His Troops were light-armed, and the *Dardani* were loaded with heavy Burdens. Nevertheleſs, he ſlew but few of them. They marched in cloſe Battalions, and not one of them quitted their Ranks. By this means they had more wounded than killed, and not one of them was made Priſoner of War. This double Advantage ſomewhat comforted

former is now called *Pontigna Maranta*, and runs into the *Peneus*. The latter, which ſome improperly make to run in *Bœotia*, is now called *Onocero*. It riſes in *Pelaſgiotis*, runs through it, and then falls into the *Peneus*. The new Maps place *Cyretiæ* at the Conflux of the *Pamiſus* and the *Peneus*.

92 *Mallœa*, or as others *Mallia*, was the Name of a City and Canton of *Phthiotis*, near Mount *Oeta*, and *Thermopylæ*. Near it were the hot mineral Waters, which *Catullus* mentions in his *Elegies*. Some have thought, that *The Maliac Gulph*, now *The Gulph of Zeiton*, took its Name from its Neighbourhood to this City.

93 The City of *Gomphi* belonged to *Eſtiotis*, a Country of *Theſſaly*. It is placed in the Maps between the Springs of the *Pamiſus*, and the *Ion*.

94 *Phæcadum* was a City of *Theſſaly*, which ſtood near the River *Enniceſus*, between *Pindus*, a Mountain of that *Province*, and the River *Peneus*.

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Livy, B. 31. *c.* 44.

Philip, after the Loſſes he had ſuffered by *Sulpicius*. Having been victorious over the Allies of *Rome*, he thought, all things conſidered, that he had made the Succeſs equal between the *Romans* and himſelf. And indeed, the *Macedonian* ſtill kept the Field, after a two Years War; and his Forces were but a little weakcned 95.

§. XXV. At Sea, the *Roman* Fleet had alſo ſome Succeſs. In the beginning of the Campaign, *L. Apuſtius* had taken upon him the Command of it, by order of the *Pro Conſul*. He had ſailed from *Corcyra*, had doubled the Cape of 96 *Malea*, and had joined *Attalus*'s Fleet, off of 97 *Hermione*. And then the *Athenians* no longer reſtrained their Reſentments againſt *Philip*. Theſe Succours raiſed their Courage; and they expreſſed their Fury in a mad manner. Theſe *Athenians*, who are ſo famed for their Wit and Politeneſs, were really mere Triflers, who changed with every Wind, and whoſe Levity carried them to ſhameful Exceſſes. Their Orators governed them as they pleaſed; the artful Harangues they heard tickled their Ears, and led them captive, often contrary to the true Intereſt of their Republick. Indeed, *Philip* had deſerved their Hatred; but they purſued it in a very ridiculous manner. They themſelves had formerly been ſuch extravagant Flatterers of this King of *Macedon*, that they had not only erected Statues to him, and his Anceſtors of both Sexes; but had even ſacrilegiouſly inſtituted Feſtivals, Sacrifices, and Prieſts, to their Honour. But now, out of a childiſh Revenge, they deſtroyed theſe very Idols, which they had worſhiped. In an Aſſembly of the *Athenian* People, a Decree was juridically paſſed, which leſſened the *Greek* Nation in the Eſteem even of their Friends. It was this; *That all the Statues of* Philip *and his Anceſtors ſhould be broken in pieces; That the Inſcriptions made to their Honour ſhould be erazed; That their Altars ſhould be broken down, their Feſtivals aboliſhed, and their Prieſts degraded; That even the Places where any Monuments had been erected to their Glory, ſhould be deteſted; That no other Monuments ſhould ever be erected there; That the Prieſts ſhould for the future pronounce Curſes againſt* Philip, *and the* Macedonian *Armies, in the religious Aſſemblies; That if any one had any thing to offer in further Derogation of* Philip, *he ſhould be heard, and his Requeſt granted; That any Citizen, who ſhould have the Impudence to excuſe* Philip, *and ſpeak in his Favour, ſhould inſtantly be put to Death; and laſtly, That* Philip *and his Race ſhould be treated in the ſame manner, as it was formerly ordered the Poſterity of* 98 Piſiſtratus *ſhould be*. Theſe were the only Acts of Hoſtility the *Athenians* committed againſt *Philip*; the only Revenge they executed upon him. They were Cowards in Action; and bold only in Words. The *Roman* Fleet, which put in at *Pyræeus*, were Witneſſes of

95 This was not the Caſe with the Nations who had united againſt the King of *Macedon*. The *Ætolians*, become leſs formidable ſince their laſt Defeat, ſeemed to have abandoned the League. Moſt of them, ſeduced by the Promiſes of *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, had entered into his Service at the Solliciation of *Scopas*. This General had been ſent by the King of *Egypt* to *Ætolia*, to raiſe new Levies there, in his Maſter's Name. The fineſt Youth in the Country had lately inliſted themſelves under his Banners, to the Number of 6000 Foot, beſides the Cavalry he got into his Service by the help of his Money. In ſhort, all the *Ætolians*, who were fit to bear Arms, were preparing to leave their Country to go into *Egypt*. *Damocritus* therefore, who was then *Prætor*, was forced to have recourſe to Menaces, to put a Stop to the Fury of the People, in inliſting themſelves into a foreign Service. Whether ſo general a Deſertion made him apprehenſive of the Ruin of *Ætolia*; or whether, if he conſulted his own Intereſt more than that of his Country, he was diſſatisfied with *Scopas*'s Offers; he even treated the Mutineers with Severity.

96 The Cape of *Malea*, now *Capo Malio*, runs out into the *Ægean* Sea, in the moſt ſouthern Borders of *Laconia*. The Channel by it is very dangerous. In ſome modern Maps, it is called *Capo Malea di Sant Angelo*.

97 *Hermione* was a City ſituated on the Sea-Coaſt of *Argolis* in *Peloponneſus*. It was famous for the Temple the *Greeks* had erected there to *Ceres* and *Proſerpine*. There now remains nothing of it but Ruins. Near it is *The Promontory of Scylla*, now called *Capo Schilli*. It divides *The Saronic Gulph*, or *The Gulph of Engia*, from *The Gulph of Napoli*, which was formerly called *The Gulph*, or *Streights of Argolis*. It alſo had the Name of *Hermione*, from the City of that Name, which was near it.

98 *Piſiſtratus*, after ſeveral great Revolutions in Life, had uſurped the ſovereign Power in the Republick of *Athens*, his Country, and aboliſhed the ancient Government. This got him the Name of Tyrant, and made his Memory odious in a Republick jealous of her Liberty. Nevertheleſs, he continued abſolute till his Death. Then the *Athenians*, reſolute to ſhake off this Tyranny, ſignally vented their Rage againſt his Poſterity. It coſt *Hipparchus*, his Son and Succeſſor, his Life. *Hippius*, his other Son, was expelled *Athens*, almoſt at the ſame time that the *Romans* aboliſhed the regal Government, and proſcribed it, by the Expulſion of the *Tarquins*. And the reſt of the Tyrant's Family ſared no better.

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the unworthy Proceedings of this inconſtant People. They were as profuſe of their Encomiums on the King of *Pergamus*, and the *Roman* Admiral, as of their Reproaches on the King of *Macedon*; and were as ready, upon the leaſt Alteration of Affairs, to ſubſtitute the Names of *Attalus* and the *Roman* Senate, in the room of that of *Philip*.

§. XXVI. *APUSTIUS* and *Attalus* did not continue long in the Port of *Athens*. They ſailed towards the Iſland of *Andros*, and appeared before the City of 99 *Gaurium*, where the *Macedonian* had a pretty ſtrong Garriſon. They at firſt ſummoned the Inhabitants to ſurrender, but the latter were not Maſters of their own Walls. *Apuſtius* and *Attalus* were therefore forced to make a Deſcent to beſiege the City on both Sides; and the former inveſted it with his *Romans*, and the latter with his *Aſiaticks*. Then the Courage of the Beſiegers, who prepared to make an Aſſault, ſtruck Terror into the Beſieged, who had never yet tried the Force of *Roman* Valour. The latter abandoned the City, and retired to the Citadel; which the *Macedonians* held out for two Days, and on the third capitulated. They were ſuffered to march out of the Town, with one Garment only, and to embark in order to be tranſported to *Delium* [100] in *Bœotia*. The Place itſelf was for *Attalus*, and the Spoils of the Inhabitants for the *Romans*. The Iſland of *Andros* was then peopled only with *Macedonians*; and *Attalus* not only kept them in his new Conqueſt, but ſuffered thoſe who had been carried into *Bœotia* to return into their own Country. By this means the Iſland ſtill continued to be peopled. From *Andros* the Fleet ſailed towards the Iſland of *Cythnos*. The only City in it received a *Macedonian* Garriſon; and *Apuſtius* made ſome Attempts upon it. But not thinking it worth the Trouble of a long Siege, he turned towards the Continent of *Attica*. Off of *Praſiæ* [101], he found twenty Frigates of the Iſland of *Iſſa* [102] in the *Adriatick*; and they joined his Fleet. Then the Admiral made a good uſe of them, in ſending them to ravage the Country of the [103] *Caryſtii*, which was the moſt eaſtern Point of *Eubœa*. From thence *Apuſtius* made all the ſail he could to *Scyrus* [104], and ſtood in for the Iſland of [105] *Icus*, where a ſtrong North Wind obliged him to tarry ſome Days. Then continuing his Courſe, he came down to [106] *Scyathos*, a City (in an Iſland of the ſame Name) which *Philip* had lately diſmantled, and there they reaped ſome Fields. From thence they coaſted round *Thrace*, and arrived at *Mendis*, a Village in the Territory of [107] *Caſſandria*; and as they were doubling the Cape on which *Mendis* ſtands, a great Tempeſt aroſe, which exceedingly diſtreſſed the Fleet. The Gallies loſt their Maſts and Riggings, and the Crews were forced to go aſhore. And as one Misfortune often draws on another, when the Troops were landed, and attempted the Siege of *Caſſandria*, the *Macedonian* Garriſon charged them furiouſly, and repulſed them. However, the Fleet was refitted well enough to be able to bear the Sea; and coaſting along by *The Promontory of Canaſtrum* [108], appeared at length before [109] *Acanthus*, a City of *Macedon*, near

99 *Gaurium*, which *Livy* alſo calls *Gaureleon*, was a maritime City, and a Port in the Iſle of *Andros*.

100 The City of *Delium* ſtood on the Sea-Coaſt of *Bœotia*, over againſt the *Euripus*, between the Rivers *Aſopus* and *Iſmenus*. It is now buried in Ruins.

101 The City of *Praſiæ* was near *The Promontory of Sunium*, or *The Cape of the Pillars* in *Attica*. We muſt not confound it with another City of the ſame Name in *Laconia*, near *The Saronic Gulph*.

102 See what we ſay of *Iſſa*, Vol. 3. It is now called *Liſſa*, and by others *Great Iſola*. *Anne Comnenes*, in the Hiſtory of the Reign of her Father *Alexis*, Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, calls it *Jeſa*.

103 The City and Territory of the *Caryſtii*, in the Iſland of *Eubœa*, or the *Negropont*, lay between the two Promontories, of *Caphareum*, and *Gereſtium*. The Moderns call the former *Capo Chimi*, *Capo Figera*, and *Capo Doro*. The latter is called in the new Maps *Gereſto*.

104 *Scyrus* is a little Iſland in the *Ægean* Sea, over againſt *Negropont*, from which it is about twenty eight thouſand geometrical Paces diſtant. It is eaſy to know it by its triangular Form. It to this Day retains the Name of *Scyro*.

105 The Iſland of *Icus* which is in the *Archipelago*, South of *Peparethos*, is not remarkable for any thing.

106 See our Account of the Situation of *Scyathos* above.

107 See what we have ſaid of the Origin and Situation of the City of *Caſſandria*, Vol. 3.

108 The City of *Canaſtrum*, near *Caſſandria*, in *The Toronaic Gulph*, gave Name to the Cape, which is to this Day called *Capo Caniſtro*.

109 *Acanthus* belonged to *Macedon*, though *Thucydides* has placed it in *Thrace*. It ſtood on the Borders of *The Gulph of Strymon*, near that to which the City of *Singum* gave the Name of *Singæus Sinus*. The former is now called *The Gulph of Monte Sancto*; the latter, *The Gulph of Conteſſa*.

110 *Athos*.

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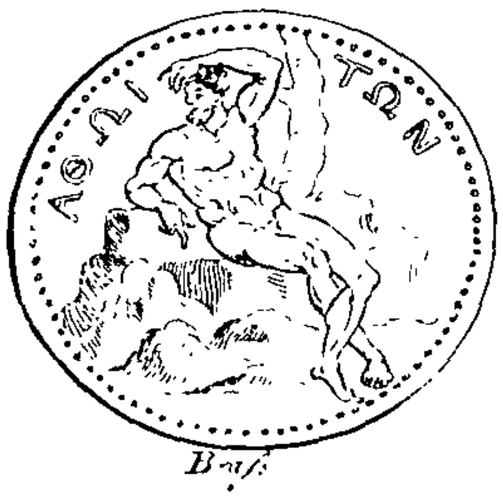
110 *Athos*. And the Ships were ſo laden with Spoils, that they ſailed no farther; but after they had coaſted along by the Iſland of *Scyathos*, returned to *Eubœa*. There King *Attalus* and *Apuſtius* left the main Body of their Fleet; and with a Squadron of ten Gallies, entered *The Maliac Gulph*, and came to 111 *Heraclea*, in *Theſſaly*. This was the Place where the King of *Pergamus*, the *Roman* Lieutenant General, and a Deputy from *Ætolia*, named *Sipyrrhicas*, had appointed to meet; and here they treated about an Alliance. The *Ætolians* pretended, that *Attalus* ought to oblige himſelf by the Treaty, to furniſh them with a thouſand Men, as long as they ſhould make War with *Philip*; but the King of *Pergamus* declined it, and gave this Reaſon for his Refuſal. *When* Philip *was ravaging my Territories, and had no Regard to things ſacred or prophane, you continued unactive. You conſulted only your own Intereſt; and now I ſhall do the ſame.* But as this Anſwer might have offended the *Ætolians*, and drawn them off from the Confederacy, the *Roman* mollified them. He gave them good Words, and diſmiſſed the Envoy full of Hopes, and well ſatisfied with his Negotiation. As ſoon as it was over, *Attalus* and *Apuſtius* returned to their Fleet, which was augmented with twenty *Rhodian* Ships, all double-decked. *Ageſimbrotus* had the Command of the latter; and this Reinforcement made the Generals reſolve to go and beſiege *Oreos*, a City Subject to the *Macedonians* on the Eaſtern Coaſt of *Eubœa*. The Place was ſtrong, and becauſe an Attempt had been formerly made upon it, *Philip* had put a ſtrong Garriſon in it. 112 *Oreos* was defended by three Citadels, one on an Eminence which overlooked the Sea, and two others in a Valley. They were all three contained within the ſame Compaſs of Walls, which were flanked by them. The Siege was ordered to be carried on in this manner. *Ageſimbrotus*, with his twenty *Rhodian* Ships, was appointed to go and cruiſe between the Cape 113 of *Phalaſia*, and the Iſland of *Scyros*,



110 Mount *Athos* extends itſelf towards the Confines of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, between the two Gulphs juſt mentioned. It took its Name, according to *Stephen of Byzantium*, from a Giant, who dwelt near it. Its Summit, ſay *Mela* and *Solinus*, reaches above the Region of the Clouds and Rain. We may judge of its Height, by what the ancient Writers ſay of it. They affirm, that in the Summer-ſolſtice, its Shade reached above three hundred *Stadia* from it, as far as to the Market-place of *Myrina*, a City in the Iſland of *Lemnos*; which was ſo far from *Athos*, according to *Stephens the Geographer*. *Solinus* reckons the Diſtance to be ſeventy ſeven thouſand geometrical Paces; and *Pliny*, eighty ſix Miles. This Mountain is joined to the Continent by an *Iſthmus* of half a League long; and it runs into the *Ægean* Sea, where it forms a Peninſula, which contains the Space of ſeventy five thouſand geometrical Paces, that is, twenty five common *French* Leagues. It is reckoned to be a hundred and fifty Miles in Circumference. Formerly *Xerxes*, to make a Way for his Fleet, cut through the *Iſthmus* that joins *Athos*, to the Continent. The Channel he made there was fifteen hundred Paces long, and broad enough for two Ships to ſail a-breaſt, as we are told by *Herodotus B.* 7. *Stephens the Geographer* is the only Perſon who mentions a City of *Athos*, ſituated at the Foot of the Mountain; and he calls the Inhabitants of this City *Athoitæ*. Their Name is preſerved on the reverſe of a Medal, which bears this Inſcription, ΑΘΩΙΤΩΝ. The Giant, whom we there ſee ſitting on a Rock, either repreſents the Giant beforementioned, or *Jupiter*, whom the neighbouring Nations worſhiped on this Mountain. *Euſtathius* ſays, that they worſhiped this God under the Name of *Athous*. What *Mela* ſays of a City built on the Summit of the Mountain, and the long Life of its Inhabitants, has all the Air of mere Fiction, invented at Pleaſure. Mount *Athos* is now known only by the Name of *Monte Santo*, ſince the *Greek* Monks, to the Number of above five thouſand, divided into different Cells have made this the Place of their Retreat.

111 The City of *Heraclea* here ſpoken of, was that which was called *Heraclea Trachynia*. See *Vol.* 3. It is now called *Comaro*, according to *Pinet*.

112 See what we have ſaid of *Oreos*, one of the chief Cities of *Eubœa*, Vol. 3.

113 *The Cape of Phalaſia*, lay on the Eaſtern-Coaſt of *Eubœa*, at a little Diſtance from *Oreos*. In moſt Copies of *Livy* we read *ad Zelaſium miſerunt*, inſtead of *ad Phalaſiam*, &c. But none of the ancient Geographers knew any thing of Cape *Zelaſium*. Nor are we better informed of the City

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Scyros, to keep in Awe the *Macedonian* Fleet, which rode at Anchor at a little Diſtance. *Heraclides* commanded it, and his Orders were to undertake nothing, but to watch the Motions of the Enemy, and take Advantage of their Negligence. And as for *Attalus* and *Apuſtius*, they were to carry on the Attacks jointly. The *Romans* undertook to attack the City on the Side next the Sea; and *Apuſtius* to batter it, on the ſide of the Valley between the two Citadels. But the Siege was purſued in a different manner in the two Armies. The *Romans* made uſe of *Covered Galleries*, *Mantelets*, and *Tortoiſes*, in their Approaches, and of *Rams*, to make a Breach. The *Aſiaticks* made uſe of *Balliſtæ* and *Catapultæ*, with which they threw Stones and Darts of a great Weight; and at the ſame time, ſet Miners at work to throw down the Wall. The Beſieged defended themſelves with Courage. Not that they were many more in Number than formerly; but *Philip*'s Threatnings and Promiſes to the Garriſon, increaſed the Valour of the Soldiers. In ſhort, the *Macedonians* made ſo good a Reſiſtance in *Oreos*, that the Beſiegers could not hope to make themſelves Maſters of it for a great while; and therefore they turned the Siege into a Blockade. But *Apuſtius* and *Attalus* were not idle, while the *Romans* and *Aſiaticks* ſuſpended their Works. They left as many Troops as were neceſſary before the inveſted Place; and embarked the reſt of their Army on board their Ships. The *Roman* ſailed to [114] *Lariſſa*, a maritime City of *Ptkiotis* in *Theſſaly*, took it by Aſſault, and pillaged it. The Garriſon retired into the Caſtle; but *Apuſtius* did not beſiege them there. He loaded himſelf with Booty, and returned to his Camp. In the mean while *Attalus* ſurpriſed the City of [115] *Ægeleon*, near a Cape of that Name, not far from the *Euripus*. The Inhabitants did not expect ſo ſudden an Invaſion. They thought the Enemy's Fleet engaged before *Oreos*. And indeed, the King of *Pergamus* returned thither, and the Beſiegers prepared to renew the Attacks. The Garriſon which defended the City, were worn out with Fatigues, and their Conſtancy juſt exhauſted. The *Roman Rams* had juſt made a large Breach. The *Aſiaticks* had, by ſapping, thrown down a good part of the Wall, which they attacked. *Attalus* gave the *Romans* the Signal of it. The Aſſailants, without Delay, entered the City in the Night, through both the Breaches at the ſame time. And thus the Inhabitants and the Garriſon had no Aſylum to retreat to, but the Caſtle, which overlooked the Sea; and they fled thither. But they did not long defend themſelves there. Two Days after, the *Oreans* ſurrendered at Diſcretion. *Attalus* had the Place, and the *Romans* got all the Booty they could in this fine Conqueſt. *Apuſtius* alſo claimed for his Republick, all the Priſoners of War which had been taken; and with this Expedition ended the Enterprizes of the Fleet. *Autumn* was far advanced; it would be impoſſible to live in the Seas on the Coaſts of *Eubœa*, in the firſt Days of the Winter; and the Admirals therefore carried back their Fleet to *Pyræeus*. *Apuſtius* left thirty of his Ships there, and ſailed from thence with the reſt, to return to *Corcyra*. As for *Attalus*, he continued ſome time in *Attica*, there celebrated the Feaſt of *Ceres* [116], in whoſe Myſteries he was [117] initiated, and then returned to *Aſia*.

§. XXVII. And now *Philip* was the only Perſon, who ſtill kept the Field. He beſieged a City, whoſe Situation was ſurpriſing; and therefore the Natives of the

114 The City of *Lariſſa* here ſpoken of, is that which *Livy* and the Ancients call *Cremaſte*, to diſtinguiſh it from another *Lariſſa*, the Capital of *Pelaſgiotis*, and ſituated on the Banks of the *Peneus*. See what we have ſaid of theſe two Cities, *Vol.* 3. They are now both called *Larizzo*.

115 It is ſuppoſed, that the City of *Ægeleon* here ſpoken of by *Livy*, is the ſame Place that the ancient Geographers call *Ægæ*. It ſtood on the weſtern Coaſt of the Iſland of *Negropont*, over againſt *Oreos*, and near *Cape Leon*, on the South-ſide, oppoſite to *Cape Sunium*. This is the Cape which *Strabo* calls *Lence Acte*, and which, according to *Sophian*, is now called *Capo Montello*.

116 This Feſtival was that which the *Athenians* called *The Great Myſteries of Ceres Eleuſina*. See above.

117 The *Athenians* could not beſtow a greater Mark of Diſtinction on the King of *Pergamus*, than to initiate him into theſe Myſteries. By the Laws of their Religion, this was the Privilege of *Greeks* only.

Country

of *Iſthmia*, ſituated above *Demetrias*, and over againſt Cape *Zelaſium*, according to our Author. The Hiſtorian ſeems to have meant *Oreos*, which was originally called *Iſtiæa*, as we have obſerved *Vol.* 3. So that the Copyiſts have by a Miſtake, not uncommon with them, put *Iſthmia* inſtead of *Iſtiæa*. We have therefore followed *Gronovius*'s Correction. Inſtead of *ad Zelaſium miſerunt* [*Iſthmiæ id ſuper Demetriadem Promontorium eſt peropportune objectum*] he thinks we ought to read, *ad Phalaſiam miſerunt* [*Iſtiæa id ſuper Demetriadem*, &c. It is true, that Cape *Phalaſia* was over againſt the City of *Oreos*, or *Iſtiæa*, and that the latter was directly oppoſite to *Demetrias*. This is the Situation given them in the Maps, and this is the Senſe that ought to be put upon *Livy*'s Words.

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Country called it [118] *Thaumacia*, that is, *Prodigious*. *Thaumacia* ſtood in *Theſſaly*, on the Banks of *The Maliac Gulph*, on an Eminence, from whence might be ſeen a vaſt Plain, called by the Natives *The Hole of Theſſaly*. But the chief Strength of *Thaumacia* was not ſo much the Height, as the Nature of the Rock on which it ſtood. This Rock ſtood apart from all others on all ſides, but had ſome other ſharp ones near it, which made the Acceſs to it very difficult. Nevertheleſs, *Philip* endeavoured to take this Place, which the *Ætolians* defended. After many Fatigues, he, with the Help of his Machines, was got to the Foot of the Wall, and was battering it with his *Ram*, to make a Breach. But the *Ætolians* ſent Succours to the Beſieged, under the Command of *Archidamus*; and this brave Officer forced his Way through the *Macedonian* Army, and carried a Body of *Ætolians* into the Place. Then he terribly harraſſed the Beſiegers; made unexpected Sallies upon them Day and Night; had great Advantages as he fought from the upper Ground; and deſtroyed *Philip*'s Works and Machines. Till at length the Difficulties he found in the Siege made the King of *Macedon* ſay, that the Place was not worth the Pains and Time neceſſary to take it. Beſides, the Winter was approaching, and the Rigour of the Seaſon would not ſuffer him to keep the Field long. He therefore decamped, and returned to *Macedon*, where all was quiet, till Spring. *Philip* made Preparations for the next Campaign; and the *Conſul Villius* ſpent the Winter at *Apollonia*. The latter had gained little Glory to himſelf, and few Advantages to his Republick, during his *Conſulate*. However, he expected to be continued General of the Army he commanded, till the new *Conſul* arrived; and ſaid, *His Delays in coming to his Province, will give me an Opportunity to recover the time I have loſt*. But he found by Experience, that whoever would gain a Reputation in Arms, muſt ſeize all Opportunities. When once neglected, they often vaniſh, and never return more.

§. XXVIII. As for the *Conſul Lentulus*, he continued in *Italy*. It had been his Province to go and make War with the *Gauls*, who were riſing up in Arms again, after their Defeat the laſt Year. *Hamilcar*, the *Carthaginian* General, who was thought dead, again diſturbed the Repoſe of the Republick. Under his Direction, a terrible Storm was raiſed, on the ſide of the *Alpes*. And it was *Lentulus*'s Province to quell theſe continual Sallies of the inconſtant *Gauls*. But he choſe rather to continue at *Rome*, and enjoy the Honours of his Office there, than lead his *Legions* againſt a troubleſome Enemy, which he ought to have ſuſpected. And yet it does not appear that the Senate had many Affairs before them. All was quiet on the ſide of *Africa*. The *Carthaginians* had juſt ſent part of the Sum *Scipio* had demanded of them, when he granted them a Peace. But theſe *Africans*, who had ever been ſuſpected of ill Faith, inſomuch, that their Deceit was become proverbial, gave a freſh Inſtance of it in this firſt Payment. The Money they ſent had too much Alloy. This the *Quæſtors* perceived; and found, upon melting it down, that it wanted a fourth Part. Nevertheleſs, the publick Treaſury did not ſuffer by it. The *Carthaginian* Agents [119] were forced to borrow

Zonaras, B. 9. c. 15.

Liv. B. 32. c. 2.

118 *Thaumacia* was a City of *Phocis* near Mount *Othrys*. It is vulgarly called *Thaumaco*.

119 The *Carthaginian* Agents demanded at the ſame time, the Reſtitution of the Hoſtages *Rome* had demanded as Sureties for preſerving the Treaty of Peace concluded between the two Nations; and the Senators conſented to return them a hundred of theſe Hoſtages. But they deferred ſetting the reſt at Liberty, till ſuch time as the Republick had given freſh Proofs of her Fidelity. In the mean while, they aſſigned them a more convenient Place of Reſidence than *Horta*, a City of the *Volſci*, to which they were confined. They were removed to *Setia* and *Ferentinum*, which were more agreeable Places. At the ſame time the *Romans* renewed the Treaty of Alliance *Lucius Marcius* had concluded with the People of *Cadix*, after the Death of the two *Scipio's*. The Senate ſuffered the Inhabitants to live under their own Laws, without being ſubject to the Juriſdiction of a *Præfect*; which hard Condition had been impoſed upon them, when they ſurrendered to the Republick. But this new Favour was the Reward of their Zeal for the Intereſts of *Rome*. *Cicero*, in his *Oration for Cornelius Balbus*, mentions this Treaty. He ſays, that *Cadix* became afterwards *A Roman Colony*, and by that means had a Senate of its own, which gave Law to it. *Pliny* adds, that it was one of the fourteen Cities, where the *Spaniards* uſed to aſſemble their general Diets, which repreſented the whole Nation. *The Conſcript Fathers* had alſo no leſs regard to the Repreſentations of the Deputies of *Narnia*. They complained of the Impudence of ſome mean Vagabonds, who had intruded themſelves into their *Colony*, and uſurped all the Privileges of it; and they deſired that theſe New-comers might be expelled, and their Places filled up, as the Senate thought fit, according to their ſettled Rules. And the Requeſt of the *Narnians* was granted. *Publius*, and *Sextus Ælius Paetus*, and *Cornelius Lentulus*, were immediately choſen *Triumviri* by the *Conſul*; and they went to the Place, and there provided for the Order and Welfare of the *Colony*. The Intruders were expelled, and their Places given to Natives of the Country. The People of *Coſa* alſo deſired the ſame Favour; and moreover, that the Number of their *Colony* ſhould be increaſed, and their Diſtricts extended. But the *Roman* Republick did not think fit to comply with their Requeſt.

Year of *ROME* DLIV.

L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, P. VILLIUS TAPPULUS, Conſuls.

Money at *Rome* upon Intereſt, to ſupply the Deficiency. *The Conſcript Fathers* alſo ſettled the Affairs of *Bruttium*; and above all, gave the ſtricteſt Charge, That the *Pro-Prætor Minucius* ſhould ſearch very diligently after the Robbers, who were accuſed of plundering the Temple of *Proſerpine*. They were firſt brought to *Rome* to be tried there, and then ſent back to be executed on the Spot.

But theſe were Affairs of too little Conſequence to require the Preſence of the *Conſul*; and yet *Lentulus* long delayed his Departure from *Rome*. The *Gauls* took Advantage of theſe Delays, and their Army, commanded by *Hamilcar*, began to be formidable. *Cn. Bœbius*, as has been before obſerved, had been nominated *Prætor* of *Gaul*; and the Troops he commanded there, in the Neighbourhood of *Ariminum*, were not conſiderable. His whole Army conſiſted only of five thouſand Auxiliaries; and this Body was not ſufficient to go, and wage War with the *Gauls*, in their own Country. He therefore obtained Leave of the Senate to put himſelf at the Head of the *Legions*, till the Arrival of the *Conſul*, who was too dilatory in leaving *Rome*. *Bœbius* fancied he alſo could obtain the Honours of a Triumph by one ſingle Victory; and the Example the late *Prætor Furius* had given him, animated him, to ſignalize himſelf in the ſame manner. But all Men are not alike. *Furius* had as much Prudence as Valour; whereas *Bœbius* was more raſh than diſcreet. He ventured to penetrate into the fartheſt part of *Inſubria*, with the *Conſular* Army; and there his Troops were ſurrounded by the Army of the *Gauls*, who fell on the *Romans* unexpectedly. The *Prætor* was routed, loſt about ſeven thouſand Men, and left the *Roman Provinces* expoſed to the Mercy of *Hamilcar*. The Conqueror marched all over the Countries in Alliance with *Rome*, took and razed *Placentia*, and made a terrible Devaſtation in the Country. And then the *Conſul* awoke out of his Stupefaction. He left *Rome* in great haſte; came and took upon him the Command of the Army allotted him; found it in a bad Condition; and treated the raſh *Prætor* with exceeding great Severity. *Bœbius* was ſeverely reproached, and at length, by the *Conſul*'s Order, forced to leave his *Province* ignominiouſly, and return to the Capital. In the firſt Ages of the Republick, the Faults of ſo bad a General would not have eſcaped unpuniſhed. But now, as *Rome* was become more illuſtrious, ſhe was alſo more indulgent. She even connived at the Delays of the preſent *Conſuls*. Neither *Villius*, nor *Lentulus*, were puniſhed for Negligence or Male-Adminiſtration; though neither of them had done Honour to the *Conſulate*. *Rome* wanted a great Man, who by great Prudence of Conduct, joined with as much Valour, ſhould recover her Affairs, and put her in as flouriſhing a Condition as ever; and ſuch a one Providence raiſed up for the next Year, in the Perſon of *Quinctius Flamininus*. We ſhall ſoon ſee him act a great Part in his Republick [120].

Zonoras, B. 9. c. 15.

120 *Livy* mentions again, in this Year 554. an Heap of thoſe childiſh abſurd things, which he vents as uſual for Prodigies of the firſt Rank, or manifeſt ſigns of the Will of the Gods. By his great care in collecting, all that Superſtition and falſe Reports publiſhed of this kind, one would think it to have been the main Deſign of his Hiſtory, to relate theſe trifling things. Of this ſort, is what he ſays of a Laurel that took Root, and ſprung up ſuddenly in the Poop of a *Roman* Galley, during the *Macedonian* War. *Florus* alſo relates the ſame Fable in his Hiſtory. Probably the Laurel was privately planted there by the General himſelf, or at leaſt by his Order. It was in all Probability an Artifice to raiſe the Confidence and Courage of his Troops. This Plant was the Symbol of Victory. The Soldiers probably took it for a Prediction of the Defeat of the *Macedonians*, and eaſily perſuaded themſelves that Heaven intereſted itſelf in favour of *Rome*. Theſe ſorts of Stratagems were often put in practice, and paved the Way for great Events. The *Romans* alſo gave as ſignal Proofs of their Superſtition, in the ſame Year, at the *Feriæ Latinæ*. It has been already obſerved in the firſt and ſecond Volumes, that all the Nations in *Latium* joined in this Solemnity. The general *Rendezvous* of the *Romans* and *Latins* for this Ceremony, was on *The Hill of Alba*. There the two Nations joined together in offering Sacrifices to *Jupiter Latialis*. The Cuſtom was to offer up a Bull, the Fleſh of which was diſtributed to all preſent, without Diſtinction. All looked on it as a Pledge of the Union eſtabliſhed between the two Nations ever ſince the time of *Tarquin the Proud*. But it now happened, that the Deputies of *Ardea* were forgotten in this Diſtribution; and they brought their Complaints before the Senate. But this was an Affair, which was cognizable only by the *Pontifices*. It was therefore referred to their Judgment, and they declared the Ceremony defective, and ordered it to be repeated a ſecond time. This they thought a neceſſary Precaution to fortify fearful Minds, which always imagined great Calamities would follow upon the leaſt Omiſſion, or Irregularity, though undeſigned, in the Ceremonies of Religion.

THE Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK XXXVIII.

§. I. LENTULUS was recalled, to preſide in the Great Elections. The *Centuries* were aſſembled in the *Campus Marcius*; but they were prevented giving their Suffrages, by two *Tribunes of the People*. Theſe were *M. Fulvius*, and *Manius Curius*; who ſhewed a great Zeal for the old Cuſtoms of the *Romans*, in chuſing *Conſuls*. Generally ſpeaking, it was not uſual at *Rome*, to raiſe any Perſons to this firſt Dignity, who had not firſt paſſed thro' the three *Curule* Magiſtracies, as previous Steps to it. Whereas two of the preſent Candidates for the *Conſulate*, had not appeared in the Poſts which were thought previouſly neceſſary for thoſe who would obtain it. In Confidence of their Merit, *Flamininus* and *Ælius* had put their Names among the Candidates; and the People inclined to favour them. The former was of a *Patrician* [1] Family, which we muſt take care not to confound with that [2] of the *Flaminii* which was *Plebeian*. The latter, named *Ælius*, had not only the Surname of *Pætus*, but likewiſe that of [3] *Catus*, which was given him on account of his Wit. Neither of them had yet been raiſed to the *Prætorſhip*; and [4] *Flamininus* had not even been *Ædile*. Beſides, he was too young, being but thirty Years of Age. The two *Tribunes of the People* therefore inſiſted, That theſe Defects were ſufficient to exclude them from the *Conſular* Dignity. *It is irregular*, ſaid they, *to promote Men to the higheſt Station, who have nothing to plead for them, but their Nobility, or great Talents. Who will concern himſelf about the* Ædileſhip, *and* Prætorſhip, *if theſe Offices are no longer made Steps to the* Conſulate? *Theſe inferior Magiſtracies train Men up for the ſuperior; and give them Opportunities to ſhew their Abilities for the ſupreme Dignity.* Theſe Words, which were not the Dictates of Paſſion, but of a ſincere Love for the publick Good, at leaſt ſuſpended the Elections for a time; and *Fulvius* and *Manius* often renewed their Oppoſition in the *Comitia*. Till at length, the Affair devolved on the Senate, who knew the Merit of the two Candidates. *Flamininus* had ſignalized himſelf in Arms from his earlieſt Youth. He had been *Legionary Tribune* under *Marcellus*, during the Wars with *Hannibal*. After the Recovery of *Tarentum*, he had been made Governour of that City, and its Diſtrict. Since that time, he had been *Quæſtor* at *Rome*. In all theſe Employments he had

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1 The *Quinctian* Family, from which *Flamininus* deſcended, was conſiderable among the *Patricians*, and had already furniſhed the Republick with ſome Great Men. Nevertheleſs, it is true that there was a *Plebeian* Family of that Name. *Cicero* ſpeaks of it, in his *Oration for Aulus Cluentius*; as *Livy* does, *B.* 24. *Lucius Quinctius*, the *Tribune of the People*, a Man of mean Extraction, was deſcended from it.

2 It is certain that *Plutarch*, or rather his Copyiſts, were miſtaken in the Surname of *Flamininus*, which they took to be the ſame Name as *Flaminius*. And the Abridger of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men*, falſly aſcribed to *Cornelius Nepos*, falls into a much greater Miſtake, when he affirms that *Titus Quinctius Flaminius*, as he calls him, was the Son of that *Flaminius*, who was killed at the Battel of the Lake *Thraſimenus*.

3 *Cicero*, *Tuſculan. B.* 1. ſpeaks with Advantage of this *Ælius*, and ſays he was a Man of conſummate Prudence. *Egregie cordatus homo Catus Ælius. Pomponius*, in his Book, *Of the Origin of the Civil Law*, ranks this Magiſtrate among the moſt ancient and moſt famous Civilians. Beſides his Commentary on *The Twelve Tables*, he alſo publiſhed a Body of Civil Law, which the *Romans* called *Jus Ælianum*. *Ælius*'s Family was *Plebeian*, as we have elſewhere obſerved.

4 One of *Quinctius*'s Anceſtors had probably diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſome Act of Religion, whilſt he was *Flamen*; and from thence had the Surname of *Flamininus*, which was continued in his Branch of the Family.

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diſtinguiſhed himſelf, ſometimes by his Courage, and ſometimes by his prudent Adminiſtration. And laſtly, his [5] Nobility was not the leaſt of his Qualifications; to which we may add, that he was naturally of a complaiſant inſinuating Temper, and well formed to obtain by Perſuaſion, what he could not have gained by Force. As for *Ælius*, he was known to be very expert in Buſineſs. He was not ſurnamed *Catus*, for nothing. There was a kind of Delicacy in his Prudence. Beſides, he had acquired the Reputation of a great Lawyer, and had perhaps then publiſhed his learned Commentaries on *The Twelve Tables*. The *Conſcript Fathers* therefore gave way to their Prepoſſeſſions in favour of two Candidates, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves ſo much in different Ways; and pronounced, *That the Election ought to be left to the free Suffrages of the People, ſince there was no Law yet in being, which preſcribed any Age, or made the* Ædileſhip *or* Prætorſhip *neceſſary, in order to obtain the* Conſulate. Whence it is certain, that *The* [6] *Leges Annales*, or *Annal Laws*, were not then paſſed; ſince only a Cuſtom [7], and that not a general one, obſtructed the Election of the two Candidates. In Obedience to the Decree, the *Tribunes* dropped their Oppoſition; and *T. Quinctius Flamininus*, and *Sext. Ælius Catus*, were elected, and proclaimed, *Conſuls*.

Year of *ROME* DLV. T. Quinctius Flamininus, Sext. Ælius Catus, Conſuls.

§. II. The firſt Buſineſs of the new Heads of the Republick, was to introduce into the Senate the Ambaſſadors of *Attalus*. The Affair they came to treat about ſeemed a very nice one. *Antiochus* King of *Syria* was, at bottom, an Enemy to the *Romans*; but he ſhewed them all manner of Reſpect, and preſerved all Appearances of Friendſhip. His Ambition was boundleſs. He had already extended his Schemes of Conqueſts to *Egypt*, *Greece*, and the Coaſts of *Aſia*. *Philip of Macedon* had, underhand, made a Treaty with him; but it was kept very ſecret. Their Fear of the *Romans* hindered both from making it known. Nevertheleſs, *Rome* was not impoſed upon by it. She ſaw thro' the Secret; but did not make known her Suſpicions. It was dangerous for her to draw upon herſelf ſo powerful an Enemy as the King of *Syria*, whilſt ſhe was at War with *Philip*. The Republick therefore waited to ſhew her Reſentments againſt *Antiochus*, till ſuch time as her War with *Macedon* ſhould be ended. Nevertheleſs, an urgent Occaſion preſented itſelf, for the *Romans* to act againſt the *Syrian*, and treat him as an Enemy. This Conqueror had very lately entered the Territories of *Attalus*, that faithful Friend to their Republick, Sword in hand; and the King of *Pergamus* ſent theſe Envoys to make Complaint of it to the Senate. The Ambaſſadors were admitted into the Houſe, and the Chief of them ſpoke thus: *You are not ignorant*, Conſcript Fathers, *with what Zeal the King my Maſter has maintained your Intereſts. His Fleet, and his Land Forces, have been continually fighting and conquering with you. Shall then the ambitious King of* Syria *hinder the* Pergamians *from doing what they earneſtly deſire, that is, join their Arms with yours? All their Countries are pillaged by the* Syrians, *and all their Ports inveſted by their Ships. If then you deſire that* Attalus *ſhould have a Share in your Victories, ſend ſome of your Troops to guard his Dominions. Or if not, give the King of* Pergamus *leave to carry back his own Fleet, to the Defence of his Country.* This was thought by the Senate to be a very reaſonable Propoſal; and their Reſentment againſt *Antiochus* was viſible. But nevertheleſs, they diſſembled it; and gave the Ambaſſadors of *Attalus* this wiſe Anſwer: Rome *is not ignorant of the Affection and good Offices of the King your Maſter; and ſhe will, at a proper Seaſon, both acknowledge and reward them.*

5 *Flamininus* gained himſelf great Reputation for Prudence, ſays *Plutarch*, when being *Decemvir*, he was ordered by the Senate to conduct two *Colonies* to the Cities of *Coſa* and *Narnia*.

6 We ſhall hereafter ſpeak of the famous *Annal* Law which *Lucius Villius*, the *Tribune of the People*, got paſſed, in the Year of *Rome* 572, ſay ſome; or 574, as others. And from hence, the Lawgiver and his Deſcendants had the Surname of *Annalis*. The Deſign of this Law was to fix a certain Age, before which it ſhould not be lawful, for the future, for any to enter upon the *Curule* Offices. This was the ſureſt Way to reſtrain the Ambition of Multitudes of Pretenders, who would not have been aſhamed to have canvaſſed for the Magiſtracies before they were well arrived at the Age of Manhood.

7 Before the Promulgation of *The Annal Laws*, ſays *Cicero*, *Philippic.* 5. Cuſtom had the Force of a Law. His Words are theſe: *Legibus enim annalibus cum grandiorem ætatem ad conſulatum conſtituebant, adoleſcentiæ temeritatem verebantur .... Itaque majores noſtri veteres illi admodum antiqui, Annales non habebant, quas multis poſt annis attulit ambitio, ut gradus eſſent petitionis inter æquales.* Nevertheleſs, the *Romans* did not ſcruple varying from this ancient Cuſtom, in certain Caſes, wherein the publick Good was concerned, and when the Services and great Qualities of the Competitor made it neceſſary, to deviate from it, in his Favour. This Hiſtory has already produced ſome Inſtances of it, and will produce more hereafter.

But as to the Succours you demand of us, it is with Concern that we find it out of our Power to grant them. Antiochus *is our Friend and Ally. And therefore we will not ſend you Succours to act againſt him. Neither will we indeed, on the other hand, forbid the King of* Pergamus *to carry back his Fleet to his Dominions. He is his own Maſter, and the Republick does not pretend to exerciſe a tyrannical Power over her Allies. All we can do in Favour of* Attalus, *is to ſend an Embaſſy to the King of* Syria, *to tell him, That it will be very grateful to us if he will ſpare the Dominions of the King of* Pergamus, *and put an End to the War: And this ſhall be done. Is it not juſt that the Allies of* Rome *ſhould live in the ſame Concord with one another, as they do with her?* And this Promiſe of the Senate was not deluſive; an Embaſſy was accordingly ſent; and *Antiochus*'s Reſpect for the *Roman* Name brought him to a Compliance. He withdrew his Troops from the Territories of the King of *Pergamus*; and *Attalus* ſent the *Romans* the uſual Succours, and aſſiſted them in Perſon, as before.

Year of ROME DLV. T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS, SEXT. ÆLIUS CATUS, Conſuls. *Livy, B.* 32. *c.* 8.

§. III. THE new *Conſuls* had not yet drawn Lots for their *Provinces*, but now they happened to be determined in ſuch a manner, as tended moſt to the Intereſt and Glory of the Republick. *Flamininus* had the Conduct of the War in *Macedon*, his Collegue that of the War in *Italy*. And as for the *Prætors*, the Juriſdiction in *Rome*, and the Care of guarding the neighbouring Cities, fell to *Cornelius Merula*; *Sicily*, to *Claudius* [8] *Marcellus*; *Gaul*, to *C. Helvius*; and *Sardinia* to *Cato*; who made ſo great a Shew of his Virtues, in his Government, that we cannot paſs them over in Silence. No Man ever put on a greater Air of Reformation than *Cato* did, in his Adminiſtration in *Sardinia*. He himſelf laid aſide all the Luxury and Pomp of his Predeceſſors. He neither demanded any fine Tents of the Iſlanders for Encampments, nor a numerous Train of Attendants, nor any valuable Furniture. His Table was frugal; and his Dreſs, and Manner of Life, plain and ſimple. He travelled on foot, attended with only one Domeſtick, who carried his Robe, and a little Veſſel for Libations. And after he had begun a Reformation with himſelf, *Cato* thought he was at Liberty to inſiſt rigorouſly on the Service of his Troops, and the regular Adminiſtration of the Cities under his Government. As he was ſevere to himſelf, he was rigid to others. Juſtice was adminiſtred with great Exactneſs; and the Governour was inflexible in the Puniſhment of Offenders. And what was the Conſequence? *Cato* cauſed the *Roman* Government to be both feared and beloved in *Sardinia*. In ſhort, he gave himſelf no other Relaxation and Amuſement, but that of hearing the Inſtructions of the Poet *Ennius* [9], whom he found in the Iſland, or rather [10] brought thither. Under this Great Maſter, *Cato* learnt the *Greek* Sciences, and perfected his fine Genius by Study. The *Prætor* baniſhed Uſurers from his *Province*, and reduced the Intereſt of Money almoſt to nothing.

Plut. Life of *Cato.*

BUT the *Prætorſhip* of *Marcellus*, in *Sicily*, had none of theſe Marks of Auſte-

[8] *Claudius Marcellus* went into *Sicily*, at the Head of four thouſand Foot, and three hundred *Latin* Horſe. The Republick aſſigned *Cato* three thouſand Foot, and two hundred Horſe. And theſe two Armies, which had been raiſed in *Latium*, were more than ſufficient for *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. Theſe two *Provinces* were ſubdued, and no longer in Danger of *Hannibal*'s Hoſtilities, ſince the Concluſion of the Peace between *Rome* and *Carthage*. So that the two *Prætors* no ſooner came to their *Provinces*, but they disbanded the old Troops, both Cavalry and Infantry, which had ſerved the Republick for ſome Years paſt.

[9] See what we have ſaid of *Ennius*, *Vol.* 3. *p.* 2. To which we ſhall here add, what *Cicero* has ſaid in Praiſe of this Poet, in ſeveral Parts of his Works, but eſpecially in his Piece entituled *Brutus*, and his Treatiſe *Of Old Age*. *Ennius*, ſays he, *was much ſuperior to* Nævius, *tho' he received Aſſiſtances from the Works of the latter, and borrowed ſeveral things from them. The Sublimity of his Genius, the Vivacity, and happy Sallies of Imagination which animate his Deſcriptions, and the ſublime Strokes that appear in his Images, do in a manner conceal the Roughneſs of his Verſification.* This Fault was pardonable, in an Age when the Rules of Diction were not yet known. The *Latin* Poetry was then, if I may ſo ſpeak, unformed, and in its Infancy. But if he had not the Honour of perfecting it, he had at leaſt the Glory of the Invention. Before his time, the *Muſes* were baniſhed to Foreſts, and Huts; but he found an honourable Retreat for them in *Rome*. Indeed we don't diſcover all Sorts of Elegancies in thoſe Fragments of his, which are conveyed down to us; but nevertheleſs, ſome of his Verſes are deemed worthy of the *Auguſtan* Age. *Virgil* himſelf is not aſhamed to adopt ſeveral. He thought them ſo many Pearls, which he had collected out of *Ennius*'s Traſh. *Horace*, *Ep.* 19. *B.* 1. ſays of this Poet, That he was fired with Poetic Fury, by *Bacchus* inſtead of *Apollo*.

Ennius ipſe pater nunquam niſi potus, ad arma
Proſiluit dicenda.

[10] *Ennius* ſpent Part of his Life in *Sardinia*. In the Beginning of this Year, he was about forty, having been born about the 514th Year of *Rome*, as we have obſerved, *Vol.* 3. *Cornelius Nepos* pretends that *Cato* ſtopped in *Sardinia*, after his *Quæſtorſhip* in *Africa* was expired, became acquainted with *Ennius* there, and brought him from thence to *Rome*. If ſo, it is certain he returned to that Iſland a ſecond time, with his Patron.

rity,

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Cic. in Verr. 4.

rity, which were ſo ſuitable to the former Times of Old *Rome*. He was exceeding well born; and needed no Affectation to recommend him. The Son of the Great *Marcellus* ſuffered all thoſe Honours to be paid him, which the *Sicilians* had decreed ſhould always be paid to his Family. The *Syracuſans* had inſtituted a Feſtival in Honour to *Marcellus*, called *Marcellæa*. They had alſo erected a Statue, in Memory of the Father of the new *Prætor*; and they now erected another in Honour to the Son, and denied him nothing that he asked of them. By which means, *Marcellus* was enabled to furniſh the *Roman* Armies in *Macedon* both with Cloaths, and Proviſions.

§. IV. As for *Flamininus*, he did not imitate his Predeceſſors, in delaying to ſet out for his *Province*, till his *Conſulſhip* was almoſt expired. He choſe rather to acquire himſelf a great Name there, than to enjoy the Pleaſures and Honours of his Dignity in the Capital. The Campaign was ſcarce begun in *Macedon*, when *Flamininus* arrived there, with his Brother, *L. Quinctius*, for whom he had gotten an extraordinary Commiſſion to command the Fleet. They ſet ſail from *Brundiſium*, and landed at the Port of *Corcyra*, with eight thouſand Foot, and eight hundred Horſe, all Men inured to War; whom the *Conſul* had choſen out of the Troops which had formerly ſerved in *Europe*, and *Africa*, under *Scipio*.

FLAMININUS appears, from this time, to have taken that Great Man for his Model. And it is certain, that if he did not equal him, he came very near him. Theſe two Generals were much alike for their Sweetneſs of Temper, and great Addreſs. They were alſo both Men of Valour, Probity, and good Breeding. Nevertheleſs it is certain, that the Conqueror of *Hannibal* as much ſurpaſſed the Conqueror of *Philip*, as the *Carthaginian* General did the King of *Macedon*. It may alſo be affirmed, that *Flamininus*'s Conduct was a little too ſtrict a Copy after that of *Scipio*; as will now appear, in the Progreſs and Concluſion of this War, which did not coſt the *Romans* ſo much as that of *Carthage*.

WHEN *Flamininus* landed, his Predeceſſor *Villius* had already begun the Campaign. So that the *Conſul* was forced to croſs a Part of *Epirus*, in order to take upon him the Command of the *Roman* Army. *Villius* did not expect to ſee his Succeſſor ſo ſoon in *Macedon*. He had judged of *Flamininus* by himſelf, and had taken it for granted, that he would not arrive till the latter Seaſon. It was therefore a Surprize to him, to hear of *Flamininus*'s Arrival, almoſt as ſoon as he had heard of his Election; and he was deprived of his Command, in the firſt Month in the Spring.

§. V. *PHILIP* was already come out of his Winter-Quarters; after having ſpent the Winter in Preparations and Negotiations. The Enemy he was engaged with, would give him no Reſt, by Sea, or Land. He could ſcarce confide in his *Macedonians*; and was yet more fearful of the Revolt of his Allies. But he reconciled both to him, by wiſe Precautions.

HERACLIDES [11], one of his Miniſters and Generals, was become odious to *Macedon*, and *Philip* had ſacrificed him to the Reſentments of his People. He was put in Irons, and kept cloſely confined in Priſon. *Achaia* had been attached to *Philip*; but ſhe had lately been diſobliged. Beſides, her Alliance with him was but for one Year. *Philip* had therefore ſent an Embaſſy to the *Achæans*, to enter into Engagements with them. He had reſtored them [12] *Orchomenos*, [13] *Heræa*, and *Triphylia*, which he had formerly appropriated to himſelf; and he had reſtored the [14] *Megalopolitans* the City of [15] *Aliphera*, to which they

Livy, B. 32. c. 5.

11 This *Heraclides*, by Birth a *Tarentine*, had inſinuated himſelf into *Philip*'s Favour; and by his pernicious Counſels, ſoon corrupted the good Inclinations of the young Prince. He abuſed his Credit with his Maſter, ſo as thereby to lead him into all Exceſſes; and this enraged the *Macedonians* againſt *Heraclides*, whom they knew to be the Author of all their Misfortunes.

12 The ancient Geographers mention two Cities, which were both called *Orchomenos*, one in *Bœotia*, the other in *Arcadia*. The Place where the former ſtood, is now called *Orchomeno*, according to *Pinet*. It anciently reduced the *Thebans* ſo low, as to force them to pay Tribute to this City; which was famous for *The Oracle of Tireſias*, the Fountain of *Acidalia* conſecrated to *Venus*, and the Temple erected in honour of *The Graces*, by *Eteocles*. The latter City of this Name, which is here ſpoken of, was like a Peninſula, being almoſt ſurrounded on all ſides by a Marſh; according to *Dion. Hal. B.* 1. *Strabo* ſays, that neither of theſe Cities was in being in his time.

13 See what we have ſaid of the Cities of *Heræa* and *Triphyllia*, Vol. 3.

14 *Megalopolis*, or as others, *Megalepolis*, was then the Capital of *Arcadia*. *Niger* calls it *Londario*; and *Sophian*, *Leontari*.

15 The City of *Aliphera* belonged to *Arcadia*. It is placed towards the Confines of *Elis*, on the Banks of the River *Alpheus*.

laid Claim [16]; and by theſe Means, he kept theſe Nations in his Alliance. The King had alſo diſciplined his Troops; and ſpent the Winter in exerciſing his own *Phalanxes*, and his Mercenaries. He had likewiſe, as ſoon as the Seaſon would permit, ſent *Athenagoras* with his Auxiliaries, and light-armed Soldiers, to take Poſſeſſion of the [17] narrow Paſſes of *Chaonia* [18], on the Weſtern Borders of *Epirus*; thereby to prevent the *Roman* Armies paſſing that way.

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AND, as his laſt Precaution, *Philip* in Perſon, with his beſt Troops, had pitched his Camp in a Place ſo fortified by Nature and Art, that it ſeemed to be beyond the Power of Valour itſelf to force it. On the Eaſtern Borders of *Macedon*, about ten *Stadia* from *Apollonia*, there was a River, which the Ancients called *Aoüs* [19], or *Æas*. It ran between two Mountains, one of which bore the Name of *Æropus*, and the other that of *Aſnaüs* [20]; in ſo narrow a Valley, that the Way between the Hills and the River was ſo ſtreight, that an Army could not have marched thro' it without Difficulty, tho' it had neither been fortified nor guarded. And in this Place *Philip* had choſen to pitch his Camp. He had pitched it on the *Æropus*, between inacceſſible Rocks, and had fixed his own Quarters on an Eminence, which was ſeen at a great Diſtance. As for the Paſs itſelf, he had ſet one of his Lieutenant-Generals to guard it; and to make it the more impregnable, had cut Trenches before it, built Towers, and erected *Balliſtæ* and *Catapultæ* to play on the Enemy.

§. VI. THIS was the Situation of *Philip*'s Camp, when *Villius* ſet out from *Corcyra*, to meet the Enemy. *Charops*, a great Man among the *Epirots*, was wholly in the Intereſt of the *Romans*; and he had given the *Pro-Conſul* an Account of the Place where the *Macedonians* were poſted. *Villius* marched that Way, and came at length within five thouſand Paces of the Enemy's Camp. There he left his *Legions*, and went in Perſon with a Guard to view the King's Entrenchments. The Paſſes which the *Macedonian* had ſeized, and the Preparations made in his Camp, terrified him; and he called a Council of War, to deliberate whether it would not be better to march a great Way about, and enter *Macedon* the ſame Way *Sulpicius* had done the laſt Year. The Officers were divided in Opinion; *Villius* continued ſome Days undetermined; and during this ſuſpence, he received Advice, that his Succeſſor was arrived at *Corcyra*, and would ſoon come and put himſelf at the Head of the Army.

ACCORDINGLY *Flamininus* made haſte to the *Roman* Camp; and came thither before the eight thouſand Foot, and eight hundred Horſe, which he had brought from *Italy* with him. As ſoon as he came, the new General took upon him the Command of the Troops, diſmiſſed [21] *Villius*, and held a Council of War. And then

16 In moſt Editions of *Livy*, we read *Eleis Alpheram*, inſtead of *Megalopolitis Alipheram*; as if *Philip* had reſtored *Aliphera* to the *Eleans*, and not to the *Megalopolitans*. Whereas, the King of *Macedon* was not at all concerned to put the *Eleans* in Poſſeſſion of this City, ſince they were entered into a Confederacy againſt him. *Pigonius* obſerved this, and therefore corrected the Text; and he makes *Livy* ſay, that *Philip* reſtored this City to the *Achæans*. But *Gronovius* rejects this Correction, and puts another in its room, which is better proved, and more agreeable to the Hiſtory. He thinks, and with Reaſon, that the Hiſtorian believed that *Aliphera* was reſtored to the *Megalopolitans*. *Livy* expreſly ſays. *B.* 28. that they claimed it as their Right, and a part of their Demeſns. Indeed, the *Eleans* had ſeized it, with the Aſſiſtance of the *Ætolians*. But ſome time after the King of *Macedon* beſieged it, and recovered it; And from that time, reſolved to reſtore it to its old Maſters. This the *Roman* Hiſtorian himſelf affirms, in the Book laſt quoted. By this means *Philip* gradually gained over the *Athenians* to him, they being united in Intereſt with the *Megalopolitans*.

17 Theſe Paſſes were at a little Diſtance from *Antigonia*, according to *Livy*. This City belonged to *Chaonia*. Several think it took its Name from *Antigonus* its Founder. Its true Situation is now unknown.

18 *Chaonia* is a little Province, now called *Canina*. See Vol. 3.

19 To this River, which *Strabo* calls *Aoüs*, the ancient Geographers give ſeveral other Names. *Ptolomy* gives it that of *Loüs*; *Appian* that of *Alorus*; *Pliny* and *Mela* that of *Æeas*; *Dio* that of *Avas*; *Sequeſter* that of *Aras*; and *Plutarch* that of *Anius*. It falls into the *Adriatick* Sea, above *Apollonia*. It is now called *Polina*. According to *Plutarch*, the River which ran between the two Mountains, was the *Apſus*, and not the *Aoüs*. Theſe two Rivers are near one another. The firſt, ſays that Author, is pretty like the *Pineus* in Figure and Rapidity. See above, *p.* 24. *Note* 54.

20 The *Æropus* and *Aſnaus* ſeem to have been two Branches of the *Pindus*, a famous Mountain in *Macedon*, or rather *Epirus*. It reaches from the Mountains anciently called *Acroceraunii*, to *The Streights of Thermopylæ*, that is the length of above a hundred thouſand geometrical Paces, from South-Eaſt, to North-Eaſt.

21 According to *Valerius of Antium*, *Villius* gained himſelf much Glory in his Campaign in *Macedon*. This General, according to him, after he had taken a Compaſs, that he might the more ſafely

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then it was a ſecond time debated, whether it was moſt proper to go to the Country of the *Daſſaretæ*, and enter *Macedon* from thence; or without marching ſo far about, force the Paſs which *Philip* had ſeized. The former was the ſafeſt, the latter the ſhorteſt, and moſt glorious Method. *Flamininus* conſidered, That if he took this great Compaſs, he muſt march a great Way from the Sea, and ſhould find it the more difficult to ſubſiſt his Army; and That if the King ſhould be obſtinately bent on continuing in this Paſs all the Year, the Campaign would be ſpent in ſuch Enterprizes, as could gain him but little Honour. And the *Roman* being a Man of Courage, and fond of Glory, he reſolved to drive the Enemy out of his formidable Entrenchments.

Liv. B. 32. c. 10.

The great Difficulty was, the manner of putting this Deſign in execution. Forty Days had been already ſpent, in obſerving the *Macedonian* Camp, and taking fruitleſs Meaſures to force it. The two Armies languiſhed away their time in Inaction, within ſight of each other; and the *Romans* had not yet been able to draw the King into the open Field. And this Reſpite gave *Philip* hopes of procuring a Treaty of Peace with *Rome*, through the Mediation of the *Epirots*. To this end he ſollicited the chief Magiſtrate of the *Epirot* Nation, to procure him an Interview with the *Conſul*. *Pauſanias* and *Alexander* (one *Prætor*, and the other *Maſter of the Horſe*, among the *Epirots*) complied with *Philip*'s Requeſt; and engaged *Flamininus* to give him an Interview. The two Generals came to the Banks of the narroweſt part of the *Aoüs*, and there had a Conference, with the River between them. *Flamininus* firſt offered his Pretenſions; and then it appeared with what Diſintereſtedneſs the *Romans* made War with *Macedon*. They demanded nothing for themſelves. All they asked was in favour of *Greece*. The *Conſul* only inſiſted, That *Philip* ſhould reſtore the *Greeks* all their Cities, which he kept in his Power, together with all the Effects he had taken out of their Cities, or Fields; and That their Loſſes ſhould be eſtimated by Arbitrators, and an Equivalent given them for them. *Philip*, on the other hand, did not refuſe to reſtore the *Greeks* all the Cities he had conquered from them; but made a Difficulty of giving up thoſe which his Father had taken from them, and which had fallen to him by Inheritance. And he conſented to ſubmit it to neutral Powers, to judge what Injuries he could have done the *Greeks*. To which the *Conſul* briskly replied, *That there was no Occaſion for any ſuch Arbitration; That all the Miſchief came from himſelf; and That as he had been the Aggreſſor, he ought to repair all Damages. What Cities then would you have me reſtore,* ſaid the *Macedonian? All Theſſaly*, anſwered the *Roman*. At which Words the King could no longer govern his Paſſion, but replied; *What more*, Conſul, *could you have demanded of me, if you had conquered me?* Which ſaid, he immediately broke off the Conference, and withdrew. Nay, he was ſtrongly tempted to play his Machines on *Flamininus*, and overwhelm him with Darts.

§. VII. The next Day Hoſtilities began. After ſeveral little Skirmiſhes between *Philip*'s advanced-Guards and the *Romans*, the latter, who had always repulſed them, tried to enter into the Paſſes. They had the Advantage in their Arms, which were more proper for attacking; but the Enemy had all the Advantage of the Ground. They were guarded by the Rocks, which covered and ſheltered them, as well as Parapets would have done. Their *Balliſtæ* and *Catapultæ* were of great uſe to them in repulſing the Aggreſſors. Many were wounded on both Sides, without any Advantage to either, from this firſt Attempt; and the Night put an end to the Action.

During theſe Tranſactions, *Charops*, the *Epirot*, always watchful to favour the *Romans*, ſent to the *Conſul* a Shepherd, who knew all the Paths and By-ways over the Mountains into *Macedon*. He had long kept the King's Flocks in theſe

ſafely ſurpriſe the *Macedonian* Troops, threw a Bridge over the *Aoüs*, paſſed it, and forced the Defile. Then the two Armies came to a Battel, and the Victory was gained by *Villius*. Twelve thouſand *Macedonians* were killed upon the Spot. He took two thouſand two hundred Priſoners of War; and *Philip* was forced to ſave himſelf by Flight. The *Romans* alſo took from the Vanquiſhed a hundred and thirty two Standards and two hundred Horſes. The *Conſul*, in the Heat of the Action, made a Vow to build a Temple to *Jupiter*, in caſe the Republick ſucceeded. But probably, *Valerius* had no better Authority for this, than a falſe Tradition; or took it from ſome apocryphal Memoirs. At leaſt, the *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, which *Livy* ſays he had read with great Care, all agreed, that nothing memorable happened in *Villius*'s *Conſulſhip*.

Countries

Countries; and he assured the *Roman* General, that if he would commit a Detachment to his Guidance, he would lead it in three Days to the Top of the Mountains. *Charops* had left the *Consul* at Liberty to trust the Guide he sent him, or not, as he pleased; and had not taken upon him to answer for the Success of the Expedition. *Flamininus* therefore hesitated for some time, between Hope, and Fear; but at length resolved to run the Hazard of the Attempt. He ordered the Shepherd to be led bound before the Detachment; and sent with him four thousand Foot and three hundred Horse, under the Command of a *Legionary Tribune*. Their Orders were to march only by Night (for the Moon was then at full) and to hide themselves by Day in the Holes and Cavities of the Rocks; and to kindle Fires, for Signals, as soon as they should be got to the Tops of the Mountains. In the mean time *Flamininus* amused the Enemy with frequent Skirmishes.

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Plut. Life of *Flamininus*.
Livy, *B.* 32. *c.* 11.

ON the third Day after the Departure of the Detachment, when no Body imagined it was come to the Place appointed, the *Consul* divided his Army into three Parts. With one he came and attacked the Enemy in the narrow Way, at the side of the River. The second crossed the Rocks towards the *Macedonian* Camp. And the third, with exceeding great Valour, climbed up the Ascent of the Mountain, over against the Camp, to drive thence the *Macedonians*, who guarded it. It must be owned, that the *Romans* acted rashly, in thus rushing into these Defiles, if they had not had Reason to depend on the Detachment guided by the Shepherd. However, the Battel was actually begun, when they saw the Smoke rising on the Hills; and that soon increasing, they from thence inferred, that the Stratagem had succeeded. Those in the Valley therefore fought with double Ardour; and those on the Mountain came down like a Torrent. They fell on the Flanks of the *Macedonian* Army, with a great Shout, which the Enemy did not hear, till the instant they felt their Blows. This therefore filled the *Macedonians* with Terror, and they fled. Their Troops were immediately put into Disorder, and their Camp abandoned; and had the Ground been more open and level, it would not have been difficult to have destroyed the whole Army. But the greatest part escaped cross the Rocks and Woods. The Enemy scarce lost more than two thousand Men in the Action. As for the King, he had no Regard to the Dignity of his Character, or the Example he ought to have shewn his Subjects. He was one of the first that fled; and after he had run five Miles, without looking behind him, he posted himself on a little Hill. There he halted; and finding that the Ways were so close and difficult, that the *Romans* could not pursue him farther, he sent some Officers into all the Roads to gather the Fugitives together, and bring them to him. So that his Troops were rallied; and after an inconsiderable Loss, [22] *Philip* retired to *Thessaly* for Refuge. However, the *Romans* had at least the Glory of having opened themselves a Way into the flat Country, Sword in Hand.

THIS Victory likewise produced other ill Consequences to *Philip*. Immediately after the Battel of the *Aoïs*, the *Ætolians* and the *Athamanes*, under the Conduct of *Amynander*, renewed their Ardour against the *Macedonians*. The former entered *Thessaly*, pretty near *Thermopylæ*, through the Defiles of [23] Mount *Oeta*, and posted themselves on the *Sperchius*, a [24] River which runs into *The* [25] *Maliac*

22 *Livy* makes the King of *Macedon* go to a Place which was then called *Pyrrhus's Camp*. It was in *Stymphalia*, a little Country of *Epirus*, which was bounded to the North, by the Territory of the *Atintanes*; and to the East, by that of *Pelagonia*. From thence he continued his Rout towards Mount *Lingus*, which is one of the Branches of Mount *Pindus*. He made great Marches thither, for fear of being pursued by the Conqueror; and he encamped there for some Days, being in suspence whether he should take the Road to *Macedon*, or that to *Thessaly*. After he had long been in doubt what to do, he determined for *Thessaly*; entered *Estiotis*; and first stopped at *Tricca*, a City on the Banks of the *Peneus*. This Place is to this Day called *Tricala*. There was a famous Temple in it consecrated to *Æsculapius*; in which were hung up several Pictures, representing the several Diseases, the Cure of which had been ascribed, by the Persons recovered from them, to the Power of this God. And some Authors pretend, that he was born in this City.

23 Mount *Oeta* (which the Moderns, and among others *Sophian*, call *Bunina*,) joined *The Streights of Thermopylæ*, and *The Maliac Gulph*, to the Southern Borders of *Thessaly*. It is exceeding high; and according to *Pliny*, bore excellent *Hellebore*, as well as the *Helicon*. This was the Place where Fable supposed that *Hercules* had burnt himself on a Funeral-pile.

24 The River *Sperchius* rises in Mount *Tymphrestus*, in the Country of the *Dryopes*, a People near *Thessaly*. After it has passed through the Canton of the *Æniaues*, it takes its Course towards *The Maliac*

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Liv. B. 32. *c.* 13.

[25] *Maliac Gulph.* Then they took *Cymines* and [26] *Angeæ* at the firſt Onſet; two Cities which lay between the *Enipeus* and the [27] *Apidanus*. From thence they advanced towards [28] *Callithera*, which ſhut her Gates againſt them. Nay, the Inhabitants made a Sally upon them, but being repulſed, retired within their Walls: And the *Ætolians*, content with their Victory, did not tarry to beſiege the Place in Form. They fell [29] on *Theuma*, and [30] *Calathana*, two Towns, which they took and pillaged. *Achorræ* [31] ſurrendered of its own accord; and the Inhabitants of [32] *Xiniæ* did not wait for the Arrival of the Conquerors. They abandoned their City, and marched towards *Thaumacia*, but unfortunately fell in with a Party of the *Athamanes*, who ſlew them all. *Xiniæ* was pillaged; and *Cyphara*, a Caſtle [33] of the *Dolopes*, ſurrendered to [34] the *Ætolians*. *Aminander* alſo on the other hand, made Conqueſts, and committed Ravages in *Theſſaly*. As he could little depend on the *Athamanian* Troops he commanded, he had obtained of the *Conſul* a Reinforcement of *Romans*. With this Army he took *Phacium* by Aſſault, a City ſituated between the Mountains, which ſeparate *Athamania* from *Theſſaly*. From thence he went up to *Gomphi*, a Place which he had wanted to ſubdue the laſt Year; made an Aſſault upon it; and ſtruck ſo much Terror into the Inhabitants, that they now ſurrendered at Diſcretion. Then this Conqueſt was followed by many others. *Argenta* [35], *Pherinum*, *Thimarum*, *Liſinæ*, *Stymon*, and [36] *Lampſus*, ſurrendered to the King of the *Athamanes*. So that the unfortunate *Theſſalians*, on the South-ſide of the Country, fell a Prey to the two Nations in Alliance with *Rome*. At the ſame time another Conqueror was alſo approaching, and would ſoon enter this Region, which was the fineſt and moſt fertile Country of any in *Greece*.

§. VIII. *FLAMININUS*, followed by his victorious *Legions*, had taken his Rout through *Epirus*, in purſuit of the King of *Macedon*; and then the *Greeks* were made ſenſible of the Difference, between the Humanity and prudent Diſcipline of the *Romans*, and the brutal Cruelty of the *Macedonians*. The latter had given *Flamininus* a very different Character from what he deſerved. *He is a Barbarian*, ſaid they, *who is come into your Country, only to pillage your Cities, and ſack your Provinces. Avarice and Cruelty attend him. His Deſign is to carry a great Number of Slaves from* Greece, *to people* Italy, *his own Country; and you will ſoon ſee your Wives and Children loaded with Chains, by this mercileſs Robber.* The *Greeks* were therefore much ſurpriſed, to ſee a *Conſul*, in the Flower of his Age, of an agreeable Perſon, and ſweet Air, who ſpoke *Greek* with Eaſe and Elegance, uſing his Victories with Moderation, and captivating their Affections by his Deportment. Beſides, the Conference between *Flamininus* and *Philip*, on the Banks of the *Aous*, was divulged; and by it the People were convinced, that *Rome* was not an Enemy to *Greece*, but was only acting againſt the *Macedonian*, in favour of the *Greeks*. And as the *Conſul* paſſed through *Epirus*, he confirmed the People, in the favourable Prejudices they had imbibed of him; and removed the Fears the *Macedonians* had given them. His Army marched through Places far diſtant from the Sea; and he found it difficult to get his Proviſions brought ſo far to him. He could not make the uſual Diſtribution of Corn among his Soldiers;

Maliac Gulph, into which it diſcharges itſelf, near a City and Promontory, which the Ancients call *Sperchia*, from the Name of the River. The City, according to ſome Moderns, is now called *Ftelia*; others call it, *Fiteleo*. As for the *Sperchius*, *Sophian* thinks it the ſame River which is now called *Agriomela*. Some diſtinguiſh it by the Name of *Selambria*.

25 See Vol. 3. of *The Maliac Gulph*, now *The Gulph of Zeiton*.

26 There are now no Footſteps remaining of theſe two Cities.

27 The *Apidanus*, after it has joined the *Enipeus*, runs into the *Peneus*. It riſes in Mount *Pindus*. It is now called *Epideno*, according to *Father Briet*.

28 *Callithera* joins the Plains of *Pharſalia*, to the Eaſtern Banks of the *Apidanus*.

29 *Theuma* is thought to be the ſame Place as *Thauma*, a City in *Eſtiotis*, between *Angeæ* and *Tricca*.

30 *Calathana*, or as others, *Calatharna*, lay Eaſtward on the Banks of the *Peneus*, at an equal Diſtance from *Metropolis* and *Tricca*.

31 *Achorræ* belonged to *Eſtiotis*. It lay a little more South than *Calatharna*, and almoſt upon the ſame Line, pretty near the *Peneus*.

32 We find the City of *Xiniæ*, South of that of *Angeæ*, near Mount *Pindus*.

33 Some place the Country of the *Dolopes* in *Epirus*, others in *Theſſaly*. All we are ſure of is, that theſe three Countries bordered on one another. *Ortelius* calls this Canton *Onoblacha*.

34 The *Ætolians* had appeared before *Metropolis*, a City of *Theſſaly*, on the Weſt-bank of the *Apidanus*. Whilſt they were buſy in ravaging the neighbouring Plains, the Inhabitants ran to Arms, and attacked the Pillagers. This unexpected Attack ſo diſordered the *Ætolians*, that they could not form themſelves, but fled, and made no more Attempts on that City.

35 All theſe Cities belonged to *Theſſaly*. But we cannot give any certain Account of their Situations.

36 *Lampſus* ſtood on the Weſtern Borders of *Eſtiotis*, South of *Gomphi*, and near the Springs of the *Peneus*.

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nor did the Victuallers attend him. But notwithſtanding theſe Inconveniencies, the *Legions* ſpared this fruitful Country. Tho' none of the little Sovereigns of it, except *Charops*, had been ſteady in Affection to the *Romans*; yet the *Conſul* behaved himſelf with ſuch Prudence among them, that he ſecured their Affection ever after. They compared the Abſtinence and Frugality of the *Romans*, with the Violence and Greedineſs of the *Macedonians*. After the Loſs of the Battel, the King had led them croſs the Chain of Mountains which divides *Epirus* from *Theſſaly*. This fine Country was almoſt entirely ſubject to him. Nevertheleſs, he deliberated whether he ſhould tarry here, or retire into his Kingdom of *Macedon*. At length, he arrived near *Tricca*, and there began his Ravages. He lived upon his own Subjects, as if he had been in an Enemy's Country. He took out of the Cities 37, all the Inhabitants that were able to follow him; burnt the Towns; gave the *Theſſalians* leave to carry with them as many of their Effects as they could; and let his Soldiers pillage the reſt. Indeed theſe Cruelties gave *Philip* himſelf Uneaſineſs; but being under a Neceſſity of abandoning *Theſſaly* to the *Romans*, he choſe to leave them Maſters of a pillaged and deſolate Country. As for himſelf, he drew near to *Macedon*, with his Troops, to cover it.

FLAMININUS was yet paſſing thro' *Epirus*, with ſurprizing Order and Diſcipline. That he might not want Neceſſaries, he ordered his Tranſports to leave *Corcyra*, and advance towards *The Gulph of Ambracia* 38, from whence he could more eaſily bring his Proviſions. His Army halted on 39 Mount *Cercetius*. He deſired *Amynander* to come thither; not that he wanted his Troops to reinforce his own; but he hoped to have him for his Guide, to conduct him into *Theſſaly*. And with this Deſign a great Number of *Epirots* followed the *Roman* Army, and offered to ſerve the *Conſul* as Voluntiers, among the Auxiliaries. Wherever he came, the *Epirots* ran to meet him, and were ſincerely in his Intereſt. With this numerous Body, *Flamininus* entered *Theſſaly*. The firſt City he attacked 40 was *Phaleria*, ſituated on the Banks of the 41 *Peneus*. It was a ſtrong Place; *Philip* had left there two thouſand *Macedonians* in Garriſon; and theſe brave Men made all the Reſiſtance that could have been expected from Men determined to die in Defence of the Ramparts. But on the other hand, the *Conſul* thought himſelf very nearly concerned, both in Intereſt and Honour, not to fail of taking a City, on which depended the Conqueſt of all *Theſſaly*; and his Conſtancy prevailed over that of the Beſieged. He attacked the Place, Day and Night; and carried it: And this Conqueſt ſtruck Terror into the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Cities. Thoſe of *Metropolis*, and 42 *Piala*, came and ſubmitted to the Conqueror; who gave them their Cities, and their Liberty. But that was not the Caſe of *Phaleria*. *Flamininus* firſt gave it up to be plundered by his Sol-

Plut. Life of *Flamin.* *Liv.* B. 32. c. 15.

37 *Philip* ravaged the Cities of *Phanium*, *Ireſiæ*, *Eubydrium*, *Eretria*, and *Palæphatus*, which were all in his Rout. The Goods of the Inhabitants, and the Fields, were all abandoned to the Avarice of the *Macedonian* Soldiers. The firſt of theſe Cities ſtood on the Eaſt Bank of the *Peneus*, in *Pelaſgiotis*. The ſecond is thought to be the ſame that *Ptolomy* calls *Ileſium*; which bordered on Mount *Olympus*. *Eubydrium*, a City in the ſame Country, ſeems to have taken its Name from the excellent Waters its Territory produced. *Eretria* had been built at the Head of the River *Enipeus*, which firſt falls into the *Apidanus*, and afterwards into the *Peneus*. As for the City of *Palæphatus*, we are ignorant of its Situation; the Ancients ſay nothing of it. Some have ſuppoſed, That the Copyiſts, by no uncommon Miſtake, have put *Pelæphatus*, for *Palæpharſalus*; which was the ancient Name given to *Pharſalia*, a City of *Phthiotis*, in *Theſſaly*: *Strabo* gives it that Name. The City of *Phera*, was the only one that ſhut its Gates againſt the King of *Macedon*, and put itſelf into a Poſture of Defence. *Philip* therefore, forced to give way to the Valour of its Inhabitants, paſſed by it. The Fear of a purſuing Enemy would not ſuffer him to ſtop. The City of *Phera* lay Weſt of *Demetrias* in *Theſſaly*, and South of the Lake *Babe*. *Leunclavius* calls it *Fere*; and *Brietius*, *Sidero*. The *Turks*, according to *Nardus*, call it *Jenifar*. It had been the Reſidence of King *Admetus*, ſo renowned in Fable. It afterwards became ſubject to the Tyrant *Alexander*. *Stephen of Byzantium* mentions two Cities of this Name, an *Old*, and a *New*, which were eight *Stadia* from each other.

38 The City of *Ambracia*, in *Epirus*, gave Name to the Gulph now called *The Gulph of Larta*. See the preceding Volumes.

39 *Pliny the Naturaliſt* mentions Mount *Cercetius*, in *Theſſaly*. *Stephens the Geographer* places near it an ancient City, called *Pialia*, which ſtood in the extreme Parts of *Theſſaly*, to the Side of *Pelagonia*. So that it's probable this Mountain divided the two Countries.

40 *Phaleria* ſeems to be the ſame Place as *Phalara*, on the Weſtern Borders of *Eſtiotis*. There were two Cities of this Name in *Theſſaly*. The firſt, juſt now ſpoken of, was near *Epirus*; the ſecond, which ſtood on the Eaſtern Borders of that Province, was near *The Maliac Gulph*.

41 The River *Peneus*, formerly ſo famous among the Poets, after it has run thro' a Part of *Theſſaly*, from Weſt to Eaſt, falls into *The Thermaic Gulph*. It is now called *Selampria*. *Strabo* and *Stephens the Geographer* ſay that it was alſo called *Araxes*.

42 Inſtead of *Pialia*, or *Piala*, we read in *Livy*, *Piera*; but *Sigonius*, and many Moderns, think both theſe Names belonged to the ſame City.

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diers, and then reduced it to Aſhes. From thence, he came and fell on 43 *Æginium*, a City impregnable by its Situation. The *Conſul* viewed it, and only threw ſome Darts at the Advanced Guard, and continued his March into the Territory of *Gomphi*. There his Proviſions began to fail him; but the General ſupplied himſelf with great Plenty of Corn from his Ships, which were arrived in *The Gulph of Ambracia*. *Flamininus* ſent from his Camp ſeveral Detachments of *Legionaries*, who by turns guarded his Convoys thro' a Road which was bad indeed, but not long. By this means there was, in a few Days, a very great Plenty in the *Roman* Camp. Then the Army left the Territory of *Gomphi*, and fell down on *Atrax* 44, a City of *Pelaſgiotis*, at a little Diſtance from the River *Peneus*, and ten Miles from *Lariſſa*. The Preſence of the *Romans* was very agreeable in *Theſſaly*. *Philip* only was hated there, and durſt not appear there with his Troops. He had therefore contented himſelf with cantoning them in the fineſt, but ſmalleſt Part of this large Country; which was the famous *Valley of Tempe*, ſo much celebrated by the Poets, for its delightful Hills, and cool Groves. And from thence the King of *Macedon* ſent Succours to the Cities which the *Romans* ſollicited to revolt, or had a Mind to take by Force.

§. IX. While *Flamininus* was bringing the Northern Part of *Theſſaly* into Subjection to his Republick, his Brother, whom he had, by his Intereſt, made Admiral of the *Roman* Fleet, was ſignalizing himſelf on the Coaſt. In Imitation of *Scipio*, the *Conſul* had choſen *L. Quinctius* for his Second; as *Africanus* had formerly carried with him his Brother, and his Friend *Lælius*, in his *Spaniſh* and *African* Expeditions. Young *Quinctius* came firſt to *Corcyra*, with two *Quinqueremes*. Then he took *Apuſtius*'s Place, at the Iſland of 45 *Sama*, and commanded his Ships. He had a great deal of Difficulty to double *The Cape of Malea* with his Tranſports, which he towed along. But he himſelf ſailed before with three *Quinqueremes*, and landed at the Port of *Piræeus*, where *Apuſtius* had left the reſt of his Fleet, to defend *Athens*. Soon after this, *Attalus*'s Ships, to the Number of twenty four, and the twenty Galleys of the *Rhodians*, under the Command of *Ageſimbrotus*, arrived from *Aſia*. The three Fleets joined, near the Iſland of *Andros*; and from thence ſailed on together towards *Eubœa*. This was no long Paſſage; and they firſt made Deſcents at the End of the Iſland, and ravaged the Country of the *Caryſtii*. When the latter had received Reinforcements from *Chalcis*, the Fleets ſailed for *Eretria* 46, a City near the *Euripus*; and the *Romans* and their Allies purſued the Siege of it with Vigour. They landed the Machines they had brought in the Ships for the Attack; and built new ones of the Wood which they found in great Plenty in the Iſland. As for the Inhabitants, tho' they defended themſelves well enough at firſt; yet when greater Numbers of them were wounded, and they ſaw Part of their Walls beaten down, they were for capitulating. But they were not ſtrongeſt in their own City. The *Macedonian* Garriſon were againſt ſurrendering the Place; and they were as formidable within, as the *Romans* were without. Beſides, *Philocles*, the Governour of *Chalcis*, was continually ſending Meſſengers to the *Eretrians*, and aſſuring them, That he would ſend them Succours in time, if they would prolong the Siege; and this Hope animated them to do more than was for their Intereſt. This *Philocles* at length appeared, and was driven back to his City of *Chalcis* by the Beſiegers. Then the Inhabitants of *Eretria* ſent Deputies to *Attalus*, earneſtly preſſing him to accept of a Capitulation. But whilſt they were kept in Suſpence, and were employing all their Soldiers in guarding the Places where the Breach was made, *Quinctius*, in the Night, ſcaled that Part of the Wall, which was left defenceleſs. So that the

43 A City of *Æginium*, which *Strabo* ſays belonged to *Illyricum*, ſtood on the Confines of *Epirus* and *Theſſaly*.

44 In the old Text of *Livy* it is ſaid, that *Flamininus* took his Rout towards *Rhages*; but *Gronovius* not being able to find any Traces of this City, he has ſubſtituted another in the room of it, which is better known to the ancient Geographers, by the Name of *Atrax*.

45 *Sama* is one of the Iſlands which were anciently called *Echinades*; and are now called *Curſolari*. In ſeveral Editions we read *Zama*, inſtead of *Sama*; but we know of no Iſland of *Zama*, in the *Ionian* Sea.

46 We have above ſpoken of *Eretria*, a City of *Phthiotis*. The new Maps give it the Name of *Vatia*. We muſt take care not to confound it with the City here ſpoken of. The latter was on the Coaſt of *Eubœa*; and is the Place the Moderns call *Rocho*. It was one of the moſt conſiderable Places in the Iſland. *Strabo*, *B.* 10. ſays it was built by the *Athenians*; and *Brietius* contends that it ſtill preſerves its ancient Name.

City was taken by Aſſault; all the Townſmen, with their Wives and Children, retired to the Citadel; and ſoon after ſurrendered at Diſcretion. The Conquerors found not much Gold or Silver in the Place. The Riches of the Inhabitants conſiſted in Statues, Pictures valuable for their Art and Antiquity, and other Ornaments of that Kind. *Eretria* was overſtocked with them, in Proportion to its Grandeur, and other Riches.

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AFTER this, the Fleets returned to *Caryſtus*, and only ravaged its Territory. All things were got ready for beſieging the City; but the People fled for Refuge into the Citadel; and from thence ſent a Deputation to the *Roman* General, offering to ſubmit to him. *Quinctius* gave the *Caryſtii* their Lives and Liberty: but he condemned the *Macedonian* Garriſon to pay three hundred *Seſterces per* Head, for their Ranſom; to march out of the City without their Arms; and to get themſelves tranſported to *Bœotia*. Theſe ſucceſsful Expeditions in *Eubœa*, leſſened the Power of the *Macedonian* there, in a few Days; and then the Confederate Fleets doubled *The Cape of Sunium*, entered *The Saronic Gulph*, and appeared before *Cenchrea*, one of the Ports of *Corinth*.

§. X. THE *Conſul* was already come from *Theſſaly*, with all his *Legions*, and was laying Siege to this proud City, which held out for *Philip*. The Deſign was great; and if it had ſucceeded, would have almoſt equalled *Flamininus*'s Glory to that of *Scipio*. But the Time for the Deſtruction of *Corinth* was not yet come. However, the two Brothers carried on the Siege, one by Land, and the other by Sea, with Vigour; and the Port of *Cenchrea*, which paſſed for a City, or at leaſt for one of the Ports of *Corinth*, was taken by the Marines. From the main Body of the Place, *Flamininus* found a greater Reſiſtance than he had expected. He had flattered himſelf, that as ſoon as he had made a Breach in the Walls, he ſhould enter it Sword in hand, and immediately put an End to the Siege, by the Slaughter of the Inhabitants, or by forcing them to ſurrender. But he found, that a Company of Brave Men, when ſurrounded with Ramparts, have ſometimes more Reſources than one. The Breach was made with the *Rams*, and nothing remained, but to mount it. The Garriſon of *Corinth* conſiſted of ſome of the choiceſt of the *Macedonian* Troops, and of thoſe *Roman* Deſerters who had formerly ſurrendered themſelves up to *Hannibal*; and whoſe Eſcape he had ſecured, when he was ready to make Peace with *Rome*. The latter had therefore nothing to expect from the *Romans*, but the utmoſt Severity; and deſpairing of Favour, they choſe to die, Sword in hand. But they did not range themſelves on the Ramparts, to drive the Enemy from thence. They choſe rather to make the City the Field of Battel. They drew up in good Order, as in a Plain, deſigning to fight a regular Battel there. On one Side, the Beſiegers appeared in the Breach; on the other, the *Macedonians*, formed into a *Phalanx*, oppoſed, and repulſed them. The *Conſul* imputed this Diſadvantage to the Diſorder the Ruins of the Wall cauſed among his *Legionaries*; and therefore cleared the Way, and advanced a *Moveable Tower*, full of Soldiers, *Balliſtæ*, and *Catapultæ*. His Deſign in this was to throw Darts and Stones at the *Phalanx* drawn up behind the Breach. But an unexpected Accident prevented the Machine's having its due Effect. One of its Wheels ſunk deep into the Earth, which was very ſoft, and the Tower inclined to one Side. The Accident made the Beſieged laugh, and raiſed their Courage. The *Legionaries* immediately came down from the Tower, and proceeded to the Attack; but they were unequally engaged. The *Macedonians* levelled againſt them their long Pikes, with which the *Phalanx* was well provided; and it was difficult to come near them without being run thro' by them. Indeed the *Romans* with their Swords cut off the Tops of ſome of theſe armed Poles; but the broken Shafts were ſufficient to keep them at a Diſtance. Beſides, the Breach was narrow, and many of the *Romans* could not enter it together. Then the *Conſul*, ſeeing that nothing ſucceeded, was diſheartened, and reſolved to retreat. He was afraid, that ſuch Attacks would make his Soldiers too ſenſible of the Advantage the *Macedonian* Arms gave their Enemies over them. This might have been enough of itſelf to have diſcouraged them. *Flamininus* therefore raiſed the Siege.

Liv. B. 32. c. 18.

ALL that now remained for the *Conſul* to do, was to chuſe his Winter Quarters. All the Country round *Corinth* was ruined by the Wars. Beſides, it was difficult to bring Proviſions ſo far. There was no Port on the Coaſts of *Ætolia* and

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and *Acarnania*, large enough to hold all the Tranſports which ſupplied the Army with Proviſions. Nor was there any City large enough to furniſh Quarters for his Soldiers and Seamen. *Flamininus* therefore choſe to paſs the Winter in *Phocis*. He thought the City of *Anticyra* the moſt proper of any, to receive his Fleet, and lodge his Troops. It ſtood on *The Gulph of Corinth*, and was not far, either from *Ætolia*, or *Theſſaly*. Then the *Conſul* turned his Arms towards *Phocis*. *Phanotea* 47 was taken upon the firſt Aſſault. *Anticyra* ſurrendered, after a ſlight Defence. 48 *Ambryſus* and *Hyampolis* became eaſy Conqueſts. *Daulis* 49 alone was defended by its Situation. As it ſtood on an Eminence, it was difficult to ſcale the Walls, or bring Machines up to them. The *Romans*, however, threw ſome Darts on the Advanced-Guards, who covered the Neighbourhood of the City; and this Inſult enraged the *Daulians*. They attempted to make a Sally; but were ſo briskly repulſed, that the *Romans* entered the City in the Crowd with them. All *Phocis* was in a Conſternation. Nevertheleſs, *Elatia* 50 ſhut her Gates againſt the Conquerors. The *Conſul* blocked it up; and whilſt he was thus ſlightly engaged before the Place, formed a Scheme which might have ruined *Philip*'s Affairs in *Greece*.

§. XI. *ACHAIA* was, till that time, entirely devoted to the *Macedonian* Party. One *Cycliades* had engaged his Nation to the King of *Macedon*, and by his Intereſt inclined them to favour him. *Cycliades* was a Tyrant, whom *Philip* ſupported in his Power; and the Uſurper being under the Protection of ſo great a Prince, he rendered his Yoke inſupportable to his People. Till at length, the *Achæans* freed themſelves, expelled *Cycliades*, and put the Government into the Hands of *Ariſtenes*, a Man well affected to the *Romans*, and watchful of any Occaſion to bring *Achaia* into an Alliance with *Rome*. The *Conſul* therefore ſeized this Opportunity, which he thought a very good one, to gain *Achaia*; but left the Execution of the Deſign to his Brother. And young *Quinctius*, who continued at *Cenchrea*, and was in a continual Readineſs to renew the Siege of *Corinth*, managed the Affair with Dexterity. He ſent a Deputation to the *Achæans*, and attacked them on their weak Side. *Corinth* and its Territory had anciently belonged to *Achaia*; and he promiſed them that he would oblige the *Corinthians* to ſubmit again to their Juriſdiction. It ſeemed to be an Affair that required Diſpatch; but the Minds of the *Achæans* were divided between *Philip* and the *Romans*. In order therefore to make the ſtrongeſt Impreſſions on this timorous People, Deputies were ſent, with the *Roman* Ambaſſadors, from *Attalus*, the *Rhodians*, and the *Athenians*. The *Achæans* aſſembled their Diet at *Sicyon* to hear them; and then the Uncertainties of a wavering Mind appeared in the ſtrongeſt Light. The *Achæans* were afraid of the *Romans*; but at the ſame time both loved and dreaded *Philip*. The Reduction of *Corinth* was indeed a powerful Attractive; but on the other hand, the *Macedonian* had always done *Achaia* important Services; and it was dangerous to provoke him. Beſides, they were very unwilling to draw upon themſelves *Nabis*, the formidable Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, who had ſo openly declared for *Philip*. So that their Fears for the preſent, their uneaſy Apprehenſions of what might afterwards happen, and their Gratitude for paſt Benefactions, kept them in Suſpence. Theſe were the Diſpoſitions of the *Achæans*, when the Ambaſſadors were introduced into the Diet. The King of *Macedon* had ſent an Ambaſſador to it, named *Cleomedon*, whoſe Intrigues and Intereſt in the Country *Rome* had Reaſon to fear. *L. Calpurnius*, who ſpoke for the *Romans*, was firſt heard; after him, the Envoys from *Attalus*, and the *Rhodian* Miniſter; and then *Cleomedon* appeared in his Turn. What the latter ſaid in Favour of *Philip* raiſed the Attention of the Diet; but the Deputies from *Athens*, who ſpoke laſt, endeavoured to efface the Prejudices *Cleomedon* had raiſed. The *Athenian* ſpoke with a great deal of Spirit, and bitterly inveighed againſt the King of *Macedon*; who had indeed uſed the *Athenians* worſe than any other People. All theſe different Pretenſions ſtated and defended with Eloquence, divided the *Achæans* more than

Liv. B. 32. *c.* 19.

47 *Phanotea* was called *Panopea*, in the moſt ancient Times, according to *Strabo*.

48 The City of *Ambryſus* was near *Bœotia*, as well as *Hyampolis*. The latter is now called *Iumboli*.

49 *Daulis*, called by others *Daulia*, ſtood near *Ambryſus* and *Panopea*, on the right Bank of the *Cephiſus*.

50 *Elatia*, or *Elatea*, was one of the chief Cities of *Phocis*. See *Vol.* 3.

ever.

ever. It grew late, and the Sun being near ſetting, the Seſſions which had laſted the whole Day, broke up.

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THE next Day the Diet aſſembled again; and the foreign Miniſters were not admitted into it. Only the Deputies of the *Achæan* Cities were aſſembled to give their Opinions, and come to ſome final Reſolution. An Herald, according to the Cuſtom of the *Greeks*, invited thoſe to ſpeak who had a Right of Voting; and they all looked upon one another, and continued ſilent. Not that the *Greeks* were not great Haranguers; or that there were no Orators in the Aſſembly. The Importance of the Affair, the Danger of offering bold Advice, and the many Difficulties that occurred, were what occaſioned this long Silence. And they who ſpoke afterwards, only repeated what the foreign Ambaſſadors had ſaid, and ſtarted new Difficulties. No one durſt pronounce, in ſo perplexed an Affair. Till at length *Ariſtenes*, being impatient to ſee ſo many Deputies of his Nation hold their Peace ſo long, and Preſident of the Aſſembly, addreſſed himſelf to them in this manner. Achæans, *What is become of that Freedom of Speech which you uſe in private Converſation, ſometimes contending for* Philip *againſt the* Romans, *and ſometimes for the* Romans *againſt* Philip? *How deciſive are you in private, how undetermined in our Aſſemblies! Cannot even your Inclinations for one, or the other Party, extort a Word from you? Can you be ignorant of what Importance it is, for every one to ſpeak his Mind freely, and for all to conſider well before we give our Anſwer? But when we have once determined, we muſt adhere to our Reſolution, whether agreeable to our private Opinions, or not.* But even this Speech of *Ariſtenes* did not make the Aſſembly at all the more ready to explain themſelves. Not a Murmur, or Whiſper, was heard, among all theſe Men, who were aſſembled from ſo many different Cities, and ſo were different in Inclination. *Ariſtenes* therefore aſſumed the Diſcourſe, and went on thus. Achæans, *you neither want Tongues, nor Prudence. But I plainly ſee, that every one is afraid of running the Hazard of offering Advice, which cannot pleaſe ſome, without diſpleaſing others, and the Succeſs of which is uncertain. And I ſhould perhaps follow your Example myſelf, if it was lawful for me to be ſilent, in the Place which I fill. But, to my Misfortune, you have placed me at the Head of your Aſſembly; and certainly, ſince we have introduced two foreign Ambaſſadors here, we are indiſpenſably obliged to give them an Anſwer. But what Anſwer can I give them, if you don't authorize me to give any? And ſince then none of you will, or dares ſay, what is his own Opinion, let us conſider the Speeches made by the Ambaſſadors Yeſterday, as ſo many different Opinions offered us, with a Deſign to perſuade us to purſue what they think is for our Intereſt, and without Regard to their own. On one ſide,* Rome, Attalus, *and* Rhodes, *ſollicite our Friendſhip, and think it reaſonable that we ſhould aſſiſt them againſt* Philip. *On the other hand,* Philip *preſſes us to remember his paſt Services, and the Oaths by which we have bound ourſelves to him, but deſires only that we would ſtand neuter. Can no Man then perceive, why they who are not Allies, ſhould demand more of us, than he who is? This does not proceed either from* Philip's *being over modeſt, or the* Romans *impudent. The Truth is,* Philip *has no Fleet; and our Ports are expoſed to Invaſions by the* Roman *Fleet, which is not far off. It has been victorious in* Eubœa, *and now rides at Anchor in the Neighbourhood of* Corinth. *And there is only an Arm of the Sea between us and the Army of the* Conſul, *who has already ſubdued the* Phocæans, *and the* Locri. *Has not then* Achaia *great Reaſon to be afraid?* Cleomedon *himſelf ſeems to have been very ſenſible of this, by his not requiring us to take up Arms in favour of* Philip. *He was apprehenſive that we would demand Succours of him, to protect us againſt the* Roman *Armies which inveſt us; and he knew, that no Succours were to be had from his Maſter. Experience has but too plainly ſhewn us, how fruitleſs our Alliance with* Philip *has been to us. Did he defend us againſt the Ravages which* Nabis *and his* Lacedæmonians *committed in our Territories? And indeed,* Cleomedon's *Speech ſeems not to be very conſiſtent. If, as he pretends, the* Roman *Army is no more conſiderable now than in the former War with* Philip; *whence was it that* Philip *could not reſiſt the Arms of* Flamininus *in* Theſſaly? *For if the* Macedonian *Army be as formidable as* Cleomedon *repreſents it; how came it to be routed by the* Conſul, *in the Defiles of the* Aoüs? *And can a Prince, who is not able to defend his Allies, expect that they ſhould continue in his Alliance? Our Fears*

Livy, B. 32. c. 22.

Livy, ibid.

Livy, B. 32. c. 21.

Livy, ibid.

Livy, ibid.

Livy, ibid.

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force us to deſert him; and he has no Reaſon to complain of it? A Macedonian *Army could not reſiſt the* Romans; *how then can we weak* Achæans? *When the* Romans *were engaged in the* Punic *War,* Philip *was indeed more formidable to* Greece, *than he is now. But it is not our Buſineſs, in point of Prudence, to regulate our Conduct by the paſt, but the preſent State of Affairs.* Rome *then only ſent the* Ætolians *Succours. But now all the* Roman *Forces are come to fall upon* Macedon *and her Allies. Three* Conſuls *have already appeared in our Countries. So that* Rome *purſues the War here with Vigour.* Sulpicius *ſtruck Terror into* Macedon *itſelf.* Flamininus *has juſt defeated* Philip *at the Entrance into* Epirus; *has entered* Theſſaly; *and has taken ſeveral Places from him, in a manner, before his Face. Not to mention the Crimes which the* Athenians *have laid to the charge of this cruel, this infamous King; or the Ravages he has cauſed to be committed in* Attica; *and much leſs the Fate of the* Abydenians. *We may perhaps have no Reaſon to expect the ſame Treatment. But after all, you know* Philip; *and I doubt not, but it is the Idea you have formed of him which has kept you ſilent. Let us for a Moment forget that he is a King; and ſuppoſe that we were only to treat with* Antigonus, *who was his Guardian in his Infancy. Would this good Prince have forced us to enter into an Alliance with him, at ſo perillous a Conjuncture? Would he have required us to do what is abſolutely out of our Power?* Peloponneſus *is a Peninſula; the Sea which ſurrounds us is always open; and nothing is more eaſy than to attack our maritime Cities. And when they ſhall be taken, what will become of us? Shall we retire to the inland Countries, far from the Coaſt? In the Centre of* Peloponneſus, *we ſhall find Enemies which ought to be more formidable to us than the* Romans. Nabis, *and his* Lacedæmonians, *will fall upon us there. And will it then be time enough to implore the Aſſiſtance of* Macedon? *Or ſhall we be able to defend our Cities ourſelves? The ſafeſt Way is to make an Alliance with the* Romans. *Don't imagine, that becauſe they come firſt to ask it, they are therefore forced by Neceſſity to have Recourſe to us. They are Maſters of the Sea, and the Nations ſubmit to them, as ſoon as they appear. They have it in their Power to oblige us to do what they deſire of us. It is a Favour for them to entreat us. They condeſcend ſo far as to court our Alliance, purely in order to preſerve us. To ſtand neuter then, as* Cleomedon *adviſed, is to loſe all.* Rome *will reſent our Refuſal, and take us for an artful People, who delay determining, only to have an Opportunity to declare for the ſtrongeſt Party. This will make her treat us as Enemies, and cauſe our Ruin. Let us not therefore delay to do this Day, what we ſhall one Day repent neglecting, if we omit it. We ought to have ſhaken off* Philip's *Yoke long ſince. We have not continued in Alliance with him ſo much out of Affection, as Fear. And now we have an Opportunity of diſengaging ourſelves from him, with Honour, and without Danger. Let us therefore ſeize it. The* Conſular *Army, and the Fleet which threaten us, will acquit us of the Reproach of Inconſtancy. There is no Medium. We muſt either declare for* Rome, *or have the* Romans *our Enemies.*

Livy, ibid. *Livy, ibid.* *Liv. ibid.* *Livy, ibid.* *Liv. ibid.*

§. XII. This Diſcourſe divided the Aſſembly, and left the Diet in as great Uncertainty as ever. Some voted for an Alliance with the *Romans*, others for continuing faithful to their Engagements with the *Macedonian*. The Houſe was in an Uproar. They who were for *Philip*, reproached thoſe who declared for *Flamininus*. Even the Heads of the Deputies were not unanimous. Five of the ten were for decreeing an Aſſociation with the *Romans*. The other five oppoſed it, and pretended, that it was againſt Law, for them to decree any thing new in the Aſſembly. Indeed, *Philip* had inſerted a Clauſe in his Treaty with the *Achæans* to this effect, that the Affair of his Alliance ſhould no more be brought before the Council. So that all the Day was ſpent in Debates. The Diet was to ſit but one Day longer. And even this ſhort time was conſumed in Diviſions. The Father diſagreed with the Son, and one *Citizen* with another of the ſame Place. *Rhiaſius* voted in favour of *Rome*, and his Son *Memnon* was ſteady to the contrary Party. The Father deſired the Son not to oppoſe the Welfare of *Achaia*; but *Memnon* at firſt refuſed to comply with his Father's Requeſt; till *Rhiaſius* threatened to treat him as an Enemy, and put him to Death. In a Word, the Majority were for the *Romans*; but the Deputies of *Dymæ*, and *Megalopolis*, and ſome of thoſe from *Argi*, roſe up, and left the Aſſembly; which was no

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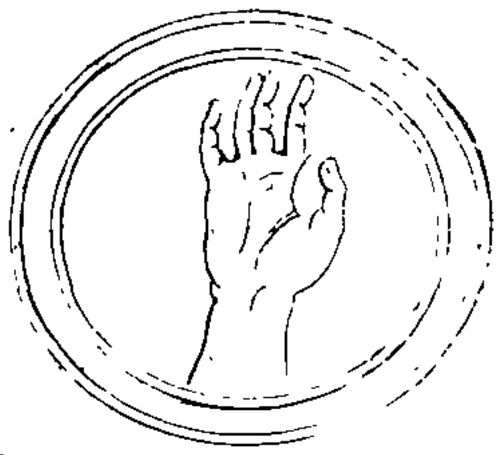
Surpriſe to them. Every Body knew the Services the *Macedonian* had done theſe three Cities. The *Dymæans* lately become a Prey to the *Romans*, and by them reduced to Slavery, were juſt then delivered from Slavery by *Philip*'s Means. The *Megalopolitans* had very lately been reſettled in their Country by *Antigonus*, *Philip*'s Guardian, after they had been driven out of it by the *Lacedæmonians*. And as for the Inhabitants of *Argi*, beſides that they boaſted, that the 51 Kings of *Macedon* were deſcended from them, they were almoſt all united to *Philip*, by the 52 Laws of Hoſpitality. Theſe were thought ſufficient Reaſons, to excuſe the



51 *Alexander*, the firſt King of *Macedon*, had been excluded from *The Olympic Games*, under Pretence that he was a Barbarian. The *Greeks* treated all other Nations, the *Macedonians* themſelves not excepted, as ſuch. But afterwards he obtained the Privilege of being preſent at this general Show for all *Greece*, having firſt proved that he came originally from the City of *Argos*. *Caſanus*, the firſt King of *Macedon*, pretended to be deſcended in a right Line from *Temenus*, one of the Deſcendants of *Hercules*. In the Diviſion the *Heraclidæ* made of *Peloponneſus* among them, *Temenus* obtained the Kingdom of *Argos*, after having driven out of it thoſe of the Family of *Pelops*, who had reigned there till that time. Now *Antigonus*, the Father of that *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, whoſe great Grandſon, *Philip* the King of *Macedon* was, ſaid he was deſcended from the *Temenidæ*.

52 The Laws of Hoſpitality owed their Riſe to thoſe beneficent Diſpoſitions, which Nature inſpires us with, towards our fellow-Creatures. Men, when united in civil Societies, have ever given a Sanction to them, and obſerved them as ſacred. Not to go up to the Patriarchs, with whom it was Matter of Merit to do all manner of good Offices to Travellers, it is well known, that the Pagans were not Strangers to this Cuſtom. *Egypt* and *Greece* eſtabliſhed the Practice of it. In the Iſland of *Crete*, there were, in the moſt diſtant Ages, publick Buildings, which were ſet apart for the Reception of Strangers. It was cuſtomary among the *Lucanians*, to furniſh all Perſons whatſoever with Lodgings, and all Neceſſaries, who happened to come into any of their Cities after Sun-ſet. This *Ælian* affirms, *Var. Hiſt. Lib.* And that the moſt cruel Nations adopted this charitable Cuſtom, appears by Multitudes of Inſtances in ancient Story. At *Rome* eſpecially, and among the *Greeks*, there were Families that gloried in paying theſe friendly Regards to Perſons of other Nations. And when by this means a Friendſhip was contracted between Families, it became perpetual, and was tranſmitted from Father to Son. What they called *Teſſera Hoſpitalitatis*, was carefully preſerved, and tranſmitted down to Poſterity, in the ſame Family. This Mark was at it were the Seal, or Pledge of Hoſpitality. It was generally a little piece of Money, Wood, or Ivory, which the Perſons engaging divided into two Parts, each taking one to keep, in proof of their mutual Friendſhip. The Antiquaries have collected ſeveral of theſe Marks, on which are inſcribed the Names of the two Perſons entering into a Friendſhip together. This was the Cuſtom among particular Perſons: Which *Plautus* very expreſly affirms, in the fifth Act of his *Pœnulus*.

Deum Hoſpitalem ac teſſeram mecum fero.
Pæn. *Pater tuus ergo hoſpes Antidamas fuit;*
Hæc mihi hoſpitalis teſſera cum illo fuit.
Ag. *Ergo apud me hoſpitium tibi præbebitur.*

As for the Right of Hoſpitality, which Cities or Provinces gave to any Perſon, it was confirmed by a ſolemn Decree, a Copy of which was given to the Perſon concerned. *Tacitus* tells us, *B.* 17. that the *Lingones* diſtributed among the *Roman Legions*, little pieces of Metal, on which were ſtamped the Figure of an Hand, as a Mark of Hoſpitality. *Miſerat civitas Lingonum vetere inſtituto, dona Legionibus dextras hoſpitii inſigne.* Theſe ſorts of Symbols are yet to be ſeen in the Cabinets of the Curious. *Caſalius* produces one, of which that above is the Copy.

By vertue of this ancient Cuſtom, a Traveller was ſure to find an hearty Welcome with his Friend. The latter, who was always informed of the Day of his Arrival, went out to meet him. After he had given the Stranger all Demonſtrations of the moſt ſincere Friendſhip, he gave him his Hand, and led him to his Houſe. There he placed him by his Fire-ſide, and they both joined in invoking the domeſtick Gods, the Protectors of Hoſpitality. Then the Maſter of the Houſe gave his new Gueſt ſome Bread, Wine, and Salt, the Symbol of Friendſhip. Hence the proverbial Saying ſo famous among the *Greeks* and *Latins*, *That before Men could eſtabliſh a perfect Friendſhip, they muſt eat ſeveral Buſhels of Salt together* *Cicero* makes this Reflection in his Book *de Amicitia*. *Verum illud eſt, quod vulgo dicitur multos modios ſalis ſimul edendos eſſe, ut amicitiæ munus expletum ſit.*

It was a received Cuſtom among the People of the Eaſt, to waſh the Hands, and eſpecially the Feet, of a Gueſt newly arrived. We have Proofs of it in the ſacred Writings. The Ladies of the beſt Faſhion ſometimes diſcharged this charitable Office themſelves. *Homer* repreſents *Nauſicca*, *Polycaſte*, and *Helen*, as performing this to Strangers. After this Ceremony was over, the Stranger was conducted to a Bath, and from thence to a Feaſt, which was prepared to entertain him with good Cheer and Muſick. And this Repaſt, which was begun with

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the Deputies of the three Cities, for not declaring againſt *Macedon*. But the reſt of *Achaia* followed the moſt prudent Advice. They preſently made an Alliance with *Attalus*, and the *Rhodians*, and deferred declaring for a Confederacy with the *Romans*, till the return of the Ambaſſadors which were ſent to *Rome*, to get it approved by the *Roman* Senate.

§. XIII. But in the mean time the *Achæans* thought it very neceſſary to lend the *Romans* their Aſſiſtance, in order to reduce *Corinth*. They ſaw it was their 53 Intereſt to do it. Ever ſince this City had been ſubject to King *Philip*, it had been divided from *Achaia*; and in order to annex it to that Province again, Force was neceſſary. This was a favourable Opportunity for it, which would have been abſolutely loſt by Delays. The Port of 54 *Cenchrea* was now in the Power of the *Romans*; which made it the more eaſy to take *Corinth*. And therefore, without waiting for the Conſent of the Senate of *Rome*, which was taken for granted, the *Achæans* joined the *Romans*. The Siege was already begun by the Marines, commanded by the Admiral *L. Quinctius*, who was attacking the City on the ſide of the Port. The *Achæans* attacked it at *The Gate of Sicyon*: And *Attalus*, after he had marched his Army over the *Iſthmus*, made a third Attack at the

with Libations, was finiſhed with Vows and Prayers for his Proſperity, in honour to whom the Feaſt was made.

Of all the People who practiſed Hoſpitality, the *Romans* were, beyond Contradiction, moſt religiouſly exact and ſcrupulous in diſcharging the Duties of it. *Cicero* gives them this Character, *B.* 3. *de Offic. Recte etiam eſt a Theophraſto laudata hoſpitalitas. Eſt enim valde decorum patere domos hominum illuſtrium hoſpitibus; idque etiam eſt reipublicæ ornamento, homines exteros hoc liberalitatis genere in urbe noſtra non egere.* Their Regularity in this Matter chiefly appeared in the manner in which they received Ambaſſadors from foreign Countries. It was one part of the *Quæſtor*'s Buſineſs to prepare Lodgings for them, and furniſh them with plenty of all Neceſſaries. Among the *Greeks*, this Office belonged to thoſe whom they called *Proxenoi*, and *Parochoi*. The former were ordered by the State to meet Envoys, and conduct them to their Lodgings; and the latter, to ſupply them with every thing they wanted.

And laſtly, when Strangers were about to go from *Rome*, or *Greece*, they had all poſſible Marks of Reſpect ſhewn them, at taking their Leave. The Preſents called *Xenia* were always made them upon this Occaſion. It was a religious Duty, which could not be diſpenſed with, without an open Breach of ſettled Conventions, and eſtabliſhed Cuſtoms.

Add to this, that both Humanity and Religion concurred in cementing this univerſal Concord among all Nations. The ſame natural Suggeſtions which incline us to acknowledge one God, an Avenger of Evil, and Protector of Virtue, led the Pagans to worſhip a Divinity, whoſe Care it was to protect, and avenge the Rights of Hoſpitality. They gave this Office to *Jupiter*, according to that Line of *Virgil*, *Æn.* 1.

Jupiter! Hoſpitibus nam te dare jura loquuntur.

Among the Titles which the *Greeks* and *Latins* gave this God, that of *Xenius*, or *Hoſpitalis*, was one of the moſt venerable. They likewiſe aſcribed the ſame Quality to *Venus*, *Minerva*, and *Caſtor* and *Pollux* (the allegorical Divinities who preſided over Concord and Love) and to *Hercules*, and their domeſtick Gods. The Inhabitants of *Pellene* worſhiped *Apollo*, and erected a Temple to him, under the Title of *Teoxenius*, or *The Hoſpitable*. During the Feſtival called *Teoxenia*, which the *Greeks* celebrated in honour to him, and in Memory of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, according to *The Scholiaſt of Pindar*; all Foreigners were magnificently entertained at the publick Expence. The Feaſt concluded with Shows, and ſeveral ſorts of *Games*.

Agreeably to theſe Dictates of Nature, and Religion, a Man who was convicted of having violated the Rights of Hoſpitality, was deemed accurſed. All the Gods were thought armed againſt him to deſtroy him, and the *Furies* employed in tormenting him. If a Man happened involuntarily to kill his Hoſt, it was thought an unpardonable Crime. *Homer* repreſents *Glaucus* and *Diomedes* as ready to engage in a Battel. The two Warriors meet, and are juſt going to begin. But they recollect that their Families had long been united by mutual Acts of Hoſpitality; and this is enough to put a Stop to the Fury of the Heroes. They make mutual Preſents, in Token of their mutual Good-will, and Part. So that the Laws of War did not deſtroy thoſe of Hoſpitality. This Engagement was indiſſoluble, unleſs a Man publickly diſavowed it, in a juridical manner. One of the Ceremonies practiſed in this ſolemn Act of Renunciation, was to break the Mark or Symbol of Hoſpitality. By this Act, he who came to this open Rupture, authentically declared, he would for the future have no more Commerce with him, who had broken his Faith to him.

53 The taking of *Corinth* could not but be Matter of the higheſt Importance to the *Achaians*. Beſides, that this City was a Key to *Peloponneſus*, it was then thought one of the moſt wealthy and ſtately Cities in all *Greece*. It ſtood on the Point of the *Iſthmus*, which divided the two Seas, that is, the *Ionian* and *Ægean*; and by its Commerce, enjoyed all the Riches of *Aſia* and *Europe*. Delicacy, Magnificence, and Debauchery, the uſual Companions of Plenty, were ſoon introduced among the Inhabitants; aud this City was then looked on by the *Greeks* as the Seat of Pleaſure. Hence the known Proverb, *Non licet omnibus adire Corinthum*, i. e. *Every one cannot go to* Corinth. The Hiſtorians tell us, that the *Corinthians* carried their Diſſoluteneſs of Manners, and Love of Women to ſuch exceſs, as to conſecrate the moſt monſtrous Brutalities, as pretended Acts of Religion. They were not aſhamed to employ common Women in their Feſtivals, and publick Ceremonies. Nay, they had even Forms of Prayer, which they addreſſed to the Gods to proſper their Debauches. The Vows they made to the Gods were ſometimes, only that they would increaſe the Number of Proſtitutes in the City. And theſe Extravagancies gave Riſe to the proverbial Expreſſion *Corinthiari*, to ſignify the moſt extravagant Licentiouſneſs.

54 The Port of *Cenchrea* ſtood on *The Saronic Gulph*, now *The Gulph of Engia*, to the Eaſt of *Corinth*.

Port of 55 *Lechæum*, over againſt *Cenchrea*, on the Extremity of *The Gulph of Corinth*.

Year of ROME DLV. T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS, SEXT. ÆLIUS CATUS, Conſuls.

AT firſt the three Armies did not purſue the Siege with much Vigour. Their Generals fancied, that there would quickly ariſe a Difference between the *Macedonian* Garriſon, and the Inhabitants of the City. But they ſoon ſaw how much they were miſtaken. *Androſthenes*, who was Commander in the Place for *Philip*, had gained the Affections of the *Corinthians*; and they obeyed his Orders with as much Readineſs and Deference, as if he had been choſen Governor by themſelves. So that the Beſiegers were obliged to have recourſe to their Machines, and to Force. The Walls of the City were not very acceſſible; and therefore they raiſed *Cavaliers*, or *Terraſſes*, round them; and on theſe *Cavaliers* erected Towers made of Timber. By this Means, they eaſily brought forward the *Ram*; battered the Wall with it; and ſoon made a Breach. Then a bloody Battel was fought there, between the *Romans* and *Macedonians*; and the former could not withſtand the *Phalangites*. Upon this, the *Aſiaticks* of *Attalus*'s Army, and the *Achæans*, came to the Aſſiſtance of the *Legionaries*; and the Beſiegers no longer doubted of forcing their Way through the *Macedonians*, and making themſelves Maſters of the Place. And indeed, the laſt Attack had without doubt carried it, if ſome *Roman* Deſerters had not ſuſtained that Attack, with a Valour more than human. But theſe brave Men, joined with the Seamen of the *Roman* Fleet, who had deſerted, out of Hopes of making their Fortunes better, by aſſiſting the *Macedonians*, defended the Breach, and ſaved the City. Beſides, the Reinforcement the Beſieged received, made it ſtill more difficult to take *Corinth*.

PHILOCLES, one of King *Philip*'s Generals, after he had croſſed *Bœotia*, appeared all on a ſudden near *The Promontory of Juno*, about ſeven Miles from *Corinth*, at the Head of fifteen hundred Men. Then the Garriſon of *Lechæum* immediately ſent away Barks, to bring theſe new Troops into their Port. And with this increaſe of Forces, *Corinth* and *Lechæum* were in a Condition to hold out againſt the three Armies which beſieged them. The *Macedonians* made ſuch ſeaſonable and vigorous Sallies on *Attalus*'s Quarter, that he was the firſt who declared for raiſing the Siege. The *Roman* Admiral reſolved to ſtay a little longer before the Place. But at laſt, he acknowledged, how much more uſeful the long Pikes of the *Macedonian Phalangites* were, in defending a Breach, than the *Roman* Arms: And then *Quinctius* was of *Attalus*'s Opinion. He dropped the Enterpriſe, and retired with his Gallies. So that the Fleets ſeparated. The King of *Pergamus* carried his, to the Port of *Piræeus*; and the *Roman* ſailed with 56 his, for *Corcyra*.

As for *Philocles*, he did not continue unactive, after he had raiſed the Siege of *Corinth*. He marched his Troops into the Heart of *Achaia*, which had ſo lately joined with the *Romans*; and the City of 57 *Argi* was the Object, that moſt flattered his Deſires. *Philocles* was not ignorant, that the Citizens of *Argi*, generally ſpeaking, ſtill retained an Affection for the *Macedonian* Party. They had very lately given a new Proof of it. It had long been a Cuſtom among the *Argians*, to invoke *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and *Hercules*, on the firſt Day of their *Comitia*; and to add to the Names of theſe Gods that of the King of *Macedon*. Only ſince the General Diet of *Achaia* had entered into an Alliance with the *Romans*, the Herald who pronounced the Form, thought it his Duty to omit *Philip*'s Name; but the Commons were diſpleaſed with the Omiſſion. They at firſt ſhewed their Reſentments only in low Murmurs. But afterwards theſe grew into general Clamours, and all loudly demanded, that the Name of the King of *Macedon* ſhould follow thoſe of the tutelary Gods of their Country. *Philocles* therefore depending on this Affection for his Maſter, advanced his Troops towards *Argi*, and in the Night, poſted them on an Eminence, which overlooked the City. But this Regard for *Philip* was not univerſal in *Argi*. Beſides, the *Achaian* Garriſon, which the Ge- *Livy B.* 32 *c.* 25.

55 The Port of *Lechæum* ſtood on *The Gulph of Corinth*, now *The Gulph of Lepanto*. The two Ports were forty *Stadia*, or about five thouſand geometrical Paces, diſtant from each other.

56 This is the Iſland which is now called *Corfu*. We have ſpoken of it already, as well as of another *Corcyra*, an Iſland in *The Adriatick Gulph*.

57 *Argi*, or *Argos*, was one of the moſt famous Cities in *Peloponneſus*. It had long been the Capital of a Monarchy. The *Greek* Hiſtorians give the firſt King the Name of *Inachus*, whom the Chronologiſts make cotemporary with *Moſes*. The *Argians* in ſome time expelled this Sovereign, and put *Danaus*, who was lately arrived from *Egypt* in Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom. *Argi* had a very ſtrong Citadel, which was called *Larriſſa*.

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neral Diet had placed there, continued faithful to the *Romans*. *Æneſidemus* was Governor; and *Philocles* ſent a Deputation to him, to engage him in the *Macedonian* Intereſt. *Your* Romans, ſaid he to him, *will not be able to guard you againſt* Philip's *Arms. They have lately experienced the Superiority of* Macedon *before* Corinth. *Think you that your Garriſon is ſufficient to hold out againſt a People who have declared themſelves in favour of* Philip? Nevertheleſs, this Diſcourſe did not move the brave Commander. Though his Garriſon was but five hundred Men, he thought himſelf ſtrong enough to withſtand the Menaces of the *Macedonian*. But he changed his Mind, when he ſaw the Burghers take up Arms, and begin an Inſurrection againſt him. He had Compaſſion for the brave Youth he commanded; and demanded their Lives, and Leave to march out of *Argi*. Accordingly the Garriſon marched away, and only *Æneſidemus* tarried behind, with a ſmall Number of Clients. It was ſurpriſing to ſee the Governor continue immoveable in his Poſt, after the Soldiers were gone; and *Philocles* ſent to ask him, *Why he tarried, and what he pretended to do?* To which the bold *Achaian* courageouſly anſwered, *To die in the Place committed to my Care.* Upon which Words *Philocles* ordered his *Thracians* to let fly their Arrows at him, and his Attendants; and was obeyed. The Governor himſelf fell dead on his Buckler, which he had thrown on the Ground. Thus *Philip* became Maſter of two important Places in *Achaia*; and *Argi*, and *Corinth*, continued attached to him.

§. XIV. DURING the uſeleſs Attempt of *Quinctius* on *Corinth*, the *Conſul Flaminius* was employing himſelf in the Conqueſt of *Phocis*. The City of *Elatia* alone yet ſtopped him; but the Blockade of it was now ſoon changed into a Siege in form. The *Conſul* had in vain ſollicited the Inhabitants to ſurrender. The *Macedonian* Garriſon was more numerous than the Townſmen. So that it was neceſſary to make uſe of Force to reduce it. Large Breaches were made with *Rams*, in ſeveral Parts of the *Courtine*. The greateſt part of the Wall, all round the Place, except the Towers, was damaged. Nevertheleſs, the *Romans* pretended to reſolve to enter the City, only where the Breach was largeſt. There a Battel was fought, which drew all the Beſieged thither to ſee it, and aſſiſt at it. The Garriſon left their ſeveral Poſts on the Ramparts, to take their Parts in the Action. Which the Beſiegers thought a very favourable Opportunity. The *Conſul* therefore gave Orders, that the *Legionaries* ſhould attack the City in different Places, and make uſe of ſcaling Ladders, to mount the Wall in thoſe Places where it was but half tumbled down. This Sight terrified the *Macedonians*, who were all aſſembled together, in that Place alone where the Battel was fought; and deſpairing of being able to withſtand a general Aſſault, they left the Breach they defended, and retired into the Caſtle. So that the City was taken, and plundered; and as to the Citadel, *Flamininus* ſummoned it to ſurrender. He gave the *Macedonians* Leave to march away, but without Arms, or Baggage; and he gave the Inhabitants of *Elatia*, their Lives, and Liberty. Thus by the Conqueſt of one fruitful Region, *Flamininus* procured himſelf Cities enough, to furniſh his Land-Forces with Winter-Quarters, and Ports, for his Fleet to winter in. *Anticyra* was his Retreat; and his Tranſports were laid up there.

Plut. Life of *Flamininus.*

THE Seaſon would not now permit the *Romans* to take the Field; but the *Conſul* employed his leiſure-time, in uſeful Negotiations. King *Philip* ſent to *Flamininus* to demand a ſecond Interview. The War with the *Romans* began to prove fatal to him. He was already deprived of a great Number of Cities which had been conquered, and was deſerted by his moſt faithful Allies. That ſovereign Authority which he had uſurped over *Greece*, was inſenſibly dwindled almoſt to nothing. He therefore was wholly bent on making Peace with *Rome*, in order to ſave at leaſt the Remains of his Power. In the Conference between the two Chiefs, an Accommodation was attempted. But *Flamininus* kept ſteady to his Reſolution, not to put an end to the War, till he had re-eſtabliſhed the Liberty of all *Greece*. And upon the bare Propoſal of this, *Philip* flew off. This was to confine him to *Macedon*, and utterly to deſtroy the Scheme he had formed, to extend his Power far into *Aſia*. So that *Philip* rejected the hard Terms of the *Conſul*. But *Flamininus* acquired by the Conference, the Reputation of having made War, purely to ſerve the *Greeks*; and this gained him more Honour, and Confidence, among the Nations, which he was come to free from the *Macedonian* Yoke.

THOUGH

Year of ROME DLV. T. Quinctius Flamininus Sext. Ælius Catus, Conſuls.

THOUGH *Flamininus* was perſonally intereſted to make an end of the War, in order to go and receive the Honours of a Triumph at *Rome*, after his *Conſulſhip*, he did not abate of his Pretenſions. On the other hand, *Philip* thought he had granted enough to the *Romans*; and fancied, that his Propoſals, the Particulars of which the Hiſtorians have not given us, were ſufficient to content the Senate. He therefore ſent an Embaſſy to *Rome* to obtain a Peace on the Conditions he offered; and *Flamininus* alſo ſent a Deputation thither. The prudent *Roman* had theſe two things in view. 1. To prevent *Rome*'s conſenting to *Philip*'s Propoſals. And *2dly*, to negotiate for himſelf, a Commiſſion to continue the War beyond Sea, till he had entirely recovered the Liberties of all *Greece*. *Flamininus* had taken *Scipio* for his Pattern. He knew that the Republick had given this famous General a Power to continue in *Africa*, till he had effectually humbled *Carthage*. And after this Precedent, *Flamininus* hoped that the People and Senate of *Rome*, would have the ſame Regard for him, as they had ſhewn to *Scipio*. Accordingly, when *Philip*'s Ambaſſadors, and the *Conſul*'s Meſſengers came to *Rome*, the Negotiations of the latter, had their deſired Effect. The Propoſals of the *Macedonian* were rejected; and the People were diſpoſed to continue *Flamininus* in the Command of the Armies in *Greece*, the next Year, with the Title of *Pro-Conſul*. His Friends ſerved him effectually; and we ſhall ſee the Senate grant him the ſame Favour, as they had done *Scipio*.

§. XV. THE time of the Elections now drew near; and it was neceſſary to recall *Ælius Catus* to the City, to preſide in the *Comitia by Centuries*. This *Conſul*, whoſe Province was *Ciſalpine Gaul*, had gained but little Glory there. The *Gauls* had not appeared in the Field, all his Year. Doubtleſs, the Rebels were terrified with the numerous Troops the *Romans* brought into their Country. The *Conſul* led one Army thither; and the *Prætor Helvius* commanded another there. Theſe Forces, which were infinitely ſuperior to thoſe of the Enemy, obliged the *Gauls* to entrench themſelves; and the *Roman* Arms, by being too formidable, became the leſs prejudicial to their Enemies. All this great *Apparatus* ended in nothing more, than bringing back to *Cremona*, and *Placentia*, the Inhabitants of theſe two *Colonies*, whom Fear, and the Ravages of the *Gauls*, had diſperſed. *Livy, B. 32. c. 26.*

So that *Rome* now ſignalized her ſelf in *Italy*, only by her Severity. The *Romans* had confined to the Country of the *Volſci*, the many Hoſtages they had demanded of *Carthage*, till all the Debt ſhe had contracted upon making the Peace was payed. *Setia*, a City at a little Diſtance from the Marſh of *Minturnæ*, was the Place of their Reſidence. Theſe Hoſtages were almoſt all well-born; and the Number of their Slaves was proportioned to their Rank and Condition. The *Setini* themſelves, had alſo in their Service a conſiderable Number of thoſe *Africans*, who were taken in War, and by their Captivity, reduced to Slavery. And all theſe unhappy Men joined together, and took it into their Heads to raiſe a Sedition in the very Center of *Italy*. The Scheme was ſoon formed. *Games* were in a little while to be celebrated in *Setia*; the Cities of *Circæum* and *Norba* would then be deſerted by their Inhabitants, who would croud to the Feaſt; and the Deſign was to ſeize all three Places. To this end, the Emiſſaries of the Conſpirators diſperſed themſeves over the Cities we have mentioned, and drew the Slaves, with which *Circæum* and *Norba* abounded, into their Meaſures. So that when the People were moſt intent on the Show, the Conſpirators were to fall on the Spectators, Sword in Hand, and immediately ſeize the three Cities. This was a mad Project; but what could be expected from young Children, given in Hoſtage by their Parents, and a Company of Slaves? During the Abſence of the *Conſul Ælius*, three Men, one of whom was of free Condition, and the other two Slaves, brought Information againſt the Conſpirators, to the *Prætor, Cornelius Merula*. He made a Report of it to the Senate, and the Senate gave him Orders to prevent the Sedition. He therefore without Delay, aſſembled together in the Field about two thouſand Men, gave them the military Oath, and haſtened to puniſh the Offenders.

THE Arrival of the *Prætor* was unexpected; and it immediately ſtopped the Proceedings of the Managers of the Plot, and alarmed the Seditious. The Slaves fled; were purſued croſs the Country; and ſome took Refuge in *Præneſte*, and raiſed new Diſturbances there. The *Prætor* came thither, and there condemned

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five hundred of theſe factious Men to die. Even *Rome* herſelf was not free from the Alarm theſe *Africans* had raiſed in the Neighbourhood. Strict Watch was kept there in the Night, and the Priſons, where the Slaves were kept, were double guarded. It was ordered, that the Hoſtages ſhould be confined in their own Houſes. They were always kept in ſight; and laſtly, the Chains of the Slaves were made heavier. An Order was given out, That their Fetters ſhould weigh at leaſt three Pounds and three Quarters; and That they ſhould be kept in the publick Priſons in the Night. As for the Informers, the Senate rewarded them differently. They gave the Value of a hundred thouſand Pounds weight of Braſs to him, who was of free Condition; and to the two Slaves, twenty five thouſand Pounds of it, and their Liberty. The Price of their Freedom was paid out of the publick Treaſury. Thus the *Carthaginians*, even in their Humiliation, ſtill retained their old Hatred to the *Romans*, and ſhewed it, even in the Heart of their Republick.

Year of *ROME* DLVI. C. Cornelius Cethegus, Q. Minucius Rufus, Conſuls. *Livy B.* 32. *c.* 27.

§. XVI. After this, the *Comitia* were ſoon aſſembled in the *Campus Martius*. *Ælius* preſided in them, and the *Centuries* choſe *C. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Q. Minucius Rufus, Conſuls.* A few Days after, in an Aſſembly of the ſame kind, *Rome* choſe *Prætors*; and the Republick thought fit to increaſe the Number of them. Till this time there had been no more than four; but now ſhe choſe ſix. The Dominions of the *Romans* out of *Italy* were ſo much enlarged, that it was neceſſary to chooſe as many *Prætors*, as there were *Provinces*. The *Centuries* pitched upon ſix Men, who were equally well qualified for civil Government and for War. Theſe were *Manlius Vulſo, M. Minucius Rufus, L. Attilius Regulus, C. Sempronius Tuditanus, M. Helvius*, and *M. Sergius Silus.* Then they all drew Lots. The Juriſdiction of the City of *Rome* fell to *Sergius*; the Determination of the Affairs of Foreigners to *Minucius*. *Regulus* had *Sardinia*; and *Manlius, Sicily*. Theſe were the four old *Provinces*, which had long been governed by *Prætors*, annually choſen. The two new *Provinces* were in *Spain*. Hitherto *Rome* had governed this large Country, only by *Pro-Conſuls*, or *Preſidents*, ſent with extraordinary Commiſſions to adminiſter Juſtice there. But now ſhe divided *Spain* into two *Provinces*, one called *Hiſpania* [58] *Citerior*, or *Hither Spain*; the other *Hiſpania Ulterior*, or *Further Spain:* And both were governed for the future, by *Prætors* choſen by the *Centuries*, as thoſe for *Sardinia* and *Sicily* were. The *Prætorſhip* of *Hither Spain* was now given to *Caius Sempronius*; that of *Further Spain*, to *M. Helvius* [59] *Blaſio*. So that nothing now remained, in order to ſettle the Government for this Year, but to aſſign the new *Conſuls* their *Provinces*. They were both ambitious of making War in the *Levant*, and ſucceeding *Flamininus*, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf there. They both preſented their Requeſts to the People, and deſired Leave to determine by Lots, which was to conduct the War in *Macedon*, and which that in *Italy*. But two *Tribunes of the People*, one named *Oppius*, the other *Fulvius*, oppoſed the Deſires of the *Conſuls*. We know not whether it was out of Love to the Publick, or Regard to the Perſon and Glory of *Flamininus*. But the two *Tribunes* repreſented to the *Comitia*, how prejudicial the recalling of *Flamininus* might be to the Publick. *We have had*, ſaid they, *but too plain Proofs of what Importance it is, to continue the ſame Generals a great while together at the Head of our Armies.* Sulpicius *went too late to* Macedon, *and returned too ſoon. The greateſt part of his Generalſhip was ſpent in ſeeking for* Philip. *Had he time to overcome him?* Villius *had ſcarce joined the* Conſul *before he was recalled.* Flamininus *indeed, has ſucceeded beyond our Expectation. Had not the Winter come on, juſt when it did, he would have finiſhed the War, and we ſhould no longer have been under any Apprehenſions from the King of* Macedon. *But though we are not Maſters of the Seaſons, we can diſpoſe of our own Generals as we pleaſe; and* Flamininus, *has taken up his Winter-Quarters in* Phocis, *and choſen them with ſo much Judgment, that we have great Reaſon to expect that he will finiſh the War the next Campaign, if the ſending him a Succeſſor does not prevent it. Can we then ſend another in his room? Will you ſuffer another to reap the Fruits of his Labours?*

58 *Hiſpania Citerior*, contained all the Countries in *Spain*, on this ſide the *Ebro*; and *Hiſpania Ulterior*, all thoſe beyond it.

59 The two *Prætors*, *Caius Sempronius*, and *Marcus Helvius Blaſio*, led into *Spain* eight thouſand Foot (with which the *Latin* Confederates, and other Allies, ſupplied the Republick;) and four hundred Horſe.

This

Year of ROME DLVI.
C. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS, Q. MINUCIUS RUFUS, Conſuls.

THIS Diſcourſe made ſo great an Impreſſion on the People, that the two *Conſuls* themſelves conſented to ſubmit to the Determination of the Senate, if the *Tribunes* would do the ſame. So that the Affair was referred to the *Conſcript Fathers*, who pronounced in favour of *Flamininus*. They ordered, That he ſhould be continued in his Employment, in Quality of *Pro-Conſul*; and That no other Officer ſhould be ſent to act againſt *Philip*, till the People thought fit to recall him. They alſo decreed him a Recruit of five thouſand Foot, three hundred Horſe, and three thouſand Seamen and Rowers. And laſtly, They left him his Brother *Quinctius* to command the Fleet under him. *Sulpicius* and *Villius* were alſo ſent to *Macedon*, to act as Lieutenant-Generals in his Army. So that the *Conſuls* could only draw Lots for *Italy*; and it was decreed, That they ſhould both go and make War with the revolted *Gauls*. All the Nations in *Ciſalpine Gaul* had taken up Arms; and *Hamilcar* the *Carthaginian*, the Author of the Revolt, was at the Head of them. The *Boii*, *Inſubres*, *Cænomani*, *Ligures*, and in ſhort, all the Nations from the *Alpes*, to the Confines of *Hetruria*, were in a Flame. But the *Conſuls* did not think it proper to act together, in order to reduce them. *Cethegus* marched to the Side of *Inſubria*; and *Minucius*, into *Liguria*. Their Forces were equal. Each had two *Roman Legions*, and as many Auxiliaries as were generally incorporated in *Conſular* Armies. But we will, for ſome time, ſuſpend giving an Account of their Exploits; and return to *Greece*, to *Philip* and *Flamininus*.

§. XVII. THE *Roman* General in the *Levant* did not yet know what *Conſuls* the Republick had choſen, or whether he ſhould be continued the next Year in *Greece*, to purſue the War there. But he ſpent the Winter in *Phocis*, as intent upon the Preparations for the next Campaign, as if he had been ſure not to be diſplaced. *Locris* bordered upon *Phocis*, where his Troops were quartered; and *Flamininus* received Intelligence that the Inhabitants of the City of *Opus* [60] were divided; ſome being for ſubmitting to the *Romans*, others to the *Ætolians*. This was no contemptible Place. It was defended by a ſtrong Caſtle, in which *Philip* had a Garriſon; and it was one of the chief Cities in the Country of the *Locri*. The *Ætolians*, though in Alliance with *Rome*, were very earneſt to get into it; but they were driven out by the Faction which was for the *Romans*. So that the latter, being Maſters of the City, would doubtleſs have taken the Citadel from *Philip*, if he had not ſhewn freſh Inclinations to a Peace. He ſent an Herald to demand a third Conference with *Flamininus*. To conclude a Treaty with *Philip*, was what the *Pro-Conſul* moſt ardently deſired. In his preſent Uncertainty whether he ſhould be diſplaced, he had nothing more at Heart, than to finiſh the War, and return to *Rome*, with all the Glory of it. *Scipio*, his Pattern, had been in the ſame Circumſtances, in *Africa*; and had, in ſome meaſure, ſacrificed the Conqueſt of *Carthage* to his own Glory. And, after his Example, *Flamininus* was very ambitious of getting ſuch reaſonable Terms from *Philip*, (without reducing him to Extremities,) as the Senate ſhould approve, before he went out of his Employment. He at firſt pretended an Unwillingneſs to grant the Conference *Philip* demanded; but he plainly ſaw he ſhould find his Account in it. If he ſhould be forced by Duty, or Neceſſity, to return to *Rome*, he would at leaſt have the Glory of having ſet the Treaty of Peace on foot. So that in ſhort, the Place for the Conference was appointed. On *The Maliac Gulph* ſtood a City named *Nicæa* [61]. Near this maritime City there was a Strand, which was waſhed by the Sea. There was Depth enough of Water there for Galleys to come up very near to the Shore; and to this Place *Philip* came by Sea, in one of his Ships of War. He was convoyed by five *Feluccas*; and he had on board with him his two Secretaries of State, *Apollodorus* and *Demoſthenes*, and the chief of the greateſt Lords of his Court; among whom were *Brachyllas*, the chief Man in *Bœotia*, and the famous *Cycliadas*, whom the *Achaians* had driven out of their Country, in order to put their Government in the Hands of *Ariſtænus*. On the other hand, *Flamininus* came by Land to the Place of the Conference; and was attended by the Heads of all the *Roman* Allies in *Greece*. He brought with him *Amynander*, the King of the *Athamanes*; *Dionyſodorus*, the Ambaſſador of *Attalus* King of *Perga-*

Polyb. B. 17. & ex eo. Liv. B. 32 c. 32.

60 The City of *Opus* gave the Name of *Opuntia*, to *Locris*, and the neighbouring Gulph. See *Vol.* 3.

61 We have already ſpoken of the City of *Nicæa*, *Vol.* 2.

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mus; *Ageſimbrotus*, the Admiral of the *Rhodian* Fleet; *Phæneas*, the General of the *Ætolians*; and the two chief Magiſtrates of *Achaia*, *Ariſtænus* and *Xenophon*.

These Kings, and Chief Magiſtrates of Republicks, had all their Intereſts to ſettle with *Philip*. The *Roman* appeared at the Congreſs only as the Avenger of the Liberties of the *Greeks*, which had been taken away by a greedy Conqueror. *Flamininus* came on foot to the Sea-ſhore; and *Philip* continued in the Prow of his Ship, which lay at Anchor. *Why don't you come aſhore?* ſaid the *Conſul*, *we ſhall hear one another better near. Which of us do you fear? The Gods only*, replied the Monarch haughtily, *can terrify me. But I ſuſpect thoſe about you, particularly the* Ætolians. *The Danger is equal on both Sides*, rejoined *Flamininus*; *there is always ſome Hazard run in Conferences with Enemies. No*; replied *Philip* briskly, *the Danger is not equal. Would the Loſs of a* Phæneas *be equal to that of a* Philip? *Another* Prætor *of* Ætolia *could eaſily be found*; *but the Want of a Great King in his Dominions, is not ſo eaſily ſupplied.* At which Words, both Parties continued in a profound Silence. The *Pro-Conſul* expected that *Philip* would have firſt explained himſelf, and declared what he would give to obtain a Peace. But the *Macedonian* ſaid to *Flamininus*, *It is your Buſineſs to begin. The Peace is a kind of Merchandize, and you are to ſet your Price upon it.* After theſe Words, the King was ſilent; and *Flamininus* proceeded thus. *I have but one Word to ſay*; *which if not complied with, no Peace will be granted you. Reſtore my Republick all the Places in* Illyricum, *which you have invaded, ſince the laſt Peace made in* Epirus. *Surrender up our Deſerters. Evacuate the Cities you have conquered from the* Egyptians, *ſince the Deceaſe of King* Ptolomy Philopator. *Satisfy all the juſt Pretenſions of our Allies, and immediately leave* Greece. *If you refuſe to comply with any one of theſe Conditions, all the Miſeries of War will inevitably be the Conſequence.* The *Pro-Conſul* pronounced theſe Words like a *Roman*; that is, with an imperious Air: And then invited the Heads of the Confederates to propoſe their Demands. The Deputy of the King of *Pergamus* ſpoke firſt: And he demanded, in the Name of his Maſter, That all the Ships taken in the Sea-Fight, off *Ciros*, ſhould be reſtored: and That *Philip* ſhould, at his own Expence, rebuild the Temple of *Venus*, which he had demoliſhed; and plant again the Foreſt called [62] *Nicephorium*, in the Neighbourhood of *Pergamus*, which he had cut down. *Ageſimbrotus* demanded, for the *Rhodians*, That the *Macedonian* ſhould give up *Peræa* [63], a maritime Country of [64] *Caria*; withdraw his Garriſons from the Cities of [65] *Jaſſus*, [66] *Bargylia*, and [67] *Euromus*; re-unite *Perinthus* [68] to the Territory of *Byzantium* [69]; evacuate *Seſtos*, and *Abydos*, in the *Helleſpont*; and laſtly, give up all the Ports he poſſeſſed in *Aſia*. *Ariſtænus* and *Xenophon* demanded, for *Achaia*, That *Corinth* and *Argi* ſhould again be united to it. And laſtly, *Phæneas* and *Alexander* made their Demands for the *Ætolians*; and the former treated *Philip* without any manner of Ceremony. He inſiſted, as the *Romans* had done, That *Philip* ſhould

Liv. B. 32. c. 32.

62 *Strabo*, ſpeaking of the Foreſt called *Nicephorium*, ſays expreſly, that it was planted by *Eumenes*, the eldeſt Son, and Succeſſor, of *Attalus*, probably to repair the Ravages he had committed there. *Ortelius* ſpeaks of a City of this Name, in the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, near *Peloponneſus*.

63 The maritime Canton of *Peræa* lay over againſt the Iſland of *Rhodes*. *Stephens* alſo gives this Name to a little Country belonging to *Corinth*, and to a little Town in *Syria*.

64 *Caria* is a Province of *Aſia Minor*; and is bounded, to the Eaſt, by *Liguria*; to the Weſt, and South, by *The Mediterranean*, and *The Archipelago*; and to the North, by the River *Madre*, or the *Meander*. This Province is now called *Aidinelli*. We ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak of it hereafter, when the *Romans* come to extend their Conqueſts into *Aſia*.

65 *Jaſſus* was a City ſituated on the Sea-Coaſts of *Caria*. The *Italians* now call both the City and neighbouring Gulph by the Name of *San Pietro*.

66 Old *Bargylia* is now buried in its Ruins. It took its Name from Mount *Bargylus*, in *Caria*, near the City.

67 All we can ſay of *Euromus*, is, that it was a City of *Caria*, and lay between *Bargylia* and *Stratonice*.

68 *Perinthus* was a City of *Thrace*, on the Coaſt of *The Propontis*. *Stephens the Geographer* makes one *Perinthus*, a Companion of *Oreſtes*, the Founder of it. It was afterwards called *Heraclea*, ſays *Tzetſes*, from *Hercules*, who conquered this City, which was before called *Mygdonia*. *Ammianus Marcellinus* will have it to have been built by *Hercules*, whom we find on the Medal of this ancient City. But *Euſebius* ſays it was founded in the 44th *Olympiad*; which was ſeveral Years after his time. *Marcian of Heraclea* ſays, That a Colony of *Samians* came to this City, and That its firſt Inhabitants were Natives of that Iſland. And *Euſebius* perhaps regarded only this Settlement.

69 *Byſantium*, or *Lygos*, as *Pliny* and *Solinus* call it, is now known by the Name of *Conſtantinople*. It was founded, according to *Euſebius*, about the 30th *Olympiad*, when *Tullus Hoſtilius* reigned at *Rome*. But *Diodorus Siculus* carries its Foundation as high as to the Time of the *Argonauts*. It was built, according to him, by *Byſas*, who reigned in

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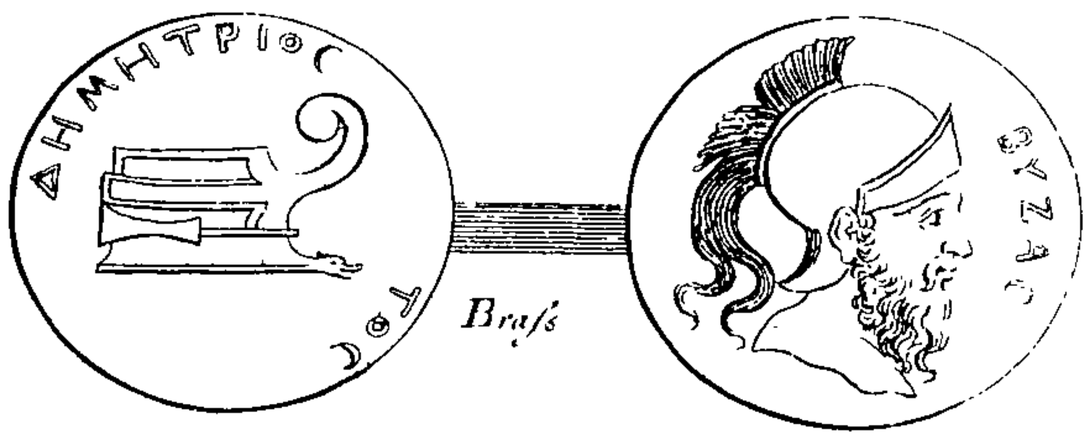
ſhould evacuate all *Greece*, and reſtore all the Places he had uſurped from the *Ætolians*. Nor was this all. As he was a good Speaker, and had the Reputation of underſtanding publick Buſineſs, he addreſſed himſelf to the King with all the Confidence the Protection of the *Romans* could give him, and with all the Audaciouſneſs his Hatred could dictate. *My Lord*, ſaid he, *you now treat of a Peace with as little Sincerity as you have Valour in War. You uſe all Artifices to avoid Battels; and make it your Buſineſs to deceive us by frequent Conferences. In the Field you ſhun our Arms, and turn your own on ſome unfortunate* Provinces, *which you deſtroy with Fire and Sword. Having been vanquiſhed in ſeveral Places, you think of nothing but laying waſte the Fields, and Towns, which might be of Uſe to your Conquerors. Did your Predeceſſors make War thus? We have ſeen the Great* Alexander, *and his Father, ſeek for pitched Battels; and ſpare the Cities, that they might not impoveriſh their Conqueſts. How barbarous is it to ſack the Countries, the Poſſeſſion of which is diſputed; and to bear Arms, only to commit Robberies! How many Tears has* Philip *cauſed to be ſhed, but laſt Year, in* Theſſaly! *He has ſacked more Cities of his Allies, than the* Romans *have conquered from him. And the Caſe is the ſame, as to* Ætolia. *The* Macedonian *has poſſeſſed himſelf of* 70 Ly-



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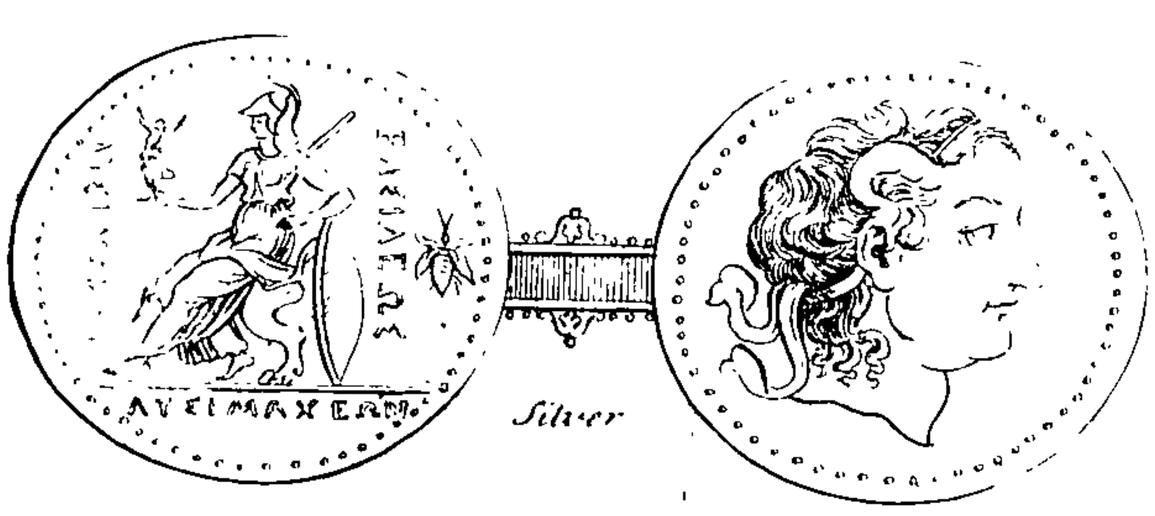

Silver

ſimachia, in the neighbouring Country; and is ſaid to have been called *Byſantium* from thence. This *Byſas*, according to *Euſtathius*, then commanded a Fleet of *Megarenſes*, who landed in *Thrace*, and ſettled there. But be that as it will, we certainly find the Name and Head of *Byſas*, and the Prow of the Ship that brought him into *Thrace*, on a Medal of *Byſantium*. Thus *Janus* is put on the *Roman* Medals. *Velleius Paterculus* will have the firſt Inhabitants of *Byſantium* to have been a Company of *Mileſians*, who came into theſe Parts. But *Ammianus Marcellinus* makes them to have been a Colony of the People of *Attica*. And *Juſtin* is certainly miſtaken, when he ſays that *Pauſanias*, King of *Lacedæmon*, built the City of *Byſantium*. It is certain it was in being long before *Xerxes* came into *Greece*. According to *Thucydides*, who deſerves the moſt Credit of any *Greek* Hiſtorian, *Pauſanias* himſelf took it from the *Perſians*, who had made themſelves Maſters of it. It underwent many Revolutions; being ſometimes ſubject to the *Perſians*, ſometimes to the *Lacedæmonians*, and ſometimes to the *Athenians*; and at length, was ſubdued by the *Romans*. It is not without Reaſon that *Byſantium* has been deemed the fineſt City in the whole World, with reſpect to its Situation. It ſtands on a Neck of Land which runs out towards *The Thracian Boſphorus*, *The Propontis*, or Sea of *Marmora*, *The Euxin* or *Black Sea*, and *The Archipelago*, which all ſurround it, and make it the moſt convenient Mart for all the Commerce of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*. Had not the Oracle this commodious Situation in view, when being conſulted about the Scite of the new City, it anſwered, That it ſhould be built over againſt the Territory of *The Blind*? This Epithet was applied to the *Chalcedonians*, who had built the City of *Chalcedon* on the oppoſite Sea-ſhore, in a barren Soil, and a Place whither Ships could not conveniently come. The Fruitfulneſs of the Territory of *Byſantium*, and its Form, gave it the Name of *Chryſoceras*; that is, *The Golden Horn*, or *Cornucopia*. *Ammianus Marcellinus* ſpeaks of a Promontory near *Byſantium*, on which had been built a Tower, like a *Pharos*, for lighting Ships. The Tunny-fiſhing, which was much uſed as early as this time, in the *Euxine* Sea, created a great Trade among the *Byſantines*.

70 *Lyſimachia*, called alſo by ſome ancient Authors *Hexamilium*, was a City of *The Thracian Cherſoneſus*; which is the Name yet given to that Peninſula which is ſhut in, Southwards, by the *Ægean* Sea; Weſtwards, by *The Gulph Melas*; and Eaſtwards, by the *Helleſpont*. The City we ſpeak of took its Name from *Lyſimachus*, its Founder, who was one of the Generals of *Alexander the Great*, and afterwards King of the *Thracians*. The Medals prove this. On that above, is the Head of this Monarch, adorned with a Diadem, to which are affixed two Goats Horns, after the Manner of the Kings of *Macedon*, as we have obſerved, *Vol.* 3.

Stephen

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ſimachia, *and driven out the Governour, and the* Ætolian *Garriſon. He has diſmantled* 71 Cios, *and ruined it.* 72 Thebes *in* Phthiotis, 73 Echinus, 74 Lariſſa, *and* 75 Pharſalus, *have undergone the ſame Fate. Unfortunate* Greece! *Canſt thou acknowledge thy Tyrant to have been thy Protector?* Theſe Words highly exaſperated the King. He brought his Ship near the Shore, and with an angry Tone made this Reply. *What an Orator, and what Rhetorick is this! The audacious* Alexander *may have been taught to harangue in a Theatre; but he knows nothing of the cruel Exigencies to which Kings and Generals are ſometimes reduced, with reſpect to their Subjects and Allies. Sometimes the Circumſtances of Affairs oblige them to ſacrifice both to the common Good. It was with Regret, that I ravaged* Theſſaly; *but I had good Reaſons of State for ſo doing.* The King was going on, when *Phæneas* interrupted him, and ſaid, *Let us have fewer Words, and more Buſineſs done. You muſt either conquer or obey us.* To which the King replied, with a Sneer, *You are very clear-ſighted, for a blind Man!*

PHÆNEAS had indeed weak Eyes, and was troubled with a Rheum in them. But this Jeſt was very unſeaſonable; and beneath the Dignity of a King. *Philip* was naturally jocoſe. This was a Fault which Education could not correct; and which the Liberty Sovereigns have of ſaying any thing, had increaſed. Severe Sarcaſms eſcaped him, even in the moſt important Negotiations. But at length, he aſſumed a more ſerious Air, and went on thus: *Is it not ſurprizing, that* Ætolians *ſhould ſpeak to me with as much Haughtineſs as if they were* Romans? *They order me to abandon* Greece. *Did they ever know the Boundaries of it? Ought* Ætolia *itſelf to be reckoned among the Nations of which* Greece *conſiſts? Were the* 76 Agræi, *the* 77 Apodeotes, *and the* Amphilochians, *who are the greateſt Part of the* 78 Ætolian *Confederacy, ever reckoned* Greeks? Alexander *is pleaſed to ſay, I have not ſpared my Allies. But has an* Ætolian *any Right to caſt this Reproach upon me? Is it not cuſtomary in* Ætolia, *to ſuffer the Youth to make Incurſions into the Countries of Friends? She permits her Subjects to commit any Robberies, provided they are not legally authorized. Bodies of* Ætolians *have often been known to ſerve for and againſt Nations which were in Alliance with them. It is alſo ſaid, that I deſtroyed* Cios. *Is it not then known, that I only ſent Succours to King* Pruſias, *who was beſieging it? It is true, I did take* Lyſimachia. *But was it not by way of recovering it from the* Thracians? *Thus much in Anſwer to the* Ætolians. *As to King* Attalus, *what Right has he to complain of*

Stephen of Byſantium pretends, that *Lyſimachia* and *Cardia* were the ſame Place. Whilſt *Pliny*, far from confounding theſe two Cities, ſays that *Pactya* and *Cardia*, the one ſituated on *The Propontis*, the other on *The Gulph Melas*, united in the ſingle City of *Lyſimachia*. But this Union will appear inconceivable, if we at all conſider the Diſtance between the two former. Unleſs *Pliny*'s Meaning be ſaid to be, that the Inhabitants of *Pactya* and *Cardia* removed to *Lyſimachia*. *Pauſanias* ſays that the latter was built on the Ruins of *Cardia*. *Strabo* and *Ptolomy* make them two different Cities. *Lyſimachia* was firſt deſtroyed by an Earthquake, twenty two Years after it was founded; and was afterwards rebuilt. Then it was deſtroyed a ſecond time by the *Thracians*; and *Antiochus the Great* raiſed it out of its Ruins. *Sophian* now gives it the Name of *Hexamili*; and *Nardus* that of *Polycaſtro*. *Pliny* ſpeaks of another *Lyſimachia*, which he reckons among the *Ætolian* Cities that were deſtroyed before his time.

71 All we can ſay of *Cios* is, that there are now no Footſteps of it remaining.

72 The City of *Thebes*, in *Phthiotis*, a Province of *Theſſaly*, ſtood near *The Maliac Gulph*, which from the modern Name of this City, is now called *The Gulph of Zeiton*. *Polybius* tells us, *B.* 5. That *Philip* made himſelf Maſter of it, reduced its Inhabitants to Slavery, and, after he had ſettled a Colony of *Macedonians* in it, called it *Philippopoli*, or *Philippi*. There *Auguſtus* fought the famous Battel of *Philippi*.

73 *Echinus* belonged to *Theſſaly*. It ſtood near the Mouth of *The Sperchius*, a little more to the South, over againſt *Eubœa*, from which it was ſeparated by *The Maliac Gulph*.

74 The City of *Lariſſa* here meant, is that of which we have ſpoken already, under the Name of *Cremaſte*.

75 *Pharſalus*, which became afterwards ſo famous for the celebrated Victory which determined the Empire of the World, between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, ſtood on the Banks of the *Eripæus*. There are now no Traces of it left.

76 The *Agræi* inhabited a little Canton, which bordered on *Acarnania* on one Side, and the Country of the *Amphilochians* on the other, at a little Diſtance from the Banks of the *Achelous*. Theſe People are ſuppoſed to be the ſame that *Pliny* calls *Ephyrii*. At leaſt it's certain, the City of *Ephyra* ſtood in the ſame Canton.

77 The *Apodeotes*, or *Apodotes*, as *Polybius* calls them, are abſolutely unknown to us; unleſs they were the ſame People that *Livy* calls *Aperantii*, *B.* 38. and *B.* 43. The latter poſſeſſed the Territory near the Head of the *Achelous*.

As for the *Amphilochians*, a People of *Epirus*, they were ſo called from one *Amphilochus*, the Son of *Alcmæon*. Their Country lay between *The Gulph of Ambracia*, and the *Achelous*. A Part of it was watered by the *Inachus*.

78 Strictly ſpeaking, neither the *Agræi*, nor the *Apodeotes*, nor the *Amphilochians*, were of the *Ætolian* Body. But their Intereſts were the ſame. And therefore *Livy* reckons them among the Nations who entered into their Confederacy.

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my Uſurpations? Was I the Aggreſſor? Nevertheleſs, out of Regard to the Romans, *I offer to reſtore him* Peræa, *the Ships I took, and all the Priſoners I have which were taken from him. But as to the Temple of* Venus, *and the Foreſt, which I deſtroyed, does it become a King to inſiſt on ſuch Trifles? However, I will come into it. I will reſtore both. I will ſend Maſons to re-build the one, and Gardiners to re-plant the other.* Theſe laſt Words, which *Philip* ſpoke with an Air of Raillery and Satyr, pleaſed *Flamininus*, who could not help ſmiling at them; and then the King proceeded thus: *As for you,* Achaians, *I was always your Friend and Protector.* Antigonus *my Guardian, did you* [79] *great Services; and I have added many more to them. You proteſted you would never abandon* Macedon, *and bound your ſelves to me by Oaths. You made me one of your Divinities, and joined my Name with thoſe of* Jupiter, Apollo, *and* Hercules. *But you have broken your Promiſes. Have you then deſerved any Favour at my Hands? Nevertheleſs, I will ſhew ſome Regard to our ancient Friendſhip. I will reſtore you* Argi. *And as to* Corinth, Flamininus *and I will ſettle that Matter. We will conſider, whether it be as juſt, that I ſhould reſtore the Cities my Anceſtors have conquered in* Greece, *as that I ſhould give up thoſe which I have conquered my ſelf.* Then the King began to declare his Reaſons to the *Pro-Conſul*; and *Phæneas*, on the Part of the *Ætolians*, and *Ariſtænus* on that of the *Achæans*, were preparing to anſwer him; but Night drew on. *Philip* demanded, That every one ſhould give him his Pretenſions in Writing; and promiſed to conſider of them. *I am alone*, ſaid he, *and have none to aſſiſt me with their Counſels.* To which the *Pro-Conſul* anſwered, with a Sneer, *I am not at all ſurprized at it; you have deprived your ſelf of all your Friends.* The King was ſtung with the Reproach; and could only put on a forced Smile. Mutual Promiſes were given, That the Conferences ſhould be continued the next Day, in the ſame Place. *Philip* retired with his Fleet; and *Flamininus* returned to his Camp.

§. XVIII. Early in the Morning, the *Pro Conſul* and his Company came to the Sea-ſhore, and walked a great while on the Strand; but no Appearance of *Philip*; neither came any Expreſs from him, to bring word that he would not come. They were quite tired with waiting for him; when at length he appeared on board his Ship. He was attended in the ſame manner as the Day before; and all the Excuſe he made to the *Pro-Conſul* was, That he had ſpent the Night, and good part of the Day, in examining, without any Aſſiſtance, the Pretenſions the Allies of *Rome* had given him in Writing. He pretended, That he had been fatigued the Day before, with hearing the Declamations of ſo many Speakers. Whereas his real View was to exclude the *Achæans* and *Ætolians* from the Conference. He was tired with their Chicanery and Invectives.

As ſoon therefore as the King of *Macedon* was near enough to be heard, he demanded that the Conferences ſhould be continued by him and *Flamininus* alone; which, he ſaid, would be a Means to cut off a thouſand frivolous Diſputes. He repeated the ſame Demand a ſecond time; and no Conſent was given to it. But at laſt the *Pro-Conſul* turned to his Allies, and asked them what they thought of ſuch a private Conference? And they all having Confidence enough in *Flamininus* to entruſt him with the Management of their Intereſts, deſired him to treat alone with the King of *Macedon*. They retired from the Sea-ſide, and the *Legionary Tribune*, *App. Claudius* only, continued at ſome Paces Diſtance from the General. Then *Philip* came aſhore, attended only by *Apollodorus* and *Demoſthenes*, his Conſidents.

The Conference was not long; and it is impoſſible for us to relate what was ſaid. All we know is what *Flamininus* reported to the Council of his Allies, who were not far from the Place where the two Heads had conferred. *Philip* offered to give up *Pharſalus* and *Lariſſa* to the *Ætolians*; but refuſed to reſtore *Thebes* to them. He offered likewiſe to reſtore *Peræa* to the *Rhodians*; but reſerved *Jaſſos* and *Bargylia*. He promiſed to ſurrender *Argi* and *Corinth* to the *Achaians*; and to give King *Attalus* the Ships and Priſoners he had taken from him. But when *Flamininus* made this Report to the Council, they all made a

[79] After *Antigonus* had cut in pieces an Army of *Lacedæmonians*, commanded by *Cleomenes* King of *Sparta*, he had united the *Achæans* and *Ætolians*; had entered into an Alliance with them; and had lent them Troops againſt the common Enemy.

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great Clamour. *Philip* heard it to the Strand; and from the Heat that there ſeemed to be in the Aſſembly, concluded that his Propoſals were rejected. And indeed, the Allies unanimouſly agreed, not to grant the *Macedonian* a Peace, till he had evacuated all the Cities he poſſeſſed in *Greece* and *Aſia*, without any Reſerve. Then *Philip* plainly ſaw that theſe Offers were vain, and therefore deſired the Interview might be renewed the next Day. It grew late, and the King was willing to have a little time to think of ſome new Method of Accommodation. And then, I know not upon what Motive, the Place of Conference was changed.

On the ſame Coaſt of *The Maliac Gulph*, not far from *Nicæa*, ſtood a City named [so] *Thronium*; and both Parties agreed to meet the next Day, on the ſmooth Shore, near that Place. Accordingly, they all came early thither; and *Philip* did not make a long Diſcourſe to them. He exhorted the Heads of the Nations not to be averſe to a Peace: and as he had already granted all that King *Attalus* and the *Achaians* had deſired; he propoſed as to the other Allies, to refer all Differences to the Arbitration of the *Roman* Senate, and promiſed to ſubmit to their Deciſion. But the *Ætolians*, and other Perſons concerned, ſaw thro' the Deſigns of the artful *Macedonian*; and ſaid privately to *Flamininus*, *Who does not ſee, that* Philip *has nothing in View but to gain time? His only Aim is to lull us on in Security and Inaction, whilſt he amuſes the Senate of* Rome *with the ſlow Proceedings of his own Ambaſſadors, and ours. Is there any Dependance to be had on a fawning deceitful Politician? I have as little Dependance upon him,* replied the *Pro-Conſul, as you. But after all, what can he gain by this Expedient? The Winter is but juſt begun. It will not be poſſible to take the Field for ſome Months. Nothing hinders us from making Preparations for the Spring, by way of Precaution. Beſides, the Peace the* Macedonian *deſires will not take place, till it is ratified by the* Roman *Senate, to whom he refers himſelf. So that he has by no means taken his Meaſures well, if he deſigns to deceive us.*

All were of *Flamininus*'s Opinion. *Philip* diſpatched his Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, and the Allies of *Flamininus* ſent their Deputies thither. *Amynander*, the King of the *Athamanes*, went in Perſon, at the Head of the Embaſſy; and the *Pro-Conſul* ſent with him, on his Part, *Q. Fabius*, and *App. Claudius Nero*, a *Legionary Tribune*. A Truce was granted the *Macedonian*, for two Months; and he was required to withdraw his Troops out of all *Phocis*, and the Country of the *Locri*. Nevertheleſs, the *Romans* narrowly obſerved his Conduct, and watched his Steps.

§. XIX. All the Deputies arrived at *Rome*, much about the ſame time; but before Audience was given to *Philip*'s Embaſſadors, thoſe of the Allies were introduced into the Senate. In their Harangues, they were very liberal of their Invectives againſt *Philip*; and inſiſted on what they thought a capital Point. *Philip* had long obſtinately refuſed to give up either *Demetrias* in *Theſſaly*, or *Corinth* in *Achaia*, or *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*. He called theſe three Places *The Fetters of Greece*. The Garriſon of *Corinth* kept all *Peloponneſus* in Awe. That of *Chalcis* made *Phocis*, *Locris*, and *Bœotia* tremble; and that of *Demetrias* kept *Theſſaly* and *Magneſia* in Subjection. If the King had promiſed to reſtore either of theſe Places, it had been only a Feint, to avoid ſome preſent Danger. When the *Greeks* in Alliance with the Republick had filled the Senate with theſe Prejudices; then *Philip*'s Ambaſſadors were admitted into the Aſſembly of *The Conſcript Fathers*. Their Orator began with a ſtudied Harangue; but the *Fathers* interrupted him, and ſaid, *Without ſo many Preambles, tell us in two Words, Will the King of* Macedon *give up* Corinth, Chalcis, *and* Demetrias? The Ambaſſadors were ſurprized at this Queſtion; and with Confuſion anſwered, That their Maſter had given them no Inſtructions, as to that Matter. At which Words, they were diſmiſſed; and immediately a Decree was paſs'd, giving *Flamininus* an abſolute Power, either to force *Philip* to deliver up the three Cities, or to purſue the War with Vigour. The Friends of the *Pro-Conſul* immediately ſent him the Decree; by which he found himſelf made the Arbitrator of Peace and War, between *Greece* and *Macedon*; and when ſupported by theſe full Powers, *Flamininus* no longer complied with *Philip*'s Intreaties for Conferences and Negotiations. He now had at leaſt one Campaign more to reduce his Enemy by Arms, and force him into a Peace by

[so] *Thronium* lay to the South of *Nicæa*, in the Country of the *Locri Epicnemidii*.

Violence. And it was neceſſary that *Flamininus* (as *Scipio* had done in *Hannibal's* Caſe) ſhould firſt get a deciſive Victory, before his Enemies would accept a Peace upon ſuch Terms as he ſhould dictate. Year of ROME DLVI. C. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS, Q. MINUCIUS RUFUS, Conſuls.

§. XX. As for *Philip*, he with Grief ſaw that his Artifices were diſcovered at *Rome*, and his Hopes fruſtrated. He refuſed to give up the three Cities, and turned his Thoughts wholly to War. It was of great Importance to him to preſerve the famous City of *Argi*, which had lately ſubmitted to him. But the Difficulty was, how to continue Maſter of a City in the Heart of *Achaia*. *Argi* was ſurrounded on all Sides by Nations ſteddy in their Attachment to *Rome*. The King therefore took a Step which was very prejudicial to the *Argians* his Allies. He treated about this City with the famous *Nabis*, who had uſurped the Sovereignty in *Lacedæmon*. This Tyrant was powerful enough to defend *Argi*; and the Conditions upon which *Philip* delivered it up to him was, That *Nabis* ſhould not continue in Poſſeſſion of the Place, unleſs *Philip* loſt his Life in the War; but ſhould reſtore it to the *Macedonian*, in caſe he eſcaped the Danger. The ambitious King of *Lacedæmon* conſented to this; but pretended that he would not take Poſſeſſion of it without the Conſent and Approbation of the Inhabitants. Whereas the Villain had really nothing in view, but to plunder the Place, and enrich himſelf with the Spoils of the unfortunate *Argians*; who foreſaw their Misfortunes, and therefore refuſed to receive the *Lacedæmonian* within their Walls. *Liv. B.* 32. *c.* 38.

IN the mean time, *Nabis* drew near the Place; only waited for an Opportunity to enter it; and by the Help of *Philocles*, who had made the Treaty with him for *Philip*, was brought into *Argi* in the Night. Then *Nabis* poſſeſſed himſelf of all the advantageous Poſts, and ordered the Gates to be ſhut. Of a great Number of Inhabitants, only a few of the chief Magiſtrates made their Eſcape in the Tumult; and the Tyrant made uſe of this Pretence to begin his Violences with them. He confiſcated the Eſtates of thoſe who had voluntarily baniſhed themſelves, to his own Uſe. And then, knowing that no Body was able to withſtand his Oppreſſions, he ſet no Bounds to them. He demanded of the Townſmen all their Gold and Silver; and put thoſe to the Rack, whom he ſuſpected of having concealed any. Nor was this all. The new Sovereign aſſembled the People, and notified to them two Edicts. By the firſt, he cancelled all old Debts; and by the ſecond, ordered a new Diviſion to be made of the Lands, whereof every one ſhould have an equal Share. This was the ready way to ſet the Rich againſt the Poor, and to put the City in a Flame; and *Nabis* finding that he could not preſerve *Argi*, without a powerful Protection, had Recourſe to the *Romans*. *Flamininus* was then at *Elatia*, and *Attalus* at *Ægina*. The Tyrant ſent them word, that if they would draw near to *Argi*, he would treat with them about it, and then enter into a Confederacy with them. The Ingrate had forgotten *Philip* his Benefactor, and the Conditions upon which he had been put in Poſſeſſion of *Argi*; and the *Pro-Conſul* and *Attalus* accepted his Offers, without examining over nicely into the Injuſtice and Treachery of the Tyrant. *Flamininus* deſired the King of *Pergamus* to meet him at *Sicyon*, in order to march together towards *Argi*; and the *Pro-Conſul* himſelf croſſed *The Gulph of Corinth*, on board the Fleet his Brother had brought him from *Corcyra*, and came to *Sicyon*. There he found *Attalus*, who was waiting for him; and made the beſt Uſe of his Intelligence. But the King of *Pergamus* thought it beneath the Dignity of either of them to go to the Tyrant *Nabis* to *Argi*; and they therefore reſolved to make him meet them part of the Way, and confer with them in a Place of their chuſing. This Place was a vaſt Plain, near the Ruins of old [81] *Mycenæ*. *Nabis* came thither firſt, under Arms, and attended by his Guards. The *Pro-Conſul* came unarmed, and with only

[81] The City of *Mycenæ*, ſituated on the Banks of the *Inachus*, was formerly one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in this Country. It even had the Preference before *Argi*, as long as the *Pelopidæ* continued in Poſſeſſion of the Monarchy. After the Death of *Acriſius*, it's certain that *Perſeus* reigned there, tho' *Euſebius* has omitted this King, in his Liſt of the Kings of *Mycenæ*. It was the Capital of this Monarchy, for the Space of two hundred and ten Years; till the Reigns of the Sons of *Oreſtes*, *Tiſamenes*, and *Penthilus*, whom the *Heraclidæ* dethroned, eighty Years, or thereabouts, after the Deſtruction of *Troy*; and three hundred thirty four Years before the Foundation of *Rome*. But at laſt, the Citizens of *Argi*, whoſe Hatred and Jealouſy incited them to take up Arms againſt thoſe of *Mycenæ*, entirely deſtroyed it. *Strabo* expreſly ſays, that it was not in being in his time. *Sophian* gueſſes, that it was not far from a Place in the *Morea*, which the *Greeks* call *Agios Hadrianos*, or *Saint Adrian*. *Le Noir* places it near *Charia*.

his

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his Brother *Lucius*, and two of his *Tribunes*, to attend him; and *Attalus* imitated the Boldneſs of *Flamininus*. *Nabis* began the Conference with Apologies for appearing in Arms, and ſurrounded with Guards. *It is not, my Lords*, ſaid the Tyrant, *that I fear you. But I am afraid of the* Argian *Exiles, whoſe Eſtates I have ſeized.* Then they came to the Conditions of the Alliance; and the *Pro-Conſul* inſiſted upon two. Firſt, That the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould put an End to the War in *Achaia*; and ſecondly, That their King ſhould furniſh the Confederates with his Contingent of Troops, to act againſt *Philip*. Whereas *Attalus* was more bold, or more ſincere, than the *Roman*. He reproached the Tyrant with having gotten Poſſeſſion of *Argi* thro' the Treaſon of *Philocles*. *Nabis*, on the other hand, contended, That he had not entered the City without the Conſent and Deſire of the Citizens; and the Diſpute grew warm. *Attalus* inſiſted, That the *Argians* ſhould be aſſembled; and That the Tyrant ſhould bring his Garriſon out of their City, that they might be at full Liberty to declare their Thoughts. But *Nabis* was too cunning to conſent to it; and at length, *Flamininus* put an End to the Diſpute. He did not regard Punctilio's, ſo much as the Eaſtern Princes did; and in Negotiations, he came immediately to the Point, without loſing time in Diſputes about Trifles. In ſhort, he concluded an Alliance with *Nabis*. The latter made a Truce with the *Achaians* for four Months, and furniſhed the Confederates with a Body of ſix hundred *Cretans*, which the *Pro-Conſul* incorporated with his Auxiliaries.

§. XXI. WITH this Reinforcement *Flamininus* thought himſelf in a Condition to inſult *Philocles* the *Macedonian* General, who was *Philip*'s right Hand. *Philocles* was then Governour of *Corinth*. The *Roman* Army drew near that City; and the *Pro-Conſul* affected to ſhew the *Corinthians* the *Cretan* Troops he had received from *Nabis*. This was giving *Philocles* to underſtand that the *Lacedæmonian* was come over to the *Romans*. Nor was this all. He brought the *Macedonian* Commander to a Conference; preſſed him to ſurrender *Corinth*; and *Philocles* at leaſt gave him good Words. He made him hope that he would ſoon evacuate *Corinth*, and join the Confederates. So that *Flamininus* returned to *Anticyra*, well ſatisfied with his Expedition, and ſpent the reſt of the Winter there. As for *Nabis*, being abſolute Maſter in *Argi*, and proud of his Alliance with *Rome*, he reſolved to evacuate it, and return to *Lacedæmon*, where his Preſence was neceſſary. But his Avarice was not ſufficiently glutted with the exceſſive Contributions he had raiſed upon the *Argians*. There yet remained a kind of Robbery to be committed, which it would not have been very decent for him to have been concerned in himſelf. The *Argian* Women never appeared in the Sight of the Men; and not one of them had been at Court. Nevertheleſs, they were rich in Jewels, and the Avarice of the Tyrant was ſuch, that he wanted to rob them of them. *Nabis* therefore, before he left *Argi*, brought thither his Wife *Apega*, whoſe Inclinations were exactly ſuited to his own. This Sort of Queen received the *Argian* Ladies at Court, and they came thither dreſſed in all their Finery. At firſt *Apega* only admired the Richneſs of their Cloaths. Then, by the particular Liking which ſhe took to ſome of the Jewels, ſhe prevailed on ſome to make her Preſents of them. Others ſhe cajolled into ſtripping themſelves to cloath her. And in the laſt place, ſhe made uſe of Threatenings to others; and took from them their precious Stones, and fineſt Cloaths, by Force. And on this Occaſion, an Artifice is mentioned, which would juſtly be eſteemed fabulous, if it were not atteſted by a venerable Author, who lived about this time, and might have been an Eye-Witneſs of the thing.

Polyb. B. 13. Sub finem.

NABIS, ſays he, had, in the third Year after he had uſurped the Throne, practiſed in *Sparta*, what he has ſince done in *Argi*. His Tyrannies and his Rapines were carried to Exceſs. His Wife *Apega* was then the Inſtrument of his Extortions; and the Tyrant, not content with her aſſiſting him herſelf, ordered a Figure to be made of her, which was exactly like her, and was moved by Springs hid under the fine Cloaths with which the Image was dreſſed. It was, properly ſpeaking, a Statue of her, exactly of her Size, and ſo like her, as to be capable of deceiving any Body. This Statue generally ſtood in the King's Apartment; and he made it move as he pleaſed, by turning a Spring, which was out of ſight. When the Tyrant had any *Lacedæmonian* brought into his Preſence, whoſe Eſtate he had a mind

mind to uſurp, he firſt exhorted him to contribute liberally towards the Wants of the State. And if he appeared in the leaſt inflexible, he deſired him to go to the Queen, who would make him more tractable. At the ſame inſtant the Statue moved out of its Place, and advanced ſome Steps towards the refractory Citizen; and at length came up to him, and took faſt hold of him. As ſoon as ſhe had done this, ſome Daggers, and Swords, ſtarted out of the Folds of her Clothes, ſtabbed the poor *Lacedæmonian*, and killed him. This would appear an incredible Story, if we did not know how expert the *Greeks* were at ſuch Inventions; which have been imitated in our Days, rather for Diverſion, than as Inſtruments of Cruelty. And this at leaſt lets us into the Characters of this *Nabis*, and his Wife *Apega*, with whom *Flamininus* had made an Alliance. The Scandal of having joined him with the Allies of *Rome*, left a Stain on the Reputation of this *Roman* General.

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§. XXII. In the mean time the Winter was juſt at an end, and the Spring invited the Armies to take the Field. *Flamininus* marched out of his Quarters, guarded only with one *Manipulus*, and attended by King *Attalus*, who was come to join him at *Elatia*. They advanced together towards *Thebes* [82], the Capital of *Bœotia*, and a City, which it was of Importance to the Confederates to ſeize: And the *Pro-Conſul* pitched his Camp five Miles from the Place. *Thebes* yet held out for *Philip*, through the Intereſt of *Brachyllas* [83], his zealous Friend. But when the *Thebans* ſaw the *Pro-Conſul* arrive with ſo ſmall a Guard, *Antiphilus*, their chief Magiſtrate, came to meet him. The *Roman* had not neglected a Precaution which he thought neceſſary. Two thouſand of his *Haſtati* followed him at ſome Diſtance. They marched on ſlowly, and were hid behind the Hills round the City. All the *Thebans* were either come out of their Gates, or ſtood on the Ramparts, for the moſt part without Arms; out of Curioſity to ſee what paſſed. As for *Flamininus*, he deſignedly ſlackened his Pace, that his *Haſtati* might have time to come up; and as ſoon as they appeared, the *Thebans* thought themſelves betrayed. *Antiphilus*, ſaid they, *has ſold the City to the* Romans. *We ſhall not be at Liberty to chuſe their Alliance, or that of* Philip, *in the Aſſembly of the People, appointed to be held to morrow.* Nevertheleſs, they diſſembled their Uneaſineſs; (how could they ſafely diſcover it?) And the *Pro-Conſul* mightily careſſed the Inhabitants, and gave them Leave to aſſemble their Council, to deliberate what Meaſures to purſue. But what had they to do, unleſs to ſurrender to the *Romans*, who were already Maſters of their Ramparts? However, they held the Aſſembly, and *Attalus* was preſent at it. This Prince was old and infirm. Nevertheleſs, he ſpoke firſt; and with all the Ardour that his Zeal for the *Romans* inſpired. But by that time he had repreſented to the *Thebans*, the good Offices he had done their City, and all *Bœotia*, he was ſeized with an apoplectick Fit, which took away the uſe of his Speech. He gave ſeveral Hickups, and fell down. Thoſe near him endeavoured to raiſe him, and the Motion brought

Liv. B. 33. c. 1.
Plut. Life of *Flaminin.*
Livy, B. 33. c. 1.

82 There were two Cities which were called *Thebes* in *Greece*. One was in *Phthiotis*, not far from the Sea, and near *The Maliac Gulph*. We have ſpoken of it. *Vol.* 3. The other, which is that here ſpoken of, was the Capital of *Bœotia*. Moſt People have thought that it was founded by *Cadmus*; but *Strabo* makes him only to have founded a Citadel, called from him *Cadmea*. *Pauſanias* pretends, that *Thebes* was founded by *Amphion* and *Zethus*, the Son of *Antiope*. But there is nothing at all reaſonable in the miraculous Circumſtances with which the Pagan Mythologiſts adorn this Fact, unleſs it be the Alluſions couched under them. The two Founders gave their new City the Name of the famous City of *Thebes*, from which they came; and they alſo called it *Heptapylos*, from its *ſeven Gates*. By this latter Name they diſtinguiſhed it from *Thebes* in *Egypt*, which was alſo called *Hecatompylos*, or *The City with an hundred Gates*. The Rivers *Iſmenus* and *Aſopus*, watered its Territory. Near it was the Fountain of *Dirce*, ſo well known among the Poets. It ran into the former of theſe two Rivers. After *Thebes* had undergone ſeveral Revolutions, it acquired new Luſtre. By the Victory of *Leuctra*, which the *Thebans* gained, under the Conduct of *Epaminondas*, they acquired a Superiority over all *Greece*. And *Thebes* continued formidable to its Neighbours, till it was utterly deſtroyed by *Alexander the Great*. He ſpared no Houſe, but that of the famous *Pindar*. However *Caſſander*, the Son of *Antipater*, raiſed it out of its Ruins. It now ſcarce deſerves the Name of a City. It is no better than a Village, which the *Turks* call *Tives*, *Ttibes*, or *Stives*. *Lazius* calls it *Tyana*. Its Inhabitants formerly had the Reputation of being the dulleſt People in *Greece*. Nevertheleſs, though they had no Wit, the Ancients ſay, they had a ſingular Talent for Muſick. Which made *Alcibiades* ſay, *They can't ſpeak indeed, but they can ſing mighty well*. *Thebes* was famous for having given Birth to the two fabulous Heroes, *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, the Sons of *Jupiter* and *Alcmena*.

83 *Plutarch*, or his Copyiſts, ſeem to have diſfigured the Name of *Brachyllas*. He, in his *Life of Flamininus*, calls him *Brachulleis*. We follow *Polybius* and *Livy*.

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him a little to himſelf; but he had loſt the Uſe of ſome of his Limbs. *Flamininus* ordered him to be taken care of, and put on board a Galley, which carried him to *Aſia*, where he died, at ſeventy one Years [84] of Age. This Prince was the firſt who made the City of *Pergamus* the Capital of a Monarchy, by taking the Title of King. The immenſe Riches he inherited from his Mother [85] *Antiochis*, emboldened him to give himſelf a Crown; which he maintained for forty Years, by his Wealth and Victories, and the Protection of the *Romans*. He was faithful to his Allies, liberal to his Friends, mild to his Subjects; and was univerſally lamented, at Home, and Abroad. He left four [86] Sons, the eldeſt of whom was *Eumenes*, who inherited his Crown. We ſhall hereafter ſee this young Prince live in a very good Underſtanding with his Brothers, long cultivate the Alliance of the *Romans*, and ſignalize himſelf by his Courage, and Virtues.

THIS unſpeakable and unforeſeen Accident ſuſpended a little the Deliberation of the *Thebans*; and then *Ariſtænus*, the *Prætor* of the *Achæans*, undertook to be the Advocate of the *Romans*, in the room of *Attalus*. His Speech was the more prevalent, becauſe he did not endeavour to perſuade others to any thing but what he had done himſelf. After this, *Flamininus* ſpoke a few Words. He did not ſo much boaſt of his Exploits, or the Superiority of his Republick, as of her Fidelity in obſerving Treaties. And laſtly, what determined the Aſſembly in favour of rhe *Romans*, was the Petition made to it, by the chief Magiſtrate of [87] *Platææ*. This City formerly belonged to *Bœotia*; and the Head of it had great Intereſt in the national Diets. The *Platæan* deſired, that *Bœotia* might join with the *Romans*; and no one durſt contradict him. So that *Thebes*, and all *Bœotia*, deſerted *Philip*, and entered into a Confederacy with *Rome*. And now *Flamininus*, who had no Enemy left behind him, was wholly bent on going in queſt of *Philip*, and fighting him.

§. XXIII. THE *Macedonian*, on the other hand, ſpent the Winter, in preparing for a Campaign, on which depended the Fate of his Dominions, and the Preſervation of his Conqueſts. He found *Macedon* exhauſted of Soldiers. His Predeceſſors had always loved War, and he himſelf had continually been raiſing Troops all his Reign. And laſtly, the beſt part of his old Soldiers had been killed in the late Battels with the *Romans*. He was therefore forced to raiſe new *Corps* of weak young Men, who were ſcarce paſt ſixteen. Only he joined with them ſome few Veterans, whom he forced to take Arms again, though advanced in Years. He encamped with all theſe Troops near [88] *Dium*, and there exerciſed his new Levies. From thence he went down to *Theſſaly*; and *Flamininus* took the ſame Rout. From *Elatia*, he turned towards [89] *Scarphea*, and came to *Thermopyla*, where the *Ætolian* Diet was aſſembled. The Buſineſs before them was to deliberate, how many Troops *Ætolia* ſhould ſend to the *Pro-Conſul*; and it being determined, that *Phæneas* ſhould carry him two thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe as her Contingent, this Reinforcement joined him without Delay.

FLAMININUS continued his Rout through *Phthiotis*; and five hundred [90] *Cretans*, and three hundred *Apolloniates*, joined him there. Soon after this, *Amynander* brought him twelve hundred *Athamanes*. So that the *Pro-Conſul*'s Army increaſed in all Places wherever he came. He had gained the Affection of all theſe Nations; and it may be affirmed, that his Prudence and Addreſs contributed as much towards gaining his Victories, as his Valour.

84 According to *Polybius*, *Attalus* was ſeventy two, when he died.

85 *Antiochis*, the Mother of *Attalus*, was the Daughter of *Achæus*, who had uſurped part of *Aſia Minor*, to the Prejudice of *Antiochus the Great*, his Pupil.

86 *Attalus* had theſe four Children by his Wife *Apollonia*, the Daughter of a Citizen of *Cyſica*. The ſecond was named *Attalus* as well as his Father; the third *Phileteres*; and the fourth *Athenæus*.

87 *Platæa* was one of the moſt famous Cities in *Bœotia*. It ſtood on the Banks of the *Aſopus*, between *Thebes*, and Mount *Cytheron*. This City became yet more famous for the Battel which the *Greeks* gained over *Mardonius*, one of the Generals of *Xerxes* King of *Perſia*. The *Platæans* had been the only People in *Greece*, who had ſeconded the *Athenians* in the Battel of *Marathon*. And in Gratitude for their Adherence to the Intereſts of *Attica*, they had, according to *Herodotus*, a Share in the Vows the *Athenians* made every five Years, by the Mouth of an Herald, in favour of the *Tribes*, and Cities, in Alliance with them.

88 The City of *Dium* here ſpoken of, ſtood in that part of *Macedon*, which the ancient Geographers called *Pieria*, near *The Thermaic Gulph*. *Nardus* gives this City the Name of *Stadia*.

89 *Scarphea* was a City of *Locris*; and bordered upon *The Maliac Gulph*.

90 *Livy* diſtinguiſhes theſe five hundred *Cretans* by the Name of *Gortynii*. This Body had been raiſed at *Gortyna*, an ancient City of *Crete*, which is now only a ſmall Town called *Gurtina*.

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In the mean time, *Philip* was advanced farther into *Theſſaly*, which was to be the Seat of the War. His Army conſiſted of one *Phalanx* only, that is, of ſixteen thouſand Men, all *Macedonians*, who were formed into one *Corps*. All his Strength, and all his Hopes, depended on this ſingle Body of Men. But beſides the *Phalanx*, *Philip* had alſo in his Army, two thouſand light-armed Men, who wore ſmall light Bucklers, in the Form of an Half-moon, called by the *Greeks*, *Peltai*; and about a thouſand Mercenaries, who ſerved him as Auxiliaries. To which, if we add his two thouſand Horſe of different Nations, his whole Army will amount to twenty one thouſand Men. And all things conſidered, the *Roman* Army was very little more numerous; only their Cavalry was ſuperior to that of the Enemy.

The firſt Attempt *Flamininus* made in *Theſſaly*, was unſucceſsful. He flattered himſelf, that he ſhould be able to ſurpriſe *Thebes*, a City of *Phthiotis*, different from the City of that Name in *Bœotia*. *Timon*, the Governor of it, had given the *Pro Conſul* hopes, that he would deliver it up to him. *Flamininus* therefore drew near it, with a ſmall Body of Horſe and Foot; but the *Thebans* made ſo briſk a Sally upon him, that he would have loſt his Life, or have been taken, if his Infantry had not ran to his Aſſiſtance from the Camp. Upon which the *Roman* General entrenched himſelf. He knew *Philip* was entered into *Theſſaly*; but knew not where he was encamped.

Then the *Pro-Conſul* ſent out Detachments, ſome to diſcover the Enemy, others to cut Stakes, to guard his Trenches, if there ſhould be Occaſion. Both the *Macedonians* and *Romans* uſed Palliſades; but the latter, with moſt Art. The *Macedonians* made uſe of young Trees, which were pretty high, and very buſhy. Theſe they planted pretty wide, and twiſted their Branches together. The *Romans* on the contrary choſe forked Stakes, of a moderate Size; one ſide of which was cut ſmooth, and the other had its Branches, which were pliable enough to be faſtened together: and theſe Stakes they ſet ſo thick, that you could not thruſt a Hand between them. By this means the *Romans* had great Advantages over the *Macedonians*; both in pitching, and defending, a Camp. A *Roman* Soldier, when he had flung his Buckler over his Shoulders, could eaſily bring from a Foreſt, beſides his Javelin, two or three of theſe Stakes, becauſe moſt of the Branches were cut off. But a *Macedonian* on the contrary, could not without Difficulty carry one of his heavy Piles, with the Branches about it. Beſides, in the Attack of a Camp, when two or three Foot-Soldiers had caught hold of ſome of the *Macedonian* Palliſades, and pulled them down, they made a wide opening into the Entrenchments. The removal of two or three Stakes made a large Breach. But the Caſe was very different, as to the *Roman* Palliſades. There was nothing to hold them by; and if one of them was pulled up, it made but a very little opening. Beſides, the whole Encloſure of Palliſades, was in a manner but one Body; and as it took up a great deal of time, to pull up every Stake, one after another, it was in a manner impoſſible to force a Way through it. Behind Trenches, thus ſtrongly fortified, did *Flamininus* every Night lodge his Army.

Polyb. B. 17. & ex co. Livy, B. 33. c. 5.

§. XXIV. Thus furniſhed with Palliſades, the *Romans* advanced near *Pheræ*, a City of *Magneſia*; and there received Intelligence, that the King of *Macedon* was encamped at *Lariſſa*. The two Armies drew nearer and nearer together, inſenſibly; but *Philip* firſt ſhewed an Earneſtneſs to come to a Battel. He marched on haſtily, and came and encamped four Miles from *Pheræ*. Then both Generals ſent out Detachments to ſeize an Eminence, which they thought of Importance. There the detached *Romans* firſt got ſight of the *Macedonians*, in this Campaign, and continued in their Poſts till further Orders. Both Parties ſent to their Generals, to know whether they ſhould advance, or return to the Camp; and the Orders were to retreat. The next Day the *Ætolian* Horſe, joined with ſome *Roman* Squadrons, returned to the ſame Place, to take Poſſeſſion of the Eminence. Some of the *Macedonian* Cavalry came alſo to ſeize the ſame Poſt. Then a Battel enſued between the Horſe, which was begun with inconceivable Valour by the *Ætolians*; and the *Romans* ſeconding them, they together chaſed the *Macedonian* Troop, which retired in Diſorder. And this firſt Advantage of the *Pro Conſul*, was the Prelude to a Victory. Nevertheleſs, the two Generals, as it were by Conſent, thought the Neighbourhood of *Pheræ*, a very improper Place for a pitched

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pitched Battel. It was full of Trees, ruined Houſes, and Gardens. How then could the *Roman Legions*, or *Macedonian Phalanx*, be formed in ſuch a Country? The two Armies therefore marched towards *Scotuſſa*: *Philip* to reap the Fields there; and *Flamininus* to ravage them, and deprive the Enemy of their Subſiſtence. What was remarkable is, that the two Armies marched to the ſame Place, through different Roads, without meeting, or ſo much as ſeeing each other. A long Chain of Hills hid them from one another. At length, after they had marched all the Day, the *Pro Conſul* came and encamped at [91] *Eretia*, in *Phthiotis*; and *Philip*, on the Banks of the [92] *Oncheſtus*, a River which divides *Phthiotis* from *Magneſia*. The next Day both the *Roman* and *Macedonian* decamped. The latter marched up towards [93] *Melambium*, pretty near *Scotuſſa*; the former came and encamped at [94] *Thetidium*. So that the Generals loſt ſight of one another again, and neither of them knew exactly where the other was. The next Morning at break of Day, a violent Storm aroſe, with great Rains, and terrible Thunders; and the bad Weather kept *Flamininus* in his Camp. Whereas *Philip* decamped, notwithſtanding the Darkneſs; but as his Soldiers could not ſee one another at two Paces Diſtance, and could only guide themſelves by the Shouts of the advanced Guard, as in a Night-march, he only croſſed the Plain, called [95] *Cynocephalæ*. This Place, which we ſhall ſoon ſee the Scene of a ſignal Victory, was ſo called, from a great Number of Hills about it, which were naturally ſhaped like *Dogs-Heads*. There *Philip* poſted advanced-Guards of Horſe and Foot, and encamped a little above *Cynocephalæ*. In the mean time *Flamininus*, who had not left his Camp at *Thetidium*, ſent ten Companies of Horſe, and a thouſand Foot, to find out *Philip*. Neither of the Generals thought the deciſive Stroke ſo near at Hand.

PHILIP had ſeized the Eminencies with a Detachment of his Troops. The *Romans* came upon them, and climbed half way up the Hills, without ſeeing the Enemy. The Fog, which yet continued, hid them; and there the Skirmiſh began. The *Romans*, who fought up-Hill, and with a more numerous Body, than their own, were worſted; and ſent to their General for Aſſiſtance. *Flamininus* ſent them two Bodies [96] of *Ætolian* Horſe, and two *Legionary Tribunes*, with all the *Manipuli* under their Command. And then the Battel had a different Aſpect. The *Romans* preſſed their Enemies with Vigour, and forced them to retreat to the Ridge of the Hill. From thence they ſent *Philip* Word, that if they were not ſuccoured, they ſhould be ſurrounded. The King had no Thoughts of coming ſo ſoon to a general Action; and ſome of his Troops were diſperſed about the Fields to gather Forrage, others to guard the Convoys. Nevertheleſs, he detached away three [97] of his Officers, with his *Macedonian* and *Theſſalian* Cavalry, and all his mercenary Infantry, except the *Thracians*. The Fog began to go off, as this Reinforcement arrived at the Hill; and then the Enemy fell on the *Romans*, and repulſed them. Indeed, the *Ætolian* Cavalry did Wonders in this critical Juncture. They covered the *Romans*, gave them time to rally, and ſaved them the Shame of a diſhonourable Flight. The *Ætolian* Squadrons were incomparably good at Rencounters and Skirmiſhes. They as much excelled in tumultuous Engagements, as they were defective in pitched Battels. The *Pro-Conſul* having Notice of the Danger of his *Romans*, immediately drew out all his Troops into the Plain; led them to the Foot of the Mountains; and formed them there. In the mean time *Philip*, who continued in his Camp, received every Moment freſh Advice of the beginning of the Battel; and the Challenge *Flamininus* gave him. The ſlight Advantage his Troops had juſt gained over an Handful of *Romans*, was ex-

91 The ancient Geographers mention two Cities of *Eretria*, one in *Phthiotis*, a Country of *Theſſaly*, the other in the Iſland of *Eubœa*.

92 According to *Livy*, *Polybius*, and *Stephen of Byzantium*, the River *Oncheſtus* watered *Theſſaly*. The Ancients give the ſame Name to a Wood, a Lake, and a City, in *Bœotia*.

93 We know nothing more of the Situation of *Melambium*, than that it was in *Peloſſgiotis*, a part of *Theſſaly*.

94 *Strabo* and *Polybius* place the City of *Thetidium* in *Theſſaly*, near *Pharſalus*.

95 *Stephen of Byzantium* gives this Name of *Cynocephalæ* to a little Canton near *Thebes* in *Bœotia*, of which the Poet *Pindar* was a Native; and *Xenophon* ſpeaks of this Country in the Hiſtory of *Ageſilaus*.

96 Theſe two Bodies of *Ætolian* Horſe were commanded by *Archidamus*, and *Eupolemus*, two Generals of that Nation.

97 The Name of one of theſe three Generals was *Heraclides*, who commanded the *Theſſalian* Horſe; that of the ſecond *Leon*, who commanded the *Macedonian* Horſe; and that of the third *Athenagoras*, who commanded the Mercenaries.

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aggerated to him. But nevertheleſs he yet continued in ſuſpence, between a Deſire to fight, and his inward Forebodings of ſome great Misfortune. He neither liked the Day, nor the Place, where the Battel was going to be fought. The Plain of *Cynocephalæ* was encumbered with Rocks, and there was ſcarce Room enough for his *Phalanx* to be drawn up to the beſt Advantage. But at length the Diſcourſes of his Officers, and the Ardour of his Soldiers, prevailed over his own Miſgivings; and he marched all his Troops out of his Entrenchments.

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§. XXV. THEN the Armies came immediately in ſight of each other, and the two Generals were very buſy in running from Rank to Rank, to encourage them to fight. *Who are theſe Soldiers with ſuch Multitudes of long Poles?* ſaid *Flamininus* to his *Romans*. *Are they not thoſe* Macedonians *whom we vanquiſhed on the Banks of the* Aoüs? *If their Fathers gained any Reputation in their Wars with the* Perſians, *they have loſt it in their Battels with the* Romans. Whilſt *Philip* on the other hand, was putting his *Phalanx* in mind of the Victories of *Alexander*. *Your Anceſtors*, ſaid he, *extended their Conqueſts from* Perſia *to the* Indies; *and they fought only for Glory: Whereas, you are now going to fight for Liberty.* After theſe ſhort Harangues, the *Roman* Troops which firſt left their Camp, when they ſaw themſelves ſupported by the *Legions*, renewed their Attack with more Intrepidity. Then *Philip*, ſeeing that the Detachment he had ſent to the Hills was in Danger of ſinking, ran thither himſelf with his light-Horſe; and gave Orders to *Nicanor* to follow him with the reſt of the Army. When it was come up, in part at leaſt, he ordered his right Wing, where he poſted himſelf, to fall on the left of the *Romans*. *Flamininus* had commanded his right Wing not to ſtir till further Orders; and to cover it, had poſted in the firſt Line, a Rank of Elephants, which *Maſiniſſa* had given to his Republick. Then in order the better to ſuſtain the Impetuoſity of the *Macedonians*, who charged the Wing he commanded from the upper Ground, the *Pro-Conſul* firſt advanced his light-armed Troops. *Philip* ſaw from the Top of the Hill, the firſt Onſet given, and leaped for Joy, to ſee his *Macedonians* fight with Advantage. But his Joy was a little damped, when he found them give Way, and Retreat. All that had yet paſſed, was but the Prelude to a great Action. All the *Phalanx* was not yet got up to the Eminencies. He formed it almoſt all towards his right Wing, with the Infantry and Cavalry, which had begun the Skirmiſh. Firſt he ordered the *Phalangites* to double their Ranks, and form themſelves very deep. Afterwards, when he ſaw the *Legions* advance, he commanded his *Phalangites* to level their Pikes, and to widen, in order to make a larger Front than the *Romans*. And then the Action became ſerious. The *Pro-Conſul* brought his light-armed Troops into the Spaces between the *Corps* of his Army; the Skirmiſh was at an end; and the Battel was begun in form. In the firſt Place a terrible Shout was given, at the ſame inſtant of Time, by both Armies. The Air reſounded far with it, and the Spectators returned it with confuſed Clamours, which were enough to encourage the Combatants. *Philip*'s right Wing fell with Fury, from the Tops of the Hills, on *Flamininus*'s left Wing, which was poſted under them, and broke through it. Whilſt the *Legionaries* could not penetrate into the *Phalanx*, whoſe long Pikes preſerved them from the *Roman* Swords. Their Situation, their Arms, and in ſhort, all Circumſtances, favoured the *Macedonians* in their right Wing. But it was otherwiſe in their left. Their *Phalanx*, which was more extended, was thinner to the left, than to the right, and did not preſerve that Order, which made it invincible. The Rocks, the Inequalities of the Ground, and the Orders of the General, hindered the *Phalangites* from forming themſelves [98] into one Body. They were divided, and rather formed for a March, than a Battel. Some of them were poſted in the Plain, others on the Brow of the Hill. *Flamininus* therefore, who thought it would be more for his Advantage to fight in the right, than the left Wing, paſſed from the left to the right. Then he firſt ordered his Elephants to advance, and after them the *Haſtati* of the firſt Line; and at this new Attack, the Enemy had no Head, and their Orders were neither prudently given, nor well executed. So that the *Macedonians* in the Front of their left Wing, no longer withſtood the Efforts of the *Romans*. Their Elephants ſpread Diſorder every where, and the

Plut. Life of *Flamin.* *Polyb. B.* 17. *& ex eo.* *Livy, B.* 33. *c.* 8

98 See our Account of the Order and Diſpoſition of the *Phalanx*, Vol. 2.

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divided Parts of the *Phalanx* fled. But though *Flamininus* was victorious in his right Wing; his left was ſtill vigorouſly attacked by the ſtrongeſt part of the *Phalanx*, where the King commanded in Perſon. The Difficulty was how to break it; and a *Legionary Tribune*, whoſe Name is not tranſmitted to us, both formed a Deſign for it, and undertook to put it in execution. He was purſuing the diſbanded *Phalangites* of the left Wing; and though he had but a few *Manipuli* with him, undertook to break through the reſt of the *Phalanx*, which was fighting with Advantage in the right Wing of the *Macedonian* Army. He attacked them behind, without any Reſiſtance. Men armed with long Pikes, and exceeding cloſely drawn up, could not face about, and preſent their Arms that way. So that the hindmoſt of them were cut in pieces, and the reſt fled. Then the left Wing of the *Romans*, which ſcarce made any Reſiſtance, but ſtill ſtood their Ground againſt the Enemy, began to purſue the Fugitives. And that Moment *Philip*, to his great Surpriſe, ſaw his whole Army in Diſorder. Till that time, he had thought himſelf victorious on all ſides, and had ſcarce heard of the Rout of his left Wing, where the Misfortune had begun. How ſhocking muſt it have been to ſee, from the Top of the Mountain, which he had ſeized with a few Horſe and Foot, the Field of Battel ſtrowed with the dead Bodies of his *Macedonians*, and the *Romans* at the Heels of his routed Soldiers! And his Fright was yet greater, when he ſaw the *Romans* of the left Wing gain the Eminencies. He then aſſembled together in haſte, as many of his *Macedonians* and *Thracians* as he could, and fled. Nevertheleſs, he ſtill preſerved his Preſence of Mind, in the midſt of his Misfortune. He had left his Papers at *Lariſſa*; and if the *Pro-Conſul* had ſeized them, he would have diſcovered all the Secrets of his Negotiations and Intelligences. *Philip* therefore diſpatched an Expreſs to fetch them; and whilſt the King himſelf was ſeeking for a Place of Safety, *Flamininus* was inceſſantly purſuing the Fugitives. He ſaw on the Top of a Hill a Body of *Phalangites*, who held their Pikes upright, with the Points towards Heaven; which among the *Macedonians* was a Signal, that they ſurrendered to the Enemy. But the *Pro-Conſul* was not acquainted with this Cuſtom. Nevertheleſs, he ſuſpected that they asked Quarter; and therefore halted, and ſuſpended the Fury of his Troops. But a *Roman* Officer, unfortunately fell on theſe poor Men, on the other ſide, and cut them in pieces: And the General was grieved to ſee, that thoſe who ſaught his Clemency ſhould not be ſuffered to partake of it. Thus ended the Battel of *Cynocephalæ*. As ſoon as the Slaughter was over, the *Ætolians* were the moſt ready to enter the Camp of the Vanquiſhed, to pillage it; in the Abſence of the *Romans*, who were yet buſy in making Priſoners. The *Legionaries* complained of it to the General; and reproached him, with having laid all the Weight of the Battel upon them, without giving them their Share of the Booty. The Dead on both ſides were numbered; and according to ſome *Latin* Authors, *Philip* loſt more Men than he had had in his Army. One makes the Loſs of the *Macedonians* amount to forty thouſand Men; another, to thirty two thouſand; which is an Exaggeration. It is more certain, that only about eight thouſand *Macedonians*, and ſeven hundred *Romans*, were killed on the Spot. *Flamininus* took from the Enemy five thouſand Priſoners [99], whom he ſold; and divided the Money, with the reſt of the Spoils, among his Soldiers. From thence he came and encamped under *Lariſſa*; whilſt *Philip* [100] ſheltered himſelf in *The Valley of* [101] *Tempe*. It is ſaid, that the *Ætolians* occaſioned his Eſcape, by their haſte to fall upon his Camp. But be that as it will, his Affairs declined, and he had no Reſource, but in a Peace.

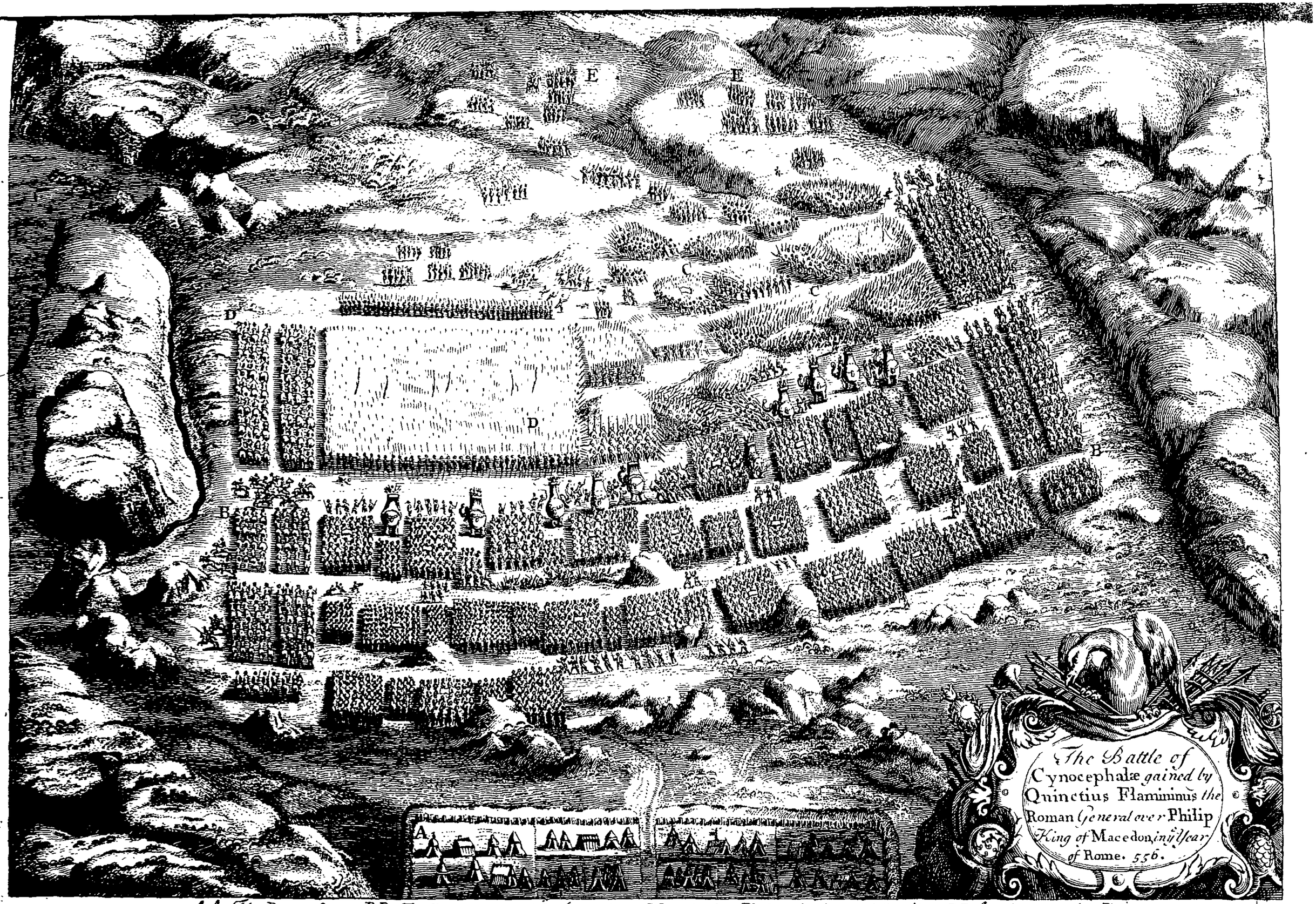
Liv. B. 33. c. 10.

Valerius Antias and *Claudius in Livy, B. 33. c. 10.*

99 According to *Valerius of Antium*, the *Macedonians* loſt forty thouſand Men in the Battel of *Cynocephalæ*, and had five thouſand ſeven hundred made Priſoners of War by the *Romans*, who alſo took from the Vanquiſhed two hundred and forty one Standards. *Claudius*, an ancient Author, reckons that *Philip* had thirty two thouſand killed, and four thouſand three hundred made Priſoners. But *Livy* thought it neceſſary to abandon theſe two Annaliſts, whoſe Fidelity he ſuſpected, and adhere to *Polybius*, an Author who deſerves more Credit than any other, in what relates to the Affairs of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. This was the *Latin* Hiſtorian's Opinion of him.

100 *Polybius* ſays, that after the Battel of *Cynocephalæ*, *Philip* eſcaped to a Place called *Alexander's Tower*, and from thence to *Gonni*, a Place near *The Valley of Tempe*.

101 *The Valley of Tempe*, which was bounded to the North by Mount *Olympus*, and to the South by Mount *Oſſa*, was about five thouſand geometrical Paces long, in the longeſt Place, and about an Acre and an half broad.



A A. The Roman *Camp. B B. The* Roman *army. C C. Part of the* Macedonian Phalanx *broken and disunited. D D. Another part of the* Phalanx. *which keeps its ground against the* Roman *army for some time E E Eminences seized by a detachment of* Philips *troops.*

§. XXVI. AND what increaſed *Philip*'s Misfortune, was another Battel, which one of his Generals had loſt, at the very ſame time, or at leaſt, a few Days after, in *Achaia*. *Androſthenes* the *Macedonian* had continued at *Corinth* with a Body of ſix thouſand Men, partly his own Countrymen, and partly *Thracians* and *Cretans*. The Deſign of the King of *Macedon*, was to protect *Corinth* from the Inſults of thoſe *Greeks* which were in the Intereſt of *Rome*; and the Orders he had given *Androſthenes*, were to continue in the City, or its Neighbourhood. But he had a great Deſire to take the Field; and inſtead of being Governor of the Place, he made himſelf the General of his little Army. Then he over-run *Achaia*, and ravaged the Fields of [102] *Pellene*, [103] *Phlius*, and *Cleonæ* [104]. No Enemy at firſt appeared to oppoſe his Enterpriſes. But at length *Nicoſtratus*, the *Prætor* and General of the *Achæans*, put himſelf in Motion. He could ill brook the Ravages of *Androſthenes*; but he had under his Command only two thouſand Men, who were left in *Achaia*, to guard *Sicyon*; and theſe were too few to oppoſe the ſuperior Forces of the *Macedonian*. *Androſthenes* therefore advanced into the Territory of *Sicyon*, as it were to inſult the Weakneſs of *Nicoſtratus*. His Numbers gave the *Macedonian* Confidence, and his Confidence made him the leſs cautious. His Troops were often diſperſed in the Fields in ſmall Bodies, and his Army was ſcarce ever all in a Place. This gave *Nicoſtratus* hopes of being able to ſurpriſe the Enemy, whoſe Preſumption made him negligent; and he took very proper Meaſures to put his Deſign in execution. He privately ſent Expreſſes to the Garriſons of the neighbouring Cities, ordering them to appear at a general Rendezvous, on a Day appointed. The Place he choſe was called [105] *Apelaurum*, a little Town near *Stymphalia* [106], in *Argolis*: And the *Prætor* was obeyed. He ſet out from thence with his little Body of Troops, and came by Night to *Cleonæ*, without the *Macedonian*'s ſuſpecting his March. He had in his Camp five thouſand Men; and among them three hundred Horſe, which *Nicoſtratus* detached with ſome light-armed Troops, to watch the Enemy. Then the *Achæan* General re-

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Livy, *B.* 33. *c.* 14.
Livy, ibid.

102 *Pellene*, which *Stephen of Byzantium* alſo calls *Pellina*, was a City of *Achaia Propria*. It bordered upon the Territory of *Sicyon*. From thence to *The Gulph of Corinth*, was reckoned to be ſixty *Stadia*, or ſeven thouſand five hundred Paces. *Gemiſtus* gives this City the Name of *Cercoba*, and *Le Noir* that of *Zaracha*. The Natives of the Country now moſt commonly call it *Diacopton*.

103 *Livy* here mentions this City, under the Name of *Phliaſius*. This ſeems to be the *Phlius* of *Achaia*, which we have already mentioned. We muſt take care not to confound it with another *Phlius*, which was in *Argolis*.

104 *Cleonæ*, a little City in the Territory of *Argi*, bordered upon that of *Corinth*, a little above *Nemea*. *Le Noir* ſays, it is now called *San-Vaſilii*.

105 The ancient Geographers ſay nothing of the Name or Situation of *Apelaurum*.

106 The City of *Stymphalia* was in *Arcadia*, a Canton of *Peloponneſus*. *Pinet* now calls it *Vulſi*; and *Le Noir*, *Longanico*. *Pauſanias* ſays it was anciently divided into two Cities, *The Old*, and *The New*. Its Inhabitants paid a particular Worſhip to *Juno*. They believed, upon the Credit of a fabulous Tradition, that the Goddeſs had been brought up there, under the Care of *Temenus*, the Son of *Pelaſgus*. They alſo paid great Honours to *Diana*, to whom they erected a Temple. Near it was a Spring, which formed *The Lake Stymphalus*, whoſe Waters, according to *Pliny*, ran under Ground, and appeared again in *Argolis*; and then the Lake or River took the Name of *Eraſinus*. In *Strabo*'s time, the City which had been built on the Borders of the Lake, was fifty *Stadia*, or ſix thouſand two hundred and fifty geometrical Paces, diſtant from it. *Lucretius*, *Hyginus*, *Apollodorus*, *Virgil*, and *Claudian*, ſpeak of ſome Birds of an enormous Size, which deſtroyed all this Neighbourhood. *Hercules* is ſaid to have driven them away, with the Sound of Cymbals, and killed them with Arrows. The Memory of this Fact, fabulous as it is, has been tranſmitted down to us on a Medal, which bears the Name of *Stymphalia*. On it we ſee a *Hercules*, ſtriking with his Club. The Inſcription is this, ΣΤΥΜΦΑΛΙΩΝ ΣΩ; to ſhew that the *Grecian* Hero delivered the Citizens from theſe winged Monſters. The two *Greek* Letters ΣΩ, are the Initials of the Word Σωτὴρ, or *Deliverer*.

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ceived Advice, That they were encamped on the River [107] *Nemea*, between *Corinth* and *Sicyon*; and That the *Macedonian* had there divided his Troops into three Bodies, and had ſent one into the Territory of *Sicyon*, another into that of *Pellene*, and the third towards *Phlius*. And upon this News *Nicoſtratus* took his Meaſures like an able Soldier.

He ordered a Body of his Mercenaries, to go and lie in Ambuſh in a Foreſt, through which the *Macedonians* muſt paſs, in their return to *Corinth*. Whilſt he led on his Detachment himſelf, and marched in two Bodies. His Army was not far from *Androſthenes*'s Camp, when they met a Party of *Thracians*, and attacked them. They ſurpriſed *Androſthenes*, who did not expect to find an Enemy in the Field; and immediately ordering his Trumpets to give the Signal for aſſembling the Soldiers ſcattered about in the Villages, he drew up his Men in order of Battel, along the River *Nemea*. But the Body he commanded was an inconſiderable one; and his Soldiers could not return ſoon enough to join him. So that *Androſthenes* was eaſily defeated. After a ſlight Reſiſtance his Troops fled, and returned to *Corinth*. And this firſt Advantage excited *Nicoſtratus* not to leave his Victory imperfect. He ordered his Cavalry to go and fall upon the *Macedonian* Soldiers, who were laying waſte the Fields of *Sicyon*; and there the *Achæans* made a greater Slaughter of the Enemy, than in the firſt Battel. As to the *Macedonians*, who were ravaging the Country round about *Pellene*, and *Phlius*, they either fell into the Ambuſhes which were laid for them, or were murdered by the Peaſants, who ſurrounded them. This Action, in which the *Macedonians* loſt fifteen hundred Men, [108] delivered *Achaia* from their Oppreſſions, and doubled *Philip*'s Concern; who could not hear of this Loſs, till after he was retired to *Tempe*, where he was aſſembling the Remains of his Army, after his own Defeat.

§. XXVII. In the mean time, *Flamininus* at *Lariſſa* enjoyed little of the Pleaſure of having come off victorious. The *Ætolians* already gave him Uneaſineſs; and afterwards came to an open Rupture. It muſt be granted, that the *Ætolian* Troops bore a good part in the Action of *Cynocephalæ*; but the *Roman* General thought their Vanity intolerable. They aſcribed all the Glory of the Succeſs to themſelves. They declared themſelves the Authors of the Victory; and ſaid, that the *Romans* had only ſeconded their Valour. In the Songs which they diſperſed all over *Greece*, they named themſelves firſt, as if they had determined the Victory in favour of their Party. *Thirty thouſand* Theſſalians [109], ſaid they, ſpeaking of the *Macedonians*, *were killed upon the Spot. The* Ætolians *ſubdued them, with the Aſſiſtance of the* Latins, *whom* Flamininus *had brought to the Ruin of* [110] Emathia. In this Diſtick, the Poet *Alcæus* [111] magnified the Number of the Dead; and preferred the *Ætolians* to the *Romans*; and *Flamininus* took it ill, that his Reputation among the *Greeks* ſhould be leſſened. It was neceſſary, that they ſhould have an Eſteem for him, in order to his ſubjecting them to his Republick, under Pretence of re-eſtabliſhing them in their Liberty. And it was while the General was warm with his Reſentments againſt the *Ætolians*, that *Philip* ſent three Envoys to him, under Pretence of obtaining of him a Truce for ſome Days, to bury his Dead; but in reality to bring about a Peace.

Polyb. B. 17. c. 29. The King of *Macedon* never appeared greater than in his Misfortunes. If he was not ſucceſsful in Battel, he ſhewed a great deal of Prudence after his Diſ-

107 The River *Nemea* watered part of *Peloponneſus*, and diſcharged itſelf into *The Gulph of Corinth*: It is now called the *Largia*. We have already deſcribed the Foreſt and City of *Nemea*, which were both in *Argolis*.

108 According to *Livy*, *Nicoſtratus* alſo took three hundred Priſoners from the Enemy.

109 The Poet inſulted *Philip* in a Diſtich, to this Effect. *The Fierceneſs and Boldneſs of this Prince vaniſhed, at the ſight of his Conquerors. He was more fearful, and more ſwift in Flight, than a Deer.* But the King of *Macedon* deſpiſed the Inſult of the Poet, and contented himſelf with replying in another Couplet, of the ſame Meaſure, to the following Effect, according to *Plutarch in his Life of Flamininus*. *The Tree, Traveller, which you ſee ſtanding on yonder Hill, ſtriped of its Bark, is the Gibbet which waits to reward* Alcæus *for his Poetry.*

110 Though *Pliny*, and many others, give both *Theſſaly* and *Macedon* the Name of *Emathia*; yet it ſtrictly ſignifies only one particular Province.

111 The Poet here ſpoken of, is known only by the Wit which is reported of him in the Text, after *Plutarch*. He was a very different Perſon from the famous *Alcæus*, who was Cotemporary with *Sappho*. The latter lived about the 44th *Olympiad*, and about the Year of *Rome* 152. The *Alcaic* Verſes, which are ſome of the moſt harmonious, of any uſed among the *Lyric* Poets, took their Name from him.

after. This Praiſe the Ancients could not refuſe him. *Flamininus* received his Deputies, and deſignedly gave them their Anſwer, without conſulting the Head of the *Ætolians*. He was glad of this Opportunity to mortify theſe vain People, who had aſſumed to themſelves ſome of that Glory which belonged to him. Beſides, he had penetrated into the Deſigns of the *Ætolian* Faction; which was to lay claim to a Dominion over the reſt of *Greece*, as ſoon as the *Romans* ſhould be gone. *Flamininus* therefore received *Demoſthenes*, *Cicliades*, and *Limneus*, *Philip*'s three Deputies, very graciouſly; but admitted none to their Audience, except the Officers of the *Roman* Army.

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He agreed with theſe Deputies upon a Truce for fifteen Days; and promiſed them, that within that time, he would grant their Maſter a Conference to treat of a Peace. This Air of abſolute Authority, and Independence on the other Allies, ſhocked the *Ætolians*. They ſpread a Report in all the Cities in the Neighbourhood, that *Flamininus* was betraying the common Cauſe, and was bribed by *Philip*. Theſe contemptible *Greeks* judged of the *Roman* by themſelves. It had long been cuſtomary among the *Greeks*, to ſell the Intereſts of their Allies for Money. But this ſhocking Perfidiouſneſs had not reached *Rome*. *Flamininus* was a Stranger to it. Motives more honourable than that of Avarice, induced him to conclude a ſolid Peace with the *Macedonian*. *Antiochus*, the King of *Syria*, to whom the Nations had given the Name of *The Great*, was preparing to come into *Europe*. It was well known, that he had long kept a Correſpondence with *Philip*. And if theſe two Monarchs joined their Forces, it might prove of dangerous Conſequence to the *Roman* Republick. Beſides, *Philip*, tho' vanquiſhed, might ſtill ſhut himſelf up in the Cities in his Territories, and diſpute the Conqueſt of them, Inch by Inch. All theſe Reaſons inclined the *Pro-Conſul* to conclude a Peace before *Antiochus* arrived; and he appointed a Day for a Conference with the King of *Macedon*.

§. XXVIII. The Place pitched on for it, was the narrow Paſs which leads into *The Valley of Tempe*. And now, the *Pro-Conſul* ſhewed Regard to his Allies, and wrote to them to be preſent at the Conference. Nor was this all. Before he would enter into a Treaty with the *Macedonian*, he called a Council, conſiſting of the Heads of his Confederates, and asked them, *Upon what Terms they thought it might be proper to grant* Philip *a Peace.* To this *Amynander* firſt anſwered, with a great deal of Moderation; *I muſt entreat you to have ſome Regard to me and my Dominions. My Kingdom of* Athamania *has enraged* Philip *more than any other Country in* Greece. *My Forces are not conſiderable, and I am a Neighbour to* Macedon. *As ſoon then as the* Romans *are retired, the* Macedonian *will vent his Rage upon me.* This was a reaſonable Requeſt of the King of the *Athamanes*; and after him *Alexander*, one of the Heads of the *Ætolians*, ſpoke thus. *You have done wiſely*, ſaid he haughtily to the *Pro-Conſul, to call us to the Conference. You have at laſt thought fit, not to treat of a Peace without the Allies. But pray, what do you propoſe by granting a Peace to* Philip? *The Liberty of* Greece *will never be reſtored, as long as he reigns. You are miſtaken, if you fancy it will. There is no Freedom for us, if* Philip *continues on the Throne. He muſt be dethroned, if you would give* Greece *any time to breathe. Your* Romans *promiſed us Liberty; but our Slavery will never be at end, till the* Macedonian *is dead, and his Dominions ruined. You are miſtaken,* replied *Flamininus* coldly, *if you fancy you underſtand the Sentiments of the* Romans, *better than I do. My Republick does not carry her Reſentments to Madneſs. She knows how to revenge Injuries by her Arms. But upon the firſt Appearance of a Submiſſion, her Anger ceaſes. Did not we treat* Hannibal *and* Carthage *in this manner? Never was a more inveterate Hatred than that of* Rome *to* Africa; *and yet never was Peace leſs burdenſome than that which we ſuffer her to enjoy. We never pretended to puſh on the War with* Philip *to Extremity. Think you then, that I aſſembled you, only to hear you talk inhumanly? Shall we be inexorable, becauſe we are Conquerors? Animoſity dies after Victory. Brave Men are courageous in Action, and mild after it. Nay, is it your Intereſt to deſtroy the Kingdom of* Macedon? *We ought to humble it, I grant you; but ought we utterly to deſtroy both King and Kingdom together? What an Inundation of Barbarians would then pour in upon* Macedon *firſt, and afterwards upon* Greece? *Have*

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not we ſeen Thracians *and* Gauls [112], *firſt ravage thoſe Provinces, and then over-run ours? I conclude therefore, in the Name of all the Officers of the* Roman *Army, That, provided the Senate conſents to it, we ought to grant* Philip *a Peace, if he will accept of the Conditions already offered him. If the* Ætolians *are againſt it, let them get other Allies, and Defenders! Phæneas*, another Head of the *Ætolians*, then ſpoke, and ſaid, *Shall then our Labours and Battels be uſeleſs? As long as* Philip *reigns, he will always plunge us again into the ſame Slavery.* At which Words *Flamininus* roſe from his Seat, and in a Paſſion ſaid, *You are miſtaken*, Phæneas. *Have you forgotten that I promiſed to put it out of the Power of* Macedon, *to make any further Attempts on your Liberty?* And then, the Council breaking up, the Aſſembly was diſmiſſed.

The next Day, the King of *Macedon* appeared at the Congreſs, with an Air of Submiſſion, ſuitable to his preſent Circumſtances; and without any Preamble declared, That he accepted the Articles he had hitherto rejected, and referred all other Matters to the Arbitration of the *Roman* Senate. When he had ſaid this, all looked on one another, and made no reply, till *Phæneas* the *Ætolian* took the Liberty to ask him this Queſtion. *Will you then reſtore to us the Cities of* Lariſſa [113], Pharſalos, Thebes *in* Phthiotis, *and* Echina? *I do reſtore them to you*, replied *Philip*. At which Words *Flamininus* was ſhocked at the Pretenſions of the *Ætolian*, to the City of *Thebes*, and replied, *It belongs to the* Romans. *I was the Man who appeared before* Thebes *with my Troops, and the* Thebans *at firſt refuſed to ſurrender to me. But now you ſee the City is given up. It is therefore become ſubject to the Dominion of the* Romans. Nevertheleſs *Phæneas* inſiſted, *That* Thebes *belonged to* Ætolia. *Beſides*, ſaid he, *by our Treaty with you, all the conquered Places ought to belong to us.* But *Phæneas*'s Reaſoning was not juſt. *Ætolia* herſelf had cancelled this old Treaty. It had been diſannulled by the Peace, the *Ætolians* had ſince made with *Philip*, unknown to the *Romans*; and this the *Pro-Conſul* urged againſt the *Ætolian*'s Pretenſion. *Nay*, ſaid he, *if the Treaty did ſtill ſubſiſt, you could have no Right but to Places conquered by force of Arms. Whereas* Thebes, *and all the other Cities of* Theſſaly, *have voluntarily ſurrendered themſelves up to the* Romans. Thus the Diſpute grew warm; but at length the Aſſembly determined in favour of *Flamininus*. And by theſe falſe Steps, the *Ætolians* then laid the Foundation for that furious Storm, which we ſhall hereafter ſee gather, and fall upon them.

Livy B. 32. c. 13.

Nothing now remained for the Congreſs to do, but to determine the Fate of *Philip*: and the Aſſembly granted him a Truce for four Months, to negotiate a Peace at *Rome*; but took Securities of him. *Flamininus* demanded his Son *Demetrius*, and ſome other Lords of his Court, for Hoſtages; and required him likewiſe to pay two hundred *Talents* [114], upon this Condition, that both the Money and Hoſtages ſhould be reſtored him, if the Peace did not take Place. The *Macedonian* complied, ſent away his Ambaſſadors, and retired into his own Dominions.

§. XXIX. In *Italy*, the War with the *Gauls* and [115] *Ligures*, kept the People in ſuſpence. It being in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, and carried on by the *Conſuls*; the People were more concerned about it, than about that of *Macedon*: Though the latter was of more Importance. The two Collegues had ſet out early in the Spring to act ſeparately; *Minucius*, in *Liguria*; and *Cethegus* [116], in *Inſubria*.

112 It is uncertain, whether *Livy* here ſpeaks of thoſe *Gauls*, who made a new Settlement in a part of *Aſia Minor*, which they called *Galatia*. It is certain indeed, that ſome *Gauls* had, fourſcore Years before, ſpread Terror and Deſolation in all the Countries of *Macedon* and *Greece*, not ſparing the famous Temple of *Delphi*, which they robbed. But nevertheleſs, the *Latin* Hiſtorian might have in his view another *Gallic* Nation, which was nearer to the *Greeks*. They had ſettled, according to *Juſtin*, about the Conflux of the *Danube* and the *Save*. *Strabo* ſays, they lived about *Sirmium*, between the *Danube* and *Macedon*; and *Juſtin* tells us, that theſe New-comers took the Name of *Scordiſci*. They bordered on the *Triballi*.

113 *Pharſalos*, ſo well known, on account of the famous Victory there, which determined the Empire of the World, ſtood in *Theſſaly*, as we have obſerved above. It is now called *Farſa*. We have ſpoken of the three following Cities already.

114 Theſe two hundred *Talents*, amount to ſix hundred thouſand *Livres*, according to our former Computations.

115 Old *Inſubria* contained *The Cremaſco*, Part of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and of *The Cremoneſe*.

116 See our Account of the Origin of the *Boi*, *Inſubres*, and *Cenomani*, and their Removal into *Italy*, Vol. 2. The former ſettled in the Dutchies of *Parma*, *Modena*, and *Reggio*. They had alſo added to their Conqueſts, *The Principality of Correggio*, part of *The Mantuan* on this ſide the *Po*, *Frignano*, the Dutchy of *Mirandola*, and part of *The Bologneſe*, and *Ferrareſe*.

The Enemy had altered their Measures. They believed the two *Consular* Armies would unite; and therefore the [117] *Boii* and *Insubres* joined together, with some Troops of the *Cænomani*, who were not authorized to assist them, by the Senate of their Nation. The [118] *Gauls* were surprised to hear that the *Romans* were entered into their Country, by different Ways. At the sight of *Minucius*, who marched along by the *Tyrrhenian* Sea [119], *Clastidium* and [120] *Litubium*, two Cities of *Liguria*, surrendered at Discretion. The [121] *Celelates* and *Cerdiciates* followed their Example. All the Nations in the Country, except the [122] *Ilvates*, who belonged to the *Boii*, submitted to the *Roman* Yoke. In short, *Minucius* subdued fifteen Cities, which were said to contain twenty thousand Men, before he entered into the Country of the *Boii*; and when he came there, found no Army to oppose him. The *Boii* had passed the *Po*, and joined their Forces to those of the *Insubres* and *Cænomani*. Their Design was to make their utmost Efforts against the Troops of the Republick, which they thought assembled together in one Place. The *Boii* were extremely surprised to hear, that their Fields lay at the Mercy of one of the *Consuls*; and demanded of the Confederates, that the whole *Gallic* Army should march to protect them. But the *Insubres* opposed it. They were more nearly concerned to continue in their own Territories, to guard them from the Enemy. The *Gallic* Armies were therefore divided. That of the *Boii* returned into their own Country; and that of the *Insubres* with the *Cænomani*, encamped on the Banks of the *Mincius* [123].

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Livy, B 32. c. 29.
Livy, ibid.

§. XXX. In the mean time, *Cethegus* drew near the *Insubrian* Army; and when he was but five Miles distant from it, he formed a Scheme to draw off the *Cænomani* from the *Insubres*. He sent into the Country of the *Cænomani*, and particularly to *Brixia* [124] their Capital, to know what had drawn these faithful Allies into the Revolt of the *Cisalpine Gauls*. The Deputies told them, they were informed, that the *Cænomani* had hired themselves to the *Insubres* of their own Heads, without any Orders from the Publick; and demanded of the Magistrates of the Country, that they would either recall their Troops, or order them to join the *Romans*. This was an hard Demand, and it seemed difficult to be put in execution. Nevertheless their Chiefs promised, that their Troops should not fight against the *Romans*; but if it was possible, assist them during the Battel. But the Negotiation was prolonged, and these Promises were given, without the Knowledge of the *Insubres*, who suspected the Fidelity of the *Cænomani*. This appeared, by their manner of drawing up their Army. They refused to post the *Cænomani* in either of the Wings; and only used them as a *Corps de reserve*, which bore no part in

117 The *Cænomani* seized a great part of *The Veronese*, part of *The Mantuan* beyond the *Po*, the Remainder of *The Cremonese*, and a Part of *The Bressan*.

118 *Livy* here speaks of those *Ligures*, who dwelt between the *Apennines* and the *Po*. As for those who had seized the Coasts of *Genoa*, they obeyed the *Romans*.

119 We have observed, *Vol.* 3. that *Clastidium* was a City of *Cisalpine Gaul*; and *Livy* confirms, *B.* 32. *c.* 21. what we have said, on the Authority of *Plutarch*. Nevertheless, he seems here to displace this City, and make it a City of *Liguria*. *Oppida Clastidium & Litubium, utraque Ligurum.* So sensible a Variation therefore made *Ligonius* think, that instead of *Clastidium*, we ought to read *Caristum*, which was the Name of a City formerly situated in the Territory of the *Statiellates*, a Canton of *Liguria*. But as we ought to be very cautious how we admit of Corrections, it is better to save *Livy*'s Text by a favourable Interpretation. *Clastidium* was indeed upon the Borders both of *Insubria* and *Liguria*. It might therefore, by no uncommon Revolution, have fallen into the Hands of the *Ligures*, after it had been subject sometimes to the *Romans*, and sometimes to the *Cisalpine Gauls*. See Vol. 3. *Clastidium* is now known by the Name of *Chiastezo*.

120 *Litubium*, an ancient inland City of *Liguria*, is now only a Town or Village, pretty near *Dertona*, in the Dutchy of *Milan*. It is now called *Retorbio*, *Ritorbio*, or *Ritarbio*.

121 The *Celelates* and *Cerdiciates*, are in a manner absolutely unknown to us. The ancient Geographers say nothing of them. These Natives were probably so called from the Cities of *Celela*, and *Cerdicia*. The great Difficulty is to find out their Situation. Some think the former stood in *The Streight*, where *Cella* now is, between *Asti* and *Alba*, to the left of the River *Tanaro*, towards the Confines of *Piedmont* and *Montferrat*. As for *Cerdicia*, it is impossible to assign its Situation with any Certainty.

122 We know as little of the *Ilvates*, as of the People mentioned in the last Note. *Cluver* supposes, that *Livy* by them means the *Veliates*, who took their Name from an ancient City called *Velia*, which is thought to have stood on the Banks of the little River *Versa*.

123 The River *Mincius*, now the *Menzo*, or *Mencio*, rises in the *Alpes*. After it has run into the Lake *Di Garda*, it waters the Territory of *Capua*, and discharges itself into the *Po*. Some give it the Name of *Sarca* above the Lake.

124 *Brixia* was the same City which the *Italians* now call *Brescia*, or *Bressa*. It had at different times the Titles of a *Roman Colony*, and a *Municipium*.

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the Action. Nevertheleſs, theſe Traitors had too great a Share in it, to the great Misfortune of the *Inſubres*.

The *Conſul Cethegus* was very ready to give Battel. His Buſineſs was, entirely to ſubdue once for all, theſe *Gauls*, who had been ſo often overcome, and yet ſtill rebelled. But before he entered upon Action, he had recourſe to the Gods. He made a Vow to erect a Temple to *Juno* [125] *Soſpita*, if under her Protection, he came off Conqueror. And then, Religion doubled the Courage of the *Romans*. They gave the Attack with ſuch Fury, that the *Gauls*, though commanded by the brave *Hamilcar*, could not withſtand the firſt Impetuoſity of the *Legionaries*. Beſides, the *Cænomani*, like Cowards and Traitors, fell on the *Inſubrian* Battalions behind, and made a cruel Slaughter of them. In ſhort, the *Gauls* had thirty five thouſand Men killed in this ſingle Battel. The *Romans* took five thouſand ſeven hundred Priſoners of War, and among the reſt *Hamilcar*, the General of the Rebel Armies, and Author of the Revolt. A hundred and thirty Standards, and two hundred Chariots, made after the *Gallic* Faſhion, were part of the Spoils which were taken from the Conquered. And then the Cities, which had been drawn into the Revolt, ſurrendered to the Conqueror. Such was the famous Battel which weakened the *Gauls*, without pacifying them; and humbled, but did not ſubdue them.

As for *Minucius*, he had not the Opportunity and Happineſs to overcome the *Gauls*, in a pitched Battel. They had kept the Field, till the *Inſubres* were defeated; but this now diſperſed them. So that *Minucius* had nothing to do, but to lay waſte their Fields, and burn their Corn and Towns. From the Country of the *Boii* he marched to *Liguria*, and there deſtroyed every thing with Fire and Sword. Then he turned his Arms againſt the *Ilvates*, whom he had ſollicited to ſurrender; and after the Rout of the *Inſubres*, they ſubmitted.

§. XXXI. The News of all theſe Succeſſes was carried to *Rome*, and firſt communicated to the *Prætor Sergius*, who did the Office of Governor in the City. He was a Man of extraordinary Valour; though we have not had an Opportunity of mentioning his Exploits elſewhere. In the ſecond Campaign he made, as a private *Legionary*, he loſt his right Hand. But he is ſaid to have had the Skill to have made himſelf a falſe one with iron Springs, ſo well contrived, that he could uſe his Sword with it. In another Campaign he was wounded in the Leg, ſo that he could not ſtand upright; but nevertheleſs, did not quit the Service. He then ſerved in the Horſe; and though he had only his left Hand, he gave great Strokes with it, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in four Battels. He was twice taken Priſoner by *Hannibal*, had been in Fetters twenty Months, and both times got off his Irons, and eſcaped. After he was made a *Legionary Tribune*, he delivered *Cremona*, and defended [126] *Placentia*. And though he was ſtill but a Subaltern, he took ſeveral Camps from the *Gauls* in the laſt War. By theſe illuſtrious [127] Actions *Sergius* at laſt arrived at the [128] *Prætorſhip*, though thus maimed and deformed; and the generous *Roman* deſerved a Poſterity more worthy of him. He was great Grandfather to the ſeditious *Cataline*, whoſe Conſpiracy, and tragical End, we ſhall

125 We have ſpoken of the Worſhip the *Romans* paid to *Juno*, under the Title of *Soſpita*, already. See *Vol.* 3.

126 This City is now called *Placenza*, and belongs to the Dutchy of *Parma*. We have ſpoken of it already.

127 According to *Pliny* and *Solinus*, this brave *Roman* had received twenty three Wounds in two Campaigns; and he had two Horſes killed under him. But his Valour ſhewed itſelf to the beſt Advantage, in the unfortunate Battels of the *Teſſin*, *Trebia*, and Lake *Thraſimenus*. He had the Glory to ſave the Lives of ſeveral of his fellow-Citizens in thoſe Actions, and thereby to merit ſo many *Civic* Crowns. The fatal Battel of *Cannæ* was in ſome ſort a Day of a Triumph to this great Man. He alone of all the *Roman* Army received a Crown, as the Reward of his Bravery. The two Authors we have juſt quoted, cite, in proof of theſe heroic Actions, the Harangue *Sergius* ſpoke, when he was preparing to preſide at ſome expiatory Sacrifices, or other religious Ceremonies. It belonged to *The Prætor of Rome*, to notify theſe Solemnities to the People, and to preſide in them. But the Laws granted this Right, only to thoſe who were ſound in Body and Mind. Whereas *Sergius*, by reaſon of his Wounds, was judged diſqualified for this religious Office. The *Pontifices* forbad him to diſcharge it. And this Oppoſition from the *Pontifical* College, gave riſe to the Speech, in which this Hero probably put the People in mind of his former Exploits, in order thereby to preſerve a Privilege, of which his Valour had deprived him.

128 It is not to be doubted, but that the *Prætor* for this Year, was the ſame *Marcus Sergius*, whom *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, commend

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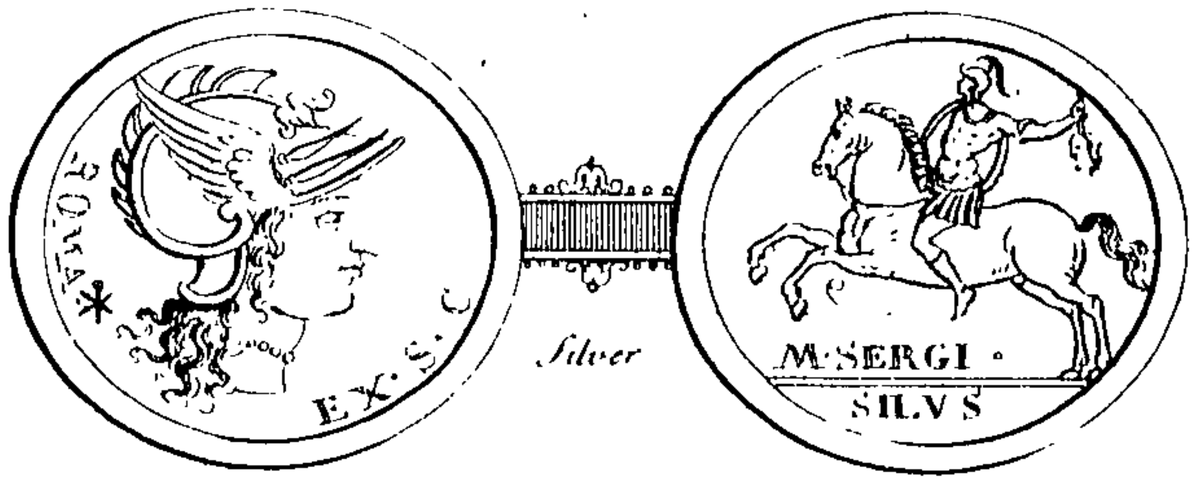
ſhall deſcribe in the Courſe of this Hiſtory. Such was the illuſtrious *Prætor*, to whom the *Conſuls* ſent an Account of their Victories over the *Gauls*. The *Prætor* read his Letters firſt in the Senate, and then to the People; and both Tribunals ordered publick Prayers to be made, in all the Temples in *Rome*, for four Days.

§. XXXII. AT the ſame time, News was brought from *Spain*, which was not ſo advantageous. *Rome* had lately erected two *Prætorſhips* there, one in *Hither Spain*, the other in *Further Spain:* And upon the erecting of this new Government, the *Spaniards* made an Inſurrection. They were now more ſenſible of their Subjection than ever; and were enraged to find themſelves reduced to the State of *Roman Provinces*. They therefore took Arms, to ſhake off the new Yoke, and they were very ſucceſsful in their Revolt. In *Hiſpania Citerior*, the *Prætor Sempronius* fought the Rebels; loſt both the Battel and his Life together; and his Army was diſperſed. In *Hiſpania Ulterior*, two petty Kings [129] of the Country, took up Arms, and ſeized ſeveral [130] Cities. *Cardo* [131], and *Lardo*, ſubmitted to them, and all the Sea-Coaſt ſeemed diſpoſed to join againſt the *Romans*. This News, which *Helvius* [132] *Blaſio* ſent from his Province, was read in full Senate by *Sergius*, *Prætor of Rome*. The *Conſcript Fathers* ordered, that after the next Elections, the *Spaniſh Prætors* ſhould make a Report of the Commotions in their *Provinces*, and that then proper Meaſures ſhould be taken to put a Stop to them. Thus the Republick ſaw a new Revolt made in *Spain*. And indeed, the *Spaniards* never ſate eaſy under the *Roman* Yoke. They were continually labouring to ſhake it off; even till *Auguſtus* came to the Empire.

§. XXXIII. HOWEVER, *Ciſalpine Gaul* ſeemed to be ſubdued; and the Campaign was almoſt over. It was time for the *Conſuls* to lead back their Troops to the City, and they drew near it, but did not enter it. They lodged in the Suburbs, till the People ſhould grant them a Triumph. As they had made War in the ſame Province, though ſeparately, they demanded a Triumph together: And in order to conſider of their Demand, the Senate aſſembled in the Temple of *Bellona*. There had already been Inſtances of *Conſuls*, who after a joint Victory, had triumphed together, and entered *Rome* in the ſame Chariots, or ſometimes in different ones, and on different Days; and the two Collegues now expected the ſame Honour, and made it one common Requeſt. But they met with Oppoſition,

Liv. B. 33. c. 22.



Silver

mend. No one of the Name had been *Prætor* before him, except *Cneius Plancus*. And afterwards, the *Roman* Annals mention no other *Sergius*, which was promoted to this Office. The Antiquaries are of Opinion, that the Medal above was ſtruck by his own Son, *Marcus Sergius Silus*, Lieutenant to *Paulus Æmilius*, in the War between the *Romans* and *Perſes*. The Intention of the Coiner ſeems to have been to tranſmit to Poſterity the Glory of the Hero, whoſe Name the Medal bears. He is there repreſented on Horſeback, holding both a Man's Head, and a Sword in his left Hand; for want of his right, which he had loſt in the Service of the Republick. This probably alludes to ſome heroic Action, which is not mentioned in Hiſtory. Add to this, that the *Sergian* Family produced ſeveral great Men. *Virgil* deduces it from *Sergeſtus*, one of *Æneas*'s Companions.

Sergeſtuſque Domus tenet a quo Sergia nomen. Æn. 5.

And upon this Authority we rank it among the *Patrician* Families.

129 One of theſe two petty Kings was named *Colcas*, and the other *Luſcinus*, according to *Livy*. But *Polybius* gives the firſt the Name of *Colychas*. *Livy* ſpeaks of him, *B.* 28; and ſays expreſly, that he had twenty eight Cities under his Dominion.

130 Theſe Cities were ſeventeen in Number, according to the ſame Hiſtorian.

131 If we may judge ſo by the Reſemblance of the Names, this City of *Cordo* ſtood in the Place, where there is now a City of the ſame Name, in *Catalonia*. As for *Bardo*, we don't know its Situation. But it ſeems to have been near *Cordo*.

132 *Appian* changes the Name of *Helvius*, into that of *Helvidius*. But this is a manifeſt Miſtake, which ought to be charged on the Copyiſts.

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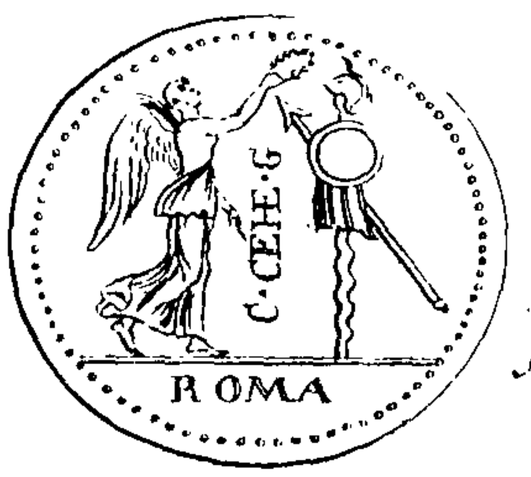
Two *Tribunes* [133] *of the People* repreſented to the Senate, that it was proper that the two Collegues ſhould give their Reaſons for their Requeſt ſeparately, ſince they were not equally entituled to the Favour asked. *Ought the ſame Honours*, ſaid they, *to be beſtowed on two Men, whoſe Exploits are ſo different? Cauſes ſo widely different, ought not to be blended together in one.* And this Oppoſition of the two *Tribunes* being very juſt, it took Place.

THE *Conſcript Fathers* ordered each of the *Conſuls*, to give in his own Reaſons for himſelf; and made no Difficulty of granting *Cethegus* the Triumph [134] he had deſerved. The Victory he had gained, the thirty five thouſand *Gauls* he had killed on the Spot, and his Deliverance of the *Cremoneſe* and *Placentians* from Oppreſſion, all ſpoke in his Favour. So that he entered *Rome* with the uſual Pomp. Before his Chariot, went firſt the *Gauls*, whom he had made Priſoners, and among them a great many *Inſubres* of Diſtinction; Then the Standards he had taken; after them Chariots, made after the *Gallic* Faſhion, loaded with Spoils. And laſt of all, if we may credit ſome Authors, followed *Hamilcar* in Chains, juſt before the Chariot of the triumphant Victor. This was a noble Sight! But what moſt attracted the Eyes of the People, was the great Number of *Cremoneſe* and *Placentians*, who followed *Cethegus*, with *Pilei* [135] on their Heads, to ſhew that they had been reſcued out of Slavery, by the Arms of the Conqueror. The *Gauls* were not a rich People, and therefore the Sum [136] of Money taken from them, was not great: But the Glory of the Conqueror was not the leſs on that Account. He had given the *Ciſalpine Gauls* a mighty Overthrow.

As for *Minucius*, it is eaſy to judge of his Rage, at the Preference given to his Collegue by the Senate, and their refuſing him a Triumph; and he found means to give himſelf one, without their Orders. He was authorized by former Precedents to triumph on *The Hill of Alba*, and he did ſo. Indeed, his Proceſſion was not ſo ſtately as that of *Cethegus*. He made it at his own Expence. But after all, the Spoils of *Inſubria*, which were carried before him, were not [137] inferior to thoſe which had graced his Collegue's Triumph. And laſtly, *Minucius* gave his Troops the ſame Bounty, as *Cethegus* had given his. The ancient Medals [138] have equally preſerved the Memory of both theſe Triumphs,



Silver.

133 The Name of the firſt of theſe *Tribunes*, was *Caius Atinius Labeo*; and *Livy* calls the other *Caius Urſanius*.

134 *Livy* ſays, ten Days were ſpent in Diſputes between the *Conſuls* and *Tribunes*, before the Affair was determined.

135 See what we have ſaid of the *Pileus*, the Symbol of Liberty, in the preceding Volumes.

136 According to *Livy*, the Sum amounted to no more than two hundred thirty ſeven thouſand five hundred *Aſſes* of Braſs, and ſeventy nine thouſand pieces of Silver, each of which was worth one of thoſe *Roman Denarii*, which were called *Bigati*, becauſe the Stamp upon them was a Chariot drawn by two Horſes. The *Aſſes* then weighed but one Ounce. So that reckoning each as worth a *Sol French*, the whole did not exceed the Value of thirteen thouſand *Livres*. As for the *Denarii*, when it is once known, that each was worth ten *Sols*, it is eaſy to compute the whole. The Hiſtorian adds, that out of the Produce of the Spoils taken from the Enemy, the Victor, according to Cuſtom, gave to every common Soldier ſeventy *Aſſes*; to every Trooper twice, and to every *Centurion* three times, that Sum.

137 *Minucius* had carried in his Triumph two hundred and fifty four thouſand *Aſſes* of Braſs, and fifty three thouſand Silver *Denarii*, beſides the Bounties he gave his Soldiers, after the Example of his Collegue.

138 We here give the Reader the Reverſes of the two Medals, each of which bears the Name of the triumphant Victor. On the firſt we ſee a winged *Victory* crowning a Trophy. On the other a winged *Victory* driving a Chariot, drawn by two Horſes. Nevertheleſs, we dare not vouch for their being authentick; notwithſtanding that *Vinandus Pighius* has quoted them, upon *Goltzius*'s Authority; and *Monſieur Vaillant* has, after him, put them among his *Conſular* Medals.

of *Cethegus* and *Minucius*: And it is already evident enough, that *Flamininus*, the Conqueror of the King of *Macedon*, had deſerved the ſame Honour. But he continued yet in *Greece*, and the Republick had a more magnificent Triumph in reſerve for him, when he ſhould return [139].

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139 In this Year 556. a Project was formed, at the Motion of *Caius Atilius*, one of *The Tribunes of the People*, for ſettling five new *Colonies* on the Sea-Coaſt of *South-Italy*. The five Cities pitched upon were thoſe of *Literna*, *Puteoli*, *Vulturnum*, *Salernum*, and *Buxentum*. Three hundred Families were to be tranſplanted into each of theſe Cities. The Republick then gave the Title of *Triumviri* for three Years, to *Marcus Servilius Geminus*, *Quintus Minucius Thermus*, and *Titus Sempronius Longus*, who were to have the Care of conducting theſe ſeveral *Colonies*, to the Places aſſigned them by the Senate. Nevertheleſs, this Deſign was not put in execution, till the ſecond *Conſulſhip* of *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, which was in the Year of *Rome* 559.

THE

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BOOK XXXIX.

Year of *ROME* DLVI.

C. Cornelius Cethegus, Q. Minucius Rufus, Conſuls.

THE *Roman* Republick had now ſpread the Terror of her Arms far beyond *Italy*, to the South, and Eaſt. But after all, her Dominions there were not ſo much enlarged as her Power. The *Romans* ſeem to have deſpiſed making Conqueſts in *Africa*, *Macedon*, and *Greece*. They at firſt contented themſelves with vanquiſhing theſe Nations, without bringing them into Subjection; they filled them with the Terror of the *Roman* Name, without reducing them to *Provinces*. No ſooner did any State preſume to Lord it over others, or enlarge itſelf; no ſooner did any King ſet up for a Conqueror; but *Rome* immediately undertook the Defence of the Oppreſſed, and ſtopped the Progreſs of the Uſurpers. Thus *Carthage* had long uſurped the Empire of the Seas, and had been long labouring to join *Sicily* and *Spain* to her Dominions. Thus *Philip*, actuated by the ſame Ambition as his Predeceſſors, had undertaken to ſubject *Greece*, and a part of *Aſia*, to *Macedon*. Thus *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*, not content with the vaſt Regions he inherited from his Fathers, was now making Preparation to ſeize *Egypt*, paſs into *Europe*, and erect a Kingdom in *Thrace* for one of his Sons. But the *Romans* ſoon interpoſed. They deſtroyed the Projects of *Carthage*, thwarted the ambitious Schemes of *Philip*, and the Deſigns of *Antiochus*. They took *Spain*, and *Sicily* from the *Carthaginians*; delivered *Greece* from the Chains of the *Macedonian*; and reſcued *Egypt* and *Thrace* from the wicked Attempts of *Antiochus*; without any other Benefit from all this, but that of confining the Glory of Conquering to themſelves. We ſhall ſoon ſee *Philip* confined to his own Kingdom of *Macedon*. But the Monarch, who will now moſt engage our Attention, will be the proud *Antiochus*, who gave himſelf the Title of *The Great*, and would have been juſtly entituled to it all his Days, if *Rome* had not at laſt humbled his Pride, and diſconcerted his Projects. It muſt be granted, that the Superiority the *Romans* gained in the *Levant*, was partly owing to that Valour, which had never degenerated from the time of *Romulus*. But after all, the civil Virtues, and the Policy of the *Roman* Generals, contributed as much to their Succeſs, as their Arms. They were not now to deal with uncivilized People. The moſt refined Nations in the World, owned the greater Penetration of the *Roman* Senate. *Athens*, *Lacedæmon*, and at laſt all *Greece* were ſenſible, that they were inferior to *Flamininus*, in point of Wiſdom. Both in their own particular Aſſemblies, and in their General Diets, the *Roman* always gained the Superiority over the *Greeks*, by the Force of his Reaſoning. *Flamininus* brought them to whatever he pleaſed. In ſhort, if *Rome* did not make them her Subjects, which ſhe might have done, ſhe had at leaſt the Honour of overcoming them, even in the Arts of Perſuaſion. The Truth of theſe Reflections will fully appear, in the following Parts of our Story, to which we now return.

§. I. After the Battel of the *Cynocephalæ*, and the Promiſe *Philip* had given, to accept whatever Terms of Peace the Senate ſhould offer him, he waited peaceably in *Macedon*, for the return of the Ambaſſadors he had ſent to *Rome*. His Allies had alſo been as roughly treated as himſelf; and the [1] *Acarnani*, who were the only *Greeks*

1 Before the Battel of *Cynocephalæ*, *Lucius Quinctius Flamininus*, the *Pro-Conſul*'s Brother, had endeavoured to bring over the *Acarnani* to the *Romans*. They alone, of all the *Greeks*, had conſtantly

Greeks, that had conſtantly adhered to him, had lately ſubmitted to the *Romans*. *L. Quinctius*, the Brother of *Flamininus*, had juſt taken from them *Leucas*, the Capital of [2]*Acarnania*; Year of ROME DLVI. C. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS, Q. MINUCIUS RUFUS, Conſuls.

ſtantly adhered to the King of *Macedon*. They had always valued themſelves upon their inviolable Fidelity, in the Obſervation of their Treaties. Moreover, the implacable Hatred they bore to the *Ætolians*, had been the chief Cauſe of their Zeal for the Intereſts of *Philip*. Nevertheleſs, *Lucius* did his utmoſt to deprive that Prince of this his only Support. With this View, he engaged the chief Men of the Nation to meet him, in the Iſland of *Corcyra*. Several of them came, and the Reſult of this Meeting was the appointing another, to terminate the grand Affair of the Reconciliation. The Place appointed for this meeting was *Leucas*. The greateſt part of the moſt conſiderable Men of the Nation left it, and came thither; but thoſe who came according to their Promiſe, could not agree among themſelves. After many Diſputes, the Magiſtrates, and moſt conſiderable Men among the *Acarnanians*, drew up a Scheme for a Confederacy with the *Romans*. They who were moſt obſtinate in *Philip*'s Intereſt, left the Place with Indignation, and proteſted with Vehemence againſt the Project for an Union. The Noiſe of this ſoon ſpread Abroad, and the Friends of the King of *Macedon* raiſed an Alarm in all Parts of the City. The People joined with them, and filled all the City with their Clamours. In this general Commotion, *Philip* ſent *Echedemus* and *Androcles*, Men much eſteemed by their Countrymen, to *Leucas*. There they declaimed with Vehemence againſt the wicked Proceedings of thoſe ſlaviſh People, who without any Regard to the Faith of Treaties, were betraying the Intereſt of their Country, in order to ſurrender it up to the Mercy of an imperious Republick. The People, already prepoſſeſſed in their Favour, readily backed the Remonſtrances of the two Deputies, who, by their Intereſt, hindered the Decree from paſſing; and *Archelaus* and *Bianor*, the ſuppoſed Authors of it, were univerſally condemned and hated. They were unanimouſly declared Enemies to their Country, and guilty of the blackeſt Treachery. Then the People proceeded to depoſe the *Prætor Zeuxidas*, for having been the firſt who put the Affair in Agitation. It would have been highly prudent in the three Magiſtrates, to have withdrawn from the Fury of an enraged Multitude. They would have had a ſafe Retreat in the Iſland of *Corcyra*, where the Protection of the *Romans* would have ſecured them againſt the Storm. This their Friends thought to be their only Refuge, in the miſerable Extremity to which they were reduced. But they flattering themſelves with the Hopes of Pardon, choſe rather to deliver themſelves up to the Will of the People. And the Event juſtified their Raſhneſs. Being reſolved to periſh, or avert the Wrath of their Judges, they ventured to appear in the Aſſembly which was then ſitting. All trembled with Rage at ſeeing them, and an hollow Murmur ſoon followed at their Appearance; but Compaſſion ſoon ſucceeded theſe firſt Emotions of Surpriſe and Indignation. To ruin three illuſtrious Magiſtrates, who a few Days before were Judges of *Acarnania*, was an affecting Stroke to all the Members of the Diet. As highly criminal as they appeared in the Eyes of their Accuſers, the reſt could not but lament and pity their Misfortunes; and they gave them leave to ſpeak. Then they firſt, with a mournful Tone, and in Terms ſuitable to their preſent Condition, ſeemed to claim the Indulgence of the Aſſembly. But when they came to the Articles, upon which they had been condemned, they exalted their Voices, with an Air of Confidence and Steddineſs, with which Innocence alone inſpires the moſt timorous. They had even the Aſſurance to complain of the Injuſtice, or rather Inhumanity of thoſe, who had conſpired their Ruin. And this Diſcourſe, ſo artfully managed, ſucceeded beyond their Expectations. It made ſo ſtrong an Impreſſion on all preſent, that they unanimouſly reſolved to diſannul the Sentence pronounced againſt *Archelaus*, *Bianor*, and *Zeuxidas*. They were all immediately reinſtated in their former Honours. But at the ſame time all agreed together to ſerve the King of *Macedon*, and loudly exclaimed againſt the ſecret Treaty made with the *Romans*, without their Privity. Thus ended the Aſſembly of *Leucas*; which was the Capital of *Acarnania*. The Deputies of all Orders uſed to meet there, to conſult together about the common Intereſts of the Nation.

Lucius being informed of this ſudden Change, from that time, took proper Meaſures to beſiege *Leucas*. He immediately ſailed from *Corcyra*, and landed at *Heræus*, a Port near the City, which he deſigned to beſiege. From thence he brought all the Machines neceſſary for beſieging it in Form; and by his Orders, the *Romans* began their Approaches, and by the Help of their *Gabions* and *Mantelets*, pretended to advance towards the Foot of the Wall, as it were to give a general Aſſault. *Lucius*'s Deſign in this, was only to intimidate the Inhabitants. He fancied, that when they ſaw this *Apparatus* for War, they would the more readily comply with his Deſires. But he was diſappointed. The *Leucadians* made a good Appearance, and prepared to reſiſt the Attacks of the Beſiegers with Courage. And then the General immediately raiſed his Batteries, reſolving to take the Place by Storm.

2 *Acarnania* lay between *Ætolia* and *Epirus*, with the Sea to the Weſt of it. *Leucadia* was one of its chief Cantons. It was then a Peninſula, which was joined to the Weſtern Parts of *Acarnania*, by a Neck of Land, of about five hundred Paces long, and a hundred and twenty broad. In After-times, this *Iſthmus* was dug through, and a large Ditch, or rather Canal made, into which the Sea ran, and made *Leucadia* an Iſland. At the time of *Lucius*'s Expedition, the City of *Leucas*, which ſtood in the *Iſthmus*, had an Hill behind it, to the Eaſt. The lower Quarter of this Capital reached along a little Plain, the extreme Parts of which were waſhed by the Sea; and on the Side which was moſt defenceleſs, it was not difficult for the *Romans* to beſiege it both by Sea and Land. They found it eaſier to carry on their Works, and make their Attacks there. Beſides that the Waters round this Place were low, and ſtill, which did not hinder the Approaches of the Workmen; the Land was eaſy to be removed, and conſequently more convenient for Sapping, and raiſing *Platforms*.

Lucius made the beſt uſe of theſe Advantages, battered the Fortifications of the City with ſo much Vigour, and played his *Rams* ſo well, that the greateſt part of the Wall fell down, or at leaſt there were great Breaches in it. But nevertheleſs, the heroic Valour of the Beſieged, and their ſurpriſing Activity in repairing the Breaches, and ruining the Works of the Beſiegers, began to ſtagger the Conſtancy of the *Roman* Troops. So that the Siege would doubtleſs have been protracted to a great Length, had it not been for the Aſſiſtance of ſome *Italian* Exiles, who were well acquainted with the Place. Theſe, by a ſignal Act of Treachery, found Means to bring a great Number of the *Roman* Soldiers privately into the Citadel.

At the ſight of the Enemy, who were running about in their City, the Inhabitants drew themſelves up in order of Battel, in the Market-Place of *Leucas*. And whilſt they were defending themſelves,

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nania; and the Reduction 3 of this Place, had brought with it the Subjection of all the Country. So that this fine Diſtrict, which lay between *Ætolia* and *Epirus*, no longer obeyed the King of *Macedon*. On the other Hand, the *Rhodians* had lately recovered from *Philip*, the Province of † *Peræa*. One ſingle Battel, in which *Dinocrates* the *Macedonian* had been beaten, had deprived *Philip* of this faithful, and rich Country in *Caria*. However, a more fortunate Event comforted him a little, after all theſe Loſſes. The *Dardani* had entered *Macedon*, after the Defeat of the King, in *Theſſaly*; and had there ravaged his Dominions, and laid his Subjects under Contribution. *Philip* was very uneaſy to ſee, after all his other Loſſes, that his paternal Inheritance was become a Prey to a Foreigner; and he aſſembled and diſputing the Conqueſt of their City with an intrepid Courage, the reſt of the *Roman* Army entered it, ſome over the Wall by ſcaling, and others through the Breaches in it. Then the *Leucadians*, who were yet defending themſelves in the Market-Place, were ſoon ſurrounded; and they, who refuſed to ſubmit, were put to the Sword. Till at length, the greateſt part, terrified at the Maſſacre of their fellow-Citizens, threw down their Arms, and ſubmitted to the Conqueror. The taking of *Leucas* ſtaggered the *Acarnanians*. And the News of the Battel of *Cynocephalæ*, a few Days after, completed what the Reduction of their Capital had begun. All *Acarnania* abandoned *Philip*, and came over to the *Romans*.

3 The City of *Leucas* gave its Name to the whole Iſland, which the *Greeks* now call *Leucada*. It is moſt commonly called *The Iſland of St. Maure*. It lies in the *Ionian* Sea, and is now divided from the Continent by a Streight, which is not above fifty Paces over. It is joined to the main Land by a Bridge of Wood. The *Carthaginians* formerly ſettled a *Colony* here, who dug this Canal. Near it was a ſtately Temple, conſecrated to *Apollo*; and that famous Rock, from which deſpairing Lovers leaped into the Sea. During the Feaſt of *Apollo*, the *Leucadians* every Year caſt a condemned Criminal from thence, imagining that the Gods would load the Criminal with all the Evils which threatened their City. They faſtened a great many Birds and Feathers to his Body; believing, that they would keep him the longer in the Air, and cauſe him to fall with the leſs Violence. If he was not killed by the Fall, his Life was ſpared; but he was baniſhed for ever.

4 Whilſt the Brother of the *Pro-Conſul*, *Quinctius Flamininus*, was making himſelf Maſter of *Leucas*, the *Rhodians*, on the other hand, were making Preparations to take from the King of *Macedon* the Territory of *Peræa*, a little Province in *Caria*. This Canton, which was ſeparated from the Iſland of *Rhodes* by the *Carpathian* Sea, had formerly belonged to the *Rhodians*. They committed the Conduct of this Expedition to *Pauſiſtratus*, who was then their *Prætor*, or chief Magiſtrate. He put to Sea with his Fleet, and landed in *Caria*, at the Head of eight hundred *Achæans*, and about nineteen hundred Men more, of different Countries; among whom were ſome native *Gauls*, ſome *Africans*, and ſome *Aſiaticks*. Theſe Adventurers ſerved the *Rhodians* as Mercenaries. With this little Army, *Pauſiſtratus* had encamped in the Plain, which led to *Stratonice*, one of the richeſt Cities in *Caria*, and anciently inhabited by a *Colony* of *Macedonians*, according to *Strabo*.

At the ſame time, the General had had the Precaution to ſeize an advantageous Poſt, unknown to *Philip*'s Troops, who had ſeized it a few Days before. This Fort, which *Livy* calls *Tendeba*, was not unknown to *Stephen of Byzantium*, who places it in *Caria*. There the *Prætor Pauſiſtratus* received a Reinforcement of a thouſand *Achæans*, and a hundred Horſe, commanded by *Theoxenes*. *Dinocrates*, one of the King of *Macedon*'s Generals, being informed of the taking of *Tendeba*, immediately haſtened thither, to drive out the *Rhodians*; and then he all on a ſudden turned towards *Aſtragon*, a Fortreſs on the Borders of the Territory of *Stratonice*. In ſight of this Caſtle, he enlarged his Army with all the *Macedonian* Garriſons in the Neighbourhood. He even left *Stratonice*, without a Garriſon, drawing out all the *Theſſalian* Auxiliaries, which were there to defend it. Theſe new Battalions, under the Command of *Dinocrates*, took the Rout towards *Alabanda*, a City in that Country, where the Enemy was waiting for them. The *Rhodians* were ſo far from refuſing a Battel, that they came and encamped nearer to the *Macedonians*; and all things were immediately prepared on both ſides, for a general Action.

The two Generals drew up their Troops in order of Battel. *Dinocrates* poſted five hundred *Macedonians* to the right, and the *Agrianes* to the left. The latter came from that part of *Thrace*, which is between Mount *Hemus* and the River *Hebrus*; near the River *Agrianes*, which gives its Name to the Country. The *Macedonian* General poſted all the Soldiers he had taken out of the neighbouring Cities and Towns, which were for the moſt part *Carians*, in his Center; and placed the Cavalry he had in his Wings. *Pauſiſtratus* obſerved almoſt the ſame Order. Moſt of his Auxiliaries were in his Center; and the *Cretans* and *Thracians* on one ſide of them, and the choiceſt of the Mercenaries on the other. The Cavalry and light-armed Soldiers were diſtributed in the two Wings.

The two Armies advanced in good Order, and continued ſome time within reach of each other, without beginning the Attack. There was only a little Rivulet between them, which was eaſily fordable. Nevertheleſs, they continued unactive, and there was only a Skirmiſh between the Dart-men. After which, the two Armies retired, reſolving to return and engage the next Day. There were not above three thouſand Foot, and a hundred Horſe in either Army. Both ſides were equally eager to engage, and deſirous of Conqueſt. So that the Victory was long dubious. But at length *Pauſiſtratus*'s Army charged the *Macedonian Phalanx* with ſuch Fury, that they broke it in all Parts. Then the *Phalangites* hindered one another in their Motions, by endeavouring to face the Enemy, who flanked them; and the *Rhodians* took Advantage of this Diſorder, to force their Way through this confuſed Multitude. They ſpread Terror and Slaughter every where. *Dinocrates* in vain endeavoured to rally his diſordered Troops. The affrighted Soldiers would not hearken to the Voice of their Commander. The Rout was general. In this Extremity, they whom the Sword ſpared, threw down their Arms on the Field of Battel, that they might be the more ready for Flight. The General himſelf, followed by the Remains of his Army, was forced to retreat with Precipitation to *Bargylia*, a City of *Caria*. The Conquerors ſpent the reſt of the Day in purſuing the Fugitives, and at length returned to their Camp.

Nothing now hindered the *Rhodians* from marching

assembled an Army of six thousand five hundred Men, [5] surprised the *Dardani* in Disorder, and drove them out of his Dominions. After this, he came to [6] *Thessalonica*. A poor Advantage, after so many Calamities! However, his Ambassadors were favourably received at *Rome*. The Republick had chosen new *Consuls*, immediately after their Arrival. *L.* [7] *Furius Purpureo*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*, were promoted to that Dignity, by the *Centuries*, in *The Field of Mars* [8].

Year of *ROME* DLVII.
L. Furius Purpureo, M. Claudius Marcellus, Consuls.

ROME was then threatened from several Quarters. The Revolts in *Spain* gave her Reason to fear a long and dangerous War. The *Gauls* in *Italy* were yet in Motion. Their Fury was not yet quelled, notwithstanding the Numbers of their Countrymen which had been slain the last Year. The *Ætolians* seemed inclined to renounce their Alliance with the Republick, and made it their whole Business to raise up Enemies against her. But above all, *Antiochus* appeared most formidable to the *Romans*, on account of his Conquests in *Asia*, his Pretensions in *Europe*, his Ardour to invade *Egypt*, and his great Desire to try his Strength with *Rome*. Besides, *Antiochus*, after having, the last Campaign, seized [9] *Cælo-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Judæa*, had now sent his two Sons, *Ardues* and *Mithridates*, before him to *Sardis*, with his Land-Forces; and with Orders, to wait for him there [10]. *App. in Syriacis.*

Whilst

ing directly to *Stratonice*, of which they might certainly have made themselves Masters, without striking a Stroke. They had no more Enemies to fear, and the City was very ill provided with Troops, since *Dinocrates* had drawn out the Garrison from it. But not knowing how to make a good use of their Victory, they let slip the best Opportunity of extending their Conquests thro' all *Caria*. Being content with having reduced the Castles and Towns in *Perœa*, they gave the *Macedonian* General time to revictual that Place, and enter it himself, with the Remains of his Army, to put it into a Posture of Defence. And then all the Efforts that *Pausistratus*'s Troops afterwards made to force *Stratonice* to surrender, were fruitless, thro' their own Fault. They afterwards wanted all the Power of *Antiochus* to put themselves in Possession of a Place of that Importance.

5 *Philip* gained this Advantuge near *Stobi*, an ancient City which, according to *Livy*, belonged to *Poconia*, a Province of *Macedon*. It is now called *Staraquino*. We find it named on several Medals which are in *Monsieur Vaillant*'s Collection. This City stood on the Banks of a River which ran into the *Axius*. *Ptolomy* places it in *Pelagonia*; but this Situation may easily be reconciled with what the Historian says of it. *Pelagonia* was in *Pœonia*, a vast Country, which reached a great way on both Sides the *Axius*, from *Illyricum*, to the Borders of *Thrace*, from South-East to North-East. But we must take Care not to confound the *Pelagonia Ptolomy* mentions here, on account of *Stobi*, with another little Country near *Thessaly*. We have elsewhere distinguished the latter by the Name of *Tripolitis*, because it contained three Cities. The former lay more Northward. The *Pœonians* came originally from *Thrace*. These People, who boasted of having been descended from an *Athenian* Colony, were subdued by *Philip*, the Father of *Alexander*, about the second Year of his Reign. They had the Character of being a robust and laborious People. Upon this, *Herodotus* tells a remarkable Story, which made *Darius* desirous of adding *Pœonia* to his Dominions. One Day, as this Prince was going to *Sardis*, a City of *Lydia*, he saw a Woman who spun, carried a Vessel of Water on her Head, and led a Horse, all at the same time. This new Sight raised the Curiosity of *Darius*; and he enquired of what Country the Woman was. He was told she was a Native of *Pœonia*; and the favourable Notion he formed of a Nation among whom the weaker Sex were so active and laborious, gave him a Liking to the *Pœonians*. He ordered *Megabysus*, his General in *Thrace*, to send over into *Asia* some *Colonies* of *Pœonians*; and the latter, after he had subdued the Province, executed his Prince's Commands. *Nicolas of Damascus* has also told us much the same Story, with this Difference, that he places it in the Reign of *Alyates*, the Father of *Crœsus*, King of *Lydia*.

6 *Thessalonica*, one of the chief Cities in *Macedon*, has given its Name to the neighbouring Gulph, formerly called *The Thermaic Gulph*; now, *The Gulph of Salonichi*. Some think that *Cassander* restored it, and that he gave it the Name of his Wife *Thessalonica*, the Sister of *Alexander the Great*, and Daughter of *Philip of Macedon*. This City stood between the Cities *Echedorus* and *Chabris*. *Stephen of Byzantium* pretends, that it was in the first Ages called *Alia*. *Strabo* does not distinguish it from *Therma*; tho' *Pliny* makes them two different Cities.

7 *The Greek Tables* give *Lucius Furius*, the *Consul*, the Surname of *Porphyrius*; a *Greek* Term, which answers to the *Latin*, *Purpureo*.

8 The Close of the Year 556, was remarkable for the stately *Games*, which the *Curule Ædiles*, *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, surnamed *Nasica*, and *Cneius Manlius Vulso*, celebrated, for three Days together, in the *Circus*, and the Theatre. This Show, says the Historian, surpassed every thing of the Kind, that had yet been seen in *Rome*. The *Romans* shewed, by their Shouts, the Joy they had received, by the late News of the Successes of the Republick. The *Plebeian Ædiles* also, distinguished themselves by the *Games* with which they entertained the People. This Solemnity lasted seven Days. Moreover, these latter signalized themselves by an Act of Religion. With the pecuniary Fines which they had levied, they erected three Statues of Brass; one to *Ceres*, another to *Bacchus*, and the third to *Proserpine*. And lastly, by an extraordinary Indulgence, the Inhabitants of *Cosa* were allowed a new *Colony* of a thousand Persons, to re-people their Territory, which was laid desolate in the late Wars, and to cultivate their Lands. But out of the Number of these *Colonists*, were excepted all those who had born Arms against the Republick, since the *Consulate* of *Marcus Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Publius Sempronius Tuditanus*, which was in the Year 549.

9 See what we have said of *Cælo-Syria*, and *Phœnicia*, above. We shall have Occasion to speak of *Judæa* hereafter.

10 *Sardis* was formerly one of the most considerable Cities in *Lydia*. *Crœsus* made it his Capital, and had fixed his Residence there, when it was subdued by *Cyrus*. It stood on the Declivity of Mount *Tmolus*, near the Head of the River *Pactolus*, which

was

Year of *ROME* DLVII.

L. Furius Purpureo, M. Claudius Marcellus, Conſuls.

Whilſt he himſelf, in the mean time, was ſet out from [11] *Antioch*, at the Head of a Fleet large enough to ſtrike Terror into all the Coaſts of the *Mediterranean*. It conſiſted of an hundred large Ships of War, and two hundred [12] other Veſſels, of all Sizes. The King of *Syria*'s Deſign was, firſt to conquer the Cities of [13] *Cilicia* and *Caria*, two Regions which were, in part at leaſt, ſubject to the King of *Egypt*; and then, to come in Perſon to the Aſſiſtance of *Philip*, his old Ally, and the Enemy of the *Romans* [14].

§. II. This was the News *Rome* had received from the Eaſt, when *Philip*'s Ambaſſadors [15] came thither, to ſue for Peace. With them came alſo the Meſſengers *Flamininus* ſent from *Greece*. This General himſelf continued there, either to extend his Conqueſts farther, and to withdraw his Troops out of *Cilicia*. To which they were to add, That the *Rhodians* were not moved to take up Arms againſt him, out of Hatred or Malice to him; but deſired only to hinder his joining his Arms with thoſe of *Philip*, and interrupting the Progreſs of the *Romans*, in reſtoring *Greece* its former Liberty.

Antiochus was then beſieging *Coraceſium*, a maritime City built on a Rock, and ſituated on the Frontiers of *Cilicia* and *Pamphylia*. He had already ſubdued *Zephyrium*, *Soles*, *Aphrodiſias*, a City dedicated to *Venus*, and *Coryca*. From thence, after he had croſſed the Promontory *Anemurium*, he had taken his Rout towards *Selinus*, which had undergone the ſame Fate. Upon the bare Report of his Name, the Cities in the Country had opened their Gates to him, and ſubmitted, without Reſiſtance. Nay, the People prevented the Conqueror, and ſubmitted before he came to them. *Coraceſium* was the only City that durſt ſtand a Siege, againſt all the Forces of *Antiochus*.

And in ſight of this City the Ambaſſadors came to him. When they were brought into his Tent, they acquainted him with their Buſineſs; and the proud Monarch, who was uſed to give Law to others, trembled with Rage. But he had Command enough over his Paſſions, not to expreſs any great Reſentment. He only anſwered, That he deſired not to quarrel with the *Rhodians*, or the *Romans*, but deſigned always to keep up a good Intelligence with both Nations; That he would take care to order his Ambaſſadors to renew the ancient Treaties his Anceſtors had made with *Rhodes*; and That he had always been very deſirous to keep up a conſtant Unanimity and Friendſhip with the *Roman* Republick. And in Proof of this Union, he gave them an Account of the Embaſſy he had lately ſent to *Rome*, and the great Honours which were beſtowed on his Ambaſſadors, by the Senate.

Then *Antiochus* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rhodes*, who upon their Arrival there, heard the News of the entire Defeat of *Philip*, at *Cynocephalæ*. This News emboldened the *Romans*; and moſt of them were for putting out a Fleet to Sea, to engage *Antiochus*. But they choſe rather to ſecure the Liberty of the Cities in Alliance with the King of *Egypt*, which were not yet ſubdued by *Antiochus*. The *Rhodians*, by all Sorts of good Offices, and by the Supplies of Men and Proviſions which they ſent them, preſerved the Cities of *Caunus*, *Myndus*, *Halicarnaſſus*, and the Iſland of *Samos*, from the Invaſion of the *Syrians*.

11 *Antioch*, the Capital of *Syria*, and ſurnamed *The Great*, to diſtinguiſh it from other Cities of the ſame Name, was then one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in the Eaſt. *Strabo* ſays, it conſiſted of four principal Quarters; and was therefore called *Tetrapolis*. The firſt was built by Order of *Seleucus Nicanor*, or *Nicator*, in Memory of his Father *Antiochus*; and therefore called by his Name. This Prince, in order to people his new City, tranſplanted thither the Inhabitants of *Antigonia*, another City of *Syria*, which *Antigonus* the Son of *Philip*, and one of the Generals of *Alexander the Great*, had built in that Neighbourhood. The ſecond Quarter was the Work of the Citizens themſelves. The third was added by *Seleucus Callinicus*. And laſtly, the fourth by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, or *The Illuſtrious*. *Antioch* ſtood on the Banks of the River *Orontes*, which ran thro' the Suburbs called *Daphne*. There are now nothing but Ruins left of this City, which has been, in a manner, utterly deſtroyed by Earthquakes.

12 Among theſe two hundred Boats, there were ſeveral of thoſe Ships which the Hiſtorians call *Cercurii*. The Invention of them is aſcribed to the People of *Cyprus*. They ſeem to have been Ships of Burden, which were rowed. At leaſt, *Plautus* and *Athenæus* give us Reaſon to think ſo. They were moſt in uſe among the *Aſiaticks*.

13 *Cilicia* is a Province of *Aſia Minor*, which is bounded, to the South, by *The Mediterranean*; to the North, by a Part of *Cappadocia* and *Armenia*, as far as to Mount *Taurus*; to the Weſt, by *Pamphilia*; and to the Eaſt, by Mount *Amanus*, or *Monte Negro*. The *Cilicians* were reputed to be great Robbers. Cunning and artful Tricks in robbing, were Matter of Honour among them. They gloried in Thieving and Piracy. *Cilicia* is now a Part of the Country called *Caramania*.

14 *Livy* tells us, that the *Rhodians* then gave ſignal Proofs of their Attachment to the Republick, and their Zeal for promoting the Intereſts of *Greece*, againſt the Enterprizes of *Antiochus*. This Prince was then at *Nephelis*, a famous City and Promontory in *Cilicia*. Near it, *Cimon*, the *Athenian* General, after he had vanquiſhed the *Perſians*, both by Sea and Land, in one Day, formerly forced their King *Artaxerxes*, to ſubmit to the Laws impoſed upon him by the Republick of *Athens*, and accept of ſhameful Terms of Peace.

The King of *Syria*, at the Head of a numerous Army, had ſpread Terror in the Provinces of *Aſia Minor*. Nevertheleſs, this formidable Power did not ſurprize the *Rhodians*. Being reſolved to ſupport all the Burden of the War themſelves, and to oppoſe the Progreſs of the Conqueror, they ſent an Embaſſy to him; with Orders to require him not to

15 According to *Livy*, *Philip*'s Ambaſſadors were lodged without the City, in the publick Buildings which the *Roman* Hiſtorians call *Villa Publica*. It ſtood on the Borders of *The Field of Mars*. Their Lodgings were generally appropriated to the Ambaſſadors from Nations or Princes with whom the Republick was actually at War. And this we have obſerved to be a Piece of Policy in the *Romans*. They thought it dangerous to bring into the City Men whom they ſuſpected, and whoſe Intereſt it was to diſturb the Tranquillity of the City. *Livy* adds, that the Expences of theſe Ambaſſadors were borne by the Publick.

carry on the War, if the Senate refuſed to grant a Peace; or to regulate the Affairs of his Province, after Tranquillity ſhould be eſtabliſhed in it. *Scipio* had hitherto been the *Pro-Conſul*'s Pattern; and he continued to imitate him, to the laſt. *Flamininus* now ſollicited a Peace for *Macedon*, as *Scipio* had done for *Carthage*; and upon the ſame Motives. Both were afraid that one of the new *Conſuls* would come and rob him of the Glory of finiſhing the Affair in hand: and *Flamininus* was now for leaving the Republick at Liberty to purſue the War with *Antiochus*, without Diſtraction; as *Scipio* had turned his Arms againſt *Philip*, immediately after he had procured a Peace for *Carthage*. The Deſign of both Conquerors was to prevent *Rome*'s having two foreign Wars upon her Hands, at the ſame time; and the Senate approved of this ſound Policy. The *Macedonian* Deputies, and thoſe of *Flamininus*, were brought into the Houſe; and made the ſame Requeſt. *Philip* [16] ſued for a Peace; and *Flamininus* repreſented, That it was for the Advantage of the State to grant him one. So that the *Conſcript Fathers* would not have heſitated about the Affair, if one of the new *Conſuls* had not ſhewn a very great Deſire to go and finiſh the War in *Macedon*. He repreſented to the Senate, That the Peace to which they inclined, in favour of *Philip*, was a fallacious one. *As ſoon*, ſaid he, *as* Rome *ſhall have withdrawn her Troops from* Greece, *the perfidious* Macedonian *will take the Field again. You muſt dethrone, and utterly ruin him, if you will keep him quiet.*

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ALL Appearances favoured this Opinion of *Marcellus*. The *Ætolians* thought as he did; and had no Hopes of ſeeing *Greece* enjoy her Liberty, till *Philip* was entirely ſuppreſſed. And *Marcellus* had very like to have prevailed. At leaſt, his Motion divided the Senators; and their Uncertainty authorized *Marcius* and *Atilius*, two *Tribunes of the People*, to bring the Affair before the Tribunal of the People. The latter were the Arbitrators of Peace or War; and *Philip*'s Requeſt was therefore ſubmitted to the Suffrages of the *Comitia*. The *Tribunes* reported it, and ſhewed, That it was expedient to accept the Offers of the *Macedonian*. And the *Tribes* were all unanimous. Not one of the thirty five voted for War. This Aſſembly, which was in the *Capitol*, had a clearer Inſight into the preſent Affair, than even the Senate, and conſulted the true Intereſt of their Country. They had fewer Diſtruſts, and therefore acted more wiſely. We ſhall ſoon ſee *Philip* ſit very quiet, after his Humiliation, and long continue to have a Reſpect for the *Romans*, when ſettled in the peaceful Poſſeſſion of his Dominions.

§. III. AFTER this, *Rome* diſtributed her Troops among the different Generals, who were to command them, in different Provinces. As for the *Provinces*, the new *Conſuls* and *Prætors* drew Lots for them. *Marcellus*, to his great Mortification, was forced to continue in *Italy*, with his Collegue *Furius*, to make War there with the *Gauls*. Of the ſix *Prætors*, *Minucius Thermus*, and *Fabius Buteo*, were appointed to go to *Spain*; and were ordered not to tarry long at *Rome*, but immediately to go on board the Squadron which was to convoy them to their reſpective *Provinces*. They had an equal Share of Troops. Each carried his *Legion* into *Spain*, with four thouſand Allies, and three hundred Horſe. This was a neceſſary Reinforcement at this time. The War they were now going to carry on, was not with the *Carthaginians*, hated by the *Spaniards*, who wanted to be delivered out of their Hands. The Scene was changed. The War was to be with the *Spaniards* themſelves, who were jealous of their Liberty; and *Rome* had Reaſon to be under great Apprehenſions of ſo fierce a Nation, who only ſought to recover their Freedom. Both *Spains* were equally intereſted in the Caſe; and there was little Hope of dividing them. Nevertheleſs, the immenſe Sums that were brought into the publick Treaſury from thence, animated *Rome* to continue the War; and ſhe ſpared no Pains to keep the *Spaniards* in Subjection.

SOON after the *Spaniſh Prætors* were gone, the *Conſuls* [17] left *Rome*. About Spring,

16 It was eaſy to ſee, by the Speech of the King of *Macedon* to the Senate, that he was ſincerely deſirous of a Peace. The Ambaſſadors declared, ſays *Livy*, in their Maſter's Name, That he was ready to ſubmit to any Terms that *Rome* ſhould think fit to impoſe upon him.

17 The firſt Care of the *Conſuls*, before they ſet out, was to offer expiatory Sacrifices to the Gods, to avert the Misfortunes with which ſome extraordinary Events ſeemed to threaten the Republick. The Death of a *Roman*, named *Julius Sequeſtris*, had renewed the ſuperſtitious Regard the *Romans* ſhewed to theſe Practices. Both he and his Horſe had lately been killed by Lightening, on the Road to *Sabinia*.

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all the Generals went to their reſpective Armies, and made War with Succeſs. And now, we ſhall follow them into the different Countries where the *Romans* ſignalized themſelves; and return from all Parts to *Rome*, as to the Center of Action, or the *Primum Mobile* of all theſe Exploits [18].

FLAMININUS had been continued *Pro-Conſul* in *Greece*; and by a new Decree he was declared General in this vaſt Country, till ſuch time as the Treaty ſhould be concluded. Indeed, ten Commiſſioners were ſent to him from *Rome*, to finiſh the Affair with the *Macedonian*, and ſettle the State of *Greece*. This was then an eſtabliſhed Cuſtom. To go no higher, ten Plenipotentiaries had been ſent into *Africa*; and *Scipio*, with their Advice, had finiſhed the Treaty of Peace, the Conditions of which he had dictated. The ten Commiſſioners for *Greece* embarked therefore with *Philip*'s Ambaſſadors, and purſued their Voyage with them.

§. IV. In the mean time, the *Pro-Conſul* had ſpent Part of the Winter at *Athens*, engaged in numberleſs Affairs. *Flamininus* here ſhewed himſelf to be as great a Stateſman, as he had before ſhewn himſelf a Warrior. It is no eaſy Matter to determine whether he underſtood Arms or Politicks beſt. He was, perhaps, inferior to *Scipio* in all other things; but equalled, if not ſurpaſſed him, in Addreſs, and the Art of governing Mens Paſſions. He was now to guard againſt all the Artifices of the *Greeks*, to calm their Diſtruſts, appeaſe their mutual Jealouſies, ſtifle their Revolts, conquer their Capriciouſneſs, and fix their Levity. If the ancient *Greeks*, of whom the Hiſtorians boaſt ſo much, were like thoſe *Flamininus* had to deal with, it muſt be allowed that the Hiſtorians have given us very flattering Repreſentations of them. When *Rome* came to have to do with the latter, ſhe found that they had more Artifice than Valour; were rather Bablers, than truly eloquent; and had more Vanity and Oſtentation, than ſolid Virtue: And therefore it is ſaid of *Philopœmenes*, who lived then, that he was the laſt of the Great Men of *Greece*.

The firſt Occurrence, which ſhewed *Flamininus* the Temper of the *Greeks*, after he had conquered *Philip*, was the Ingratitude of the *Bœotians*. They had deſerted the *Macedonians*, and gone over to the *Romans*, a little after the Battel of *Cynocephalæ*. When they ſaw the King ſo much weakened, and the *Roman* General ſo powerful, they offered a Petition to the Conqueror, which ſeemed reaſonable. A great Number of *Bœotians* had formerly ſerved in the *Macedonian* Army; and the *Pro-Conſul* was deſired to demand theſe Soldiers of the King, that they might retire, and enjoy their Repoſe in their own Country. *Flamininus* readily granted this Requeſt; and obtained what he deſired of *Philip*.

The King of *Macedon* was then waiting for the Return of his Ambaſſadors, with the Ratification of the Peace which he ſo ardently deſired: and the *Bœotian* Troops were ſent back into their own Country, and with them the famous *Brachyllas*, who had been baniſhed for having appeared too zealous for *Philip*. So that *Bœotia* was wholly indebted to the *Pro-Conſul* for the Return of her Troops. Nevertheleſs, ſhe thanked the King of *Macedon* only, for this Favour. Nor was this all. In the firſt Election the *Bœotians* made of an Head of their Nation, they preferred *Brachyllas*, a ſworn Enemy to *Rome*, to *Zeuxippus* and *Piſiſtratus*, who had openly declared for her. Nay, they ventured to make this injudicious Choice, even in ſight of the *Roman* Camp.

It is eaſy to judge how much *Flamininus* was concerned at their taking ſo bad Steps. The *Bœotians* affected to affront the *Romans*, on all Occaſions. They granted their Honours, and all Marks of Diſtinction, to none but the Enemies of *Rome*. And *Zeuxippus* and *Piſiſtratus* joined their Reſentments to thoſe of the

18 In the Beginning of this *Conſular* Year, according to *Livy*, the *Pro-Conſul* of *Hither Spain*, *Cneius Cornelius Lentulus*, who had been ſucceeded by *Sempronius Tuditanus*, made his Entrance into *Rome*. He had, by his Expeditions in that Country, merited the Honour of an *Ovation*; which was decreed him by the Senate. Of the Spoils which he had taken from the Enemy, this General had carried before him one thouſand five hundred and fifteen Pounds Weight of Gold, twenty thouſand Pounds Weight of Silver, in Bars; and in Money, thirty four thouſand five hundred and fifty *Denarii*. As for *Lucius Stertinius*, he did not pretend to claim the ſame Honour; but he brought from *Further Spain* fifty thouſand Pounds Weight of Silver, which he carried to the publick Treaſury. The reſt of the Booty he employed in building two arched Galleries. The firſt was in *The Ox-Market*, near a Temple of *Fortune*, and a Temple dedicated to the Goddeſs *Matuta*. The ſecond was in *The Great Circus*. Theſe two Buildings were adorned with gilded Statues, at proper Diſtances.

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Pro-Conſul. Theſe two *Bœotian* Lords foreſaw that their Ruin would be certain, as ſoon as the *Romans* ſhould withdraw their Troops from *Greece*. *Brachyllas* would infallibly vent his Rage upon them. It was therefore neceſſary to be beforehand with this domeſtick Enemy, and deſtroy him before *Flamininus* departed. And all the Partiſans of *Rome* concurred in this Deſign. They repreſented to the *Pro-Conſul*, That neither their Lives nor Eſtates were ſafe, as long as *Brachyllas* was alive. *Flamininus* ſaw thro' the Deſign of his Friends; and ſuffered them to carry it on, without contributing to it himſelf. He referred it to the *Prætor Alexamenes*, to put their Deſign in Execution; and *Alexamenes* employed *Zeuxippus*, *Piſiſtratus*, three *Ætolians*, and three *Italians*, to aſſaſſinate that Enemy to their Country, and to *Rome*. So that the Death of *Brachyllas* was reſolved on. The Opportunity the Conſpirators took to compaſs it, was during his Reſidence at *Thebes*, when he was returning from an Entertainment, with ſeveral of the Company, who were conducting him to his Houſe. They then attacked him, all on a ſudden, and immediately diſpatched him. The Men of Pleaſure who ſurrounded *Brachyllas*, were the only Perſons at firſt accuſed of the Murder; but *Zeuxippus* was ſuſpected of having laid the Plot. He appeared in the Aſſembly of the People, undertook the Defence of the Accuſed, and ſhewed that it was not at all probable that Debauchees ſhould have Courage enough to attempt the Life of the Head of their Nation. However, the Confidence of *Zeuxippus* in appearing in publick, made ſome of the *Thebans* believe, that he was not guilty. But others judged better, took Umbrage at this audacious Step, and perſiſted in imputing the Death of *Brachyllas* to *Zeuxippus* and *Piſiſtratus* only. Nevertheleſs, they who were in his Company were tortured, tho' innocent; and they accuſed *Zeuxippus* and *Piſiſtratus*, purely upon the publick Suſpicions, without being able to bring any Proof of their Accuſation. And now, ſee the ſtrange Effects of Remorſe! *Zeuxippus*, who knew himſelf guilty, thought himſelf loſt, and fled to a Town called [19] *Tanagra*, for Refuge. *Piſiſtratus* continued in *Thebes*, and deſpiſed the Accuſation of Men who knew nothing of the Secret; but he was fearful of the Depoſitions of a Slave, which *Zeuxippus* had in his Service. This Man had been an Agent and Accomplice in the whole Affair. *Piſiſtratus* therefore wrote to *Zeuxippus*, who was retired to *Tanagra* with only this Servant, to kill him. *Such a Wretch*, ſaid he, *is a much fitter Perſon to be employed in a bad Action, than to keep it a Secret.* The Meſſenger had Orders to deliver the Letter to no Body but *Zeuxippus*; but he gave it to the Slave, whom he thought faithful and affectionate to his Maſter: And the Slave thought himſelf concerned to open it. Upon reading it, he found it contained a Sentence of Death againſt himſelf; and therefore inſtantly left his Maſter, and came to *Thebes*. There he informed againſt *Piſiſtratus*, and diſcovered the whole Myſtery of the Aſſaſſination. *Piſiſtratus* was executed for it; but all the Odium of the Murder of *Brachyllas* fell on the *Romans*. *Bœotia* was clamorous; and the *Ætolians* took Advantage of theſe Reports, to prejudice the People againſt *Flamininus*.

§. V. In the mean time, *Zeuxippus* retired to *Athens*, where he was out of the Reach of his Judges; and the *Bœotians* had then taken up Arms, if they had had any Heads to lead them. At leaſt, they revenged the Murder on as many *Romans* as fell into their Hands. Every *Roman* that was found in a private Place, either in the Towns, or Fields, was killed. Snares were laid for them in all Places. The Victuallers and Suttlers in the *Roman* Army could no longer croſs the Country of the *Bœotians* in Safety. The latter found a double Advantage in killing them; they ſatisfied their Revenge, and got a Booty by ſtripping them. Till at length, *Flamininus* was weary of ſeeing his *Romans* ſo often inſulted in a Country in Alliance with him; and he ſent Officers with his Troops, to get Information of the Authors of all theſe Murders and Robberies.

He underſtood that the Lake of *Copais* [20] was full of the Bodies of his *Romans*; who had been thrown in there with Stones about their Necks, to prevent the Diſcovery

19 *Tanagra*, a City of *Bœotia*, ſtood near the Mouth of the River *Aſopus*. *Homer* calls it *Græa*. It had, in ancient Times, the Name of *Pæmandria*, according to *Stephen of Byſantium*. *Strabo* ſays it was in being in his time. Some ancient Authors call it *Gephyra*; and *Caſtaldus* gives it the Name of *Anatoria*.

20 The Lake *Copias* took its Name from a City which the ancient Geographers call *Copæ*. It is the ſame Lake that *Pauſanias* calls *The Lake of Cephiſus*. *Strabo*

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Diſcovery of their Deaths. He likewiſe was informed, That the Cities of [21] *Coronæa*, and [22] *Acræphia*, had been moſt active in theſe wicked Attempts upon the *Romans*. The *Pro-Conſul* therefore ordered the Murderers to be delivered up to him; and having loſt five hundred Men, he demanded of the *Bœotians* five hundred *Talents*, [23] by way of Reparation. But they would obey none of his Orders. And then he found Means to revenge himſelf, without provoking the *Greeks* his Allies. He laid before them the Reaſons for his Reſentment; and they could not but think it juſt.

After theſe Precautions, which the *Pro-Conſul* thought neceſſary, leſt he ſhould ſower the Minds of the People he came to appeaſe, he ſent Troops to lay waſte the Fields of *Acræphia*, and to lay Siege to *Coronæa*. And then the *Bœotians*, who would not acknowledge their Fault till they began to ſuffer for it, ſought for People to intercede with *Flamininus*. Some Deputies from *Achaia* and *Athens*, came very opportunely to the *Roman* Camp, to appeaſe the General, who could not puniſh the Guilty but with Regret. *Flamininus* ſuffered the *Achæans* to bring the *Bœotians* into his Preſence; and only inſiſted on the Puniſhment of the Aſſaſſins, and remitted four hundred and ſeventy of the *Talents* the Nation ought to have paid. He forgave what was paſt, and ordered the Siege of *Coronæa* to be raiſed. Thus, by a Mixture of Mildneſs and Severity, the *Pro Conſul* appeaſed the Minds of that *Greek* Nation, which always paſſed for the moſt ſtupid. But perhaps the *Roman* General would not have purſued ſuch moderate Meaſures, if the Arms of *Antiochus* had not begun to be formidable. It was dangerous to drive Nations, already exaſperated, to Deſpair. They would perhaps have declared for the King of *Syria*, and haſtened this Conqueror's coming into *Europe*.

§. VI. At length, the Ambaſſadors of *Philip*, the Meſſengers of *Flamininus*, and the ten Plenipotentiaries of the Republick, arrived in *Greece* together; and brought Joy and Tranquillity with them. They brought the Peace, which was ſo much deſired by the wiſeſt Part of the *Greeks*, ſo favourable to *Philip*, and ſo much for the Intereſt of the *Romans*. *Flamininus* was then reſiding at *Elatia*, a City of *Phocis*; where he was perhaps buſy in calming the Minds of the *Bœotians*. The *Roman* Ship ſeems to have put in, at the Port of *Anticyra*; at leaſt, the *Pro Conſul* haſtened thither. He there received the ten Senators which *Rome* ſent him for his Council, and which were to repreſent the whole *Roman* Republick, in *Greece*. Among theſe Plenipotentiaries, were two Men of great Diſtinction. One of them was that *Sulpicius*, the other that *Villius*, who in their *Conſulſhip* had made War with *Philip*, and were well acquainted with the Affairs of *Greece* and *Macedon*. And it is not improbable that one of the ten was a *Tribune of the People*. The Hiſtorians don't ſay this; but it is probable that the ſame Forms were obſerved in the Peace with *Macedon*, as had been obſerved, when the Treaty of Peace with *Carthage* was ratified in *Africa*. From *Anticyra*, *Flamininus* brought the Council of ten Senators to *Corinth*, and there they ſat to do Buſineſs. They there re-conſidered the Articles which the Senate had drawn up at *Rome*, and the Reviſal of which *The Fathers* had left to *Flamininus*, and the ten Plenipotentiaries. Theſe Articles, as far as we are able to collect them from different Authors, are as follow.

Polyb. in Exc. Legat. c. 9. Liv. B. 33. c. 30.

1. *All the Cities of* Greece, *both in* Europe, *and* Aſia, *ſhall enjoy perfect Liberty; and be governed only by themſelves.* 2. Philip *ſhall evacuate all the Places he ſtands poſſeſſed of, which belong to the* Greek *Nation, and ſhall draw all his Garriſons out of them, before the Celebration of* The Iſthmian [24] Games. 3. Philip *ſhall ſurrender into the Hands of the* Romans, *the Cities of* Euromus, Padaſia [25], according to *Pinetus*. It is now only a Village.

22 The City of *Acræphia* ſtood between the Springs of the *Aſopus*, and the *Iſmenus*; and belonged to *Bœotia*.

23 Five hundred *Talents*, at the Rate of a thouſand *French Crowns*, *per Talent*, amount to the Sum of one Million, five hundred thouſand *Livres*.

24 See what we have ſaid of the Origin and Celebration of *The Iſthmian Games*. *Vol.* 3.

25 The City of *Padaſia* belonged to *Caria*. *Homer* mentions another City of this Name, ſituated near Mount *Ida*; and a third which belonged to *Meſſenia*. *Strabo* ſpeaks of this laſt, *B.* 8.

Strabo ſays it was three hundred and ſeventy one *Stadia*; that is, about twenty four Leagues, in Compaſs. But it is now much leſs. It receives moſt of its Water from the River *Cephiſus*. Upon the Credit of a vulgar Tradition, it was believed, that *Hercules* had made this Lake, by turning the *Cephiſus* into the Plain of *Orchomenus*, from whence it runs into the *Euripus*. The Invention of Oars was aſcribed to the People in this Neighbourhood. Hence the Term *Copæ*, from the *Greek* Word κώπη.

21 *Coronæa*, a City of *Bœotia*, was famous for the Victory *Ageſilaus* gained there, over the *Thebans* and *Athenians*. It ſtood on an Hill, and overlooked the Lake *Copias*. It is to this Day called *Coronè*,

Bargylia, Jaſſos, [26] Thaſſos, [27] Myrina, [28] Abydos, *and* Perinthus: *And all theſe Cities ſhall be free, and under Subjection to no Body.* 4. *As to the Reſtitution of* Cium [29], *the* Pro-Conſul *ſhall notify the Intentions of the Senate to King* Pruſias. 5. Philip *ſhall reſtore the* Romans *all the Priſoners he has taken from them, and all their Deſerters.* 6. *He ſhall deliver up all his Ships that have Decks, except five, and one* Hexaremis, *which is too heavy to be of any Uſe at Sea.* 7. *He ſhall never have above five thouſand Men in Pay; never uſe one Elephant; or make War out of* Macedon; *without the Conſent of the* Romans. 8. *He ſhall pay the Republick a thouſand* Talents; *one half preſently, and the other half in ten equal Payments, in ten Years.* 9. *He ſhall not make War with* Eumenes, *the King of* Pergamus, *and the Son of* Attalus. 10. *Upon theſe Conditions,* Philip *ſhall continue in peaceable Poſſeſſion of* Macedon, *and ſhall enjoy the ancient Throne of his Forefathers.*

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THESE Articles were ſoon communicated to all the States of *Greece*; and moſt of them rejoiced to ſee them, and were ſenſible that they were indebted to the *Romans* for their Deliverance. The *Ætolians* alone were diſcontented. At firſt, they expreſſed their Uneaſineſs in ſecret Whiſpers; but at length, it broke out openly. *Why*, ſaid they, *do the* Romans *name ſome Cities only, in this Scheme for a Peace, and omit others? Why have they mentioned only thoſe* Greek *Allies which are in* Aſia? *Why do they affect to ſay nothing more of the* Greek *Allies in* Europe, *than that, in general, they ſhall have their Liberty? This is a captious kind of Pacification. It is a Snare that they are laying for us. It is not for nothing, that the Senate of* Rome *have ſuppreſſed the Names of* Corinth, Chalcis, Oreos, Eretria, *and* Demetrias. Rome *would appropriate them to herſelf. And if ſo, where is the Liberty promiſed us? We ſhall change our Maſters indeed, but not our Condition.*

IT muſt be owned, that the Suſpicions of the *Ætolians* were not ill founded. The Intention of the Senate, in leaving the Names of certain Cities out of their Liſt, was to leave it in the Breaſt of the Council of ten, to keep, or ſurrender, *Corinth, Chalcis,* and *Demetrias.* Theſe were the three Keys of *Greece,* which the *Romans* were well pleaſed to have in their Poſſeſſion. But *Flamininus* thought the Senate were too ſelfiſh in their Views. His Politicks were ſounder than thoſe of *The Conſcript Fathers,* who only judged of the Affairs of *Greece* at a Diſtance. It was both for the Honour and Safety of *Rome,* not to leave the great Work of ſetting the *Greeks* at Liberty, imperfect. *Antiochus* was to be feared. He was ready to come into *Europe,* upon the leaſt Glimpſe of Hope which the Malecontents of *Greece* ſhould give him. The *Pro-Conſul* therefore repreſented to the Council, that they ought not to heſitate a Moment, about reſtoring the *Greeks* perfect Liberty. *It is for the Glory of the* Romans, ſaid he, *to give up a little Intereſt, and gain the Hearts of the People. This is more than ſettling a tranſient Dominion here. Let it not be ſaid, that* Rome *ſent ſo many Armies into* Greece, *only to enſlave her. No; we ſhall never be able to put a Stop to the Complaints of the* Ætolians, *and the Diſcontents of the* Greeks, *till it ſhall appear that we reſerve nothing to our ſelves, but the Honour of having procured the Liberty of their Countries, and ſettled them in Peace.*

THIS Diſcourſe of *Flamininus* was of great Weight: Nevertheleſs, ſome of the Plenipotentiaries were for keeping Poſſeſſion of *Corinth, Chalcis,* and *Demetrias,* at leaſt for a time. They voted for putting ſtrong Garriſons in them, thereby to

26 *Thaſſos,* now *Thaſſo,* is an Iſland in the *Ægean* Sea, near the Coaſt of *Thrace,* at a little Diſtance from the Mouth of the *Neſſus.* It is one of thoſe Iſlands which the Ancients called *Sporades.*

27 *Myrina* was a City of *Æolis,* in *Aſia Minor,* at a little Diſtance from *The Gulph of Smyrna.* Some, now give it the Name of *Marhani*; others, that of *Gircona*; *Davyſti* that of *Sebaſtopoli. Pliny* tells us, *B.* 5. that, in his time, the Inhabitants called it by the latter Name. *Myrina quæ Sebaſtopolim ſe vocat.*

28 We have already ſpoken of the Cities of *Abydos, Perinthus, Euromus, Bargylia,* and *Jaſſos.*

29 *Cium, Cios,* or *Cius,* whoſe Inhabitants *Livy* calls *Ciani,* ſtood on the Banks of a River of the ſame Name, near the Confines of *Phrygia* and *Bythinia.*

30 A thouſand *Talents,* at the Rate of a thouſand *French Crowns per Talent,* make three Millions of *Livres.* According to *Valerius Antias,* as quoted by *Livy,* the *Roman* Republick demanded of the King of *Macedon,* four thouſand Pounds Weight of Silver *per annum,* for ten Years, by way of Tribute. To which he adds, That this Prince was alſo forced to pay thirty four thouſand two hundred Pounds Weight of Silver, twenty thouſand Pounds Weight of which was to be paid to *Flamininus* upon the Spot.

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provide both againſt the Invaſions of the Natives, and of King *Antiochus*. But at laſt, the Opinion of *Flamininus* prevailed. The Council decreed, That all the *Greek* Cities, not one excepted, ſhould enjoy a perfect Liberty. By this means, the *Achaians* were put in Poſſeſſion of *Corinth*. Nevertheleſs, it was ordered that the [31] Citadel of this important City ſhould be put into the Hands of the *Romans*, for ſome time. And as to *Chalcis* and *Demetrias*, the Council likewiſe reſerved to themſelves the Care of them, as long as they ſhould be under any Apprehenſions of *Antiochus*'s coming into *Europe*. In all other Caſes, all the *Greek* Nations in *Europe* and *Aſia*, were going, at length, to be ſet at perfect Liberty, by the Decree of this Council of Ten. Nothing remained, but to proclaim a Determination, which would raiſe ſo many Nations to the higheſt Pitch of Happineſs; and this was done on the following Occaſion.

§. VII. In *The Iſthmus of Corinth*, ſome *Games* were annually celebrated, which were called *Iſthmian*, from that Place. *Theſeus* had formerly inſtituted them, in Honour to *Neptune*. The moſt skilful *Athletæ* in *Greece* came thither, to diſpute the Prize, in Running, Leaping, Boxing, Wreſtling, and throwing the Dart. This was generally one of the moſt numerous Aſſemblies of the *Greeks*. It was eaſy to come to *Corinth*, on both the Seas which were ſeparated by the [32] *Iſthmus*. And now all the Nations of *Greece* flocked thither, partly on account of the Shows, and partly in Expectation of hearing the new Decree which was to be publiſhed there. This Decree of the Council of Ten was not yet divulged; and the aſſembled *Greeks* talked of nothing but the future Fate of *Greece*. Some foreboded good things. Others durſt not declare their Sentiments. And others gave an ill Turn to the Policy of the *Romans*. In ſhort, every one reaſoned according to his own Humour or Conjectures. At length, the appointed Day came for beginning the *Games*. The *Pro-Conſul* took his Place, and the ten Senators of the Council with him. Silence was proclaimed by Sound of Trumpet; and the Herald advanced into the Middle of the *Arena*, as it were to pronounce the uſual Form of Words. But, to their great Surprize, the *Greeks* heard him proclaim theſe Words. *The Senate and People of* Rome, *and* Quinctius Flamininus, Pro-Conſul *for the Republick, after having overcome* Philip, *and quieted* Macedon, *declare the* Corinthians, *the* Phocæans, *the* Locri, *all the* Euboeans *in the Iſland, the* Magneſians, *the* Theſſalians, *the* Perrœbi, *the* Achæans, *and the* Phthiotes, *free from all kind of Servitude. All theſe Nations ſhall live in an independent State, and be governed only by their own Laws.* In this vaſt Aſſembly, all could not equally hear the Voice of the Herald; and the Noiſe and Confuſion was immediately very great. Thoſe at the greateſt Diſtance left their Places, and asked thoſe who were nearer, what they had heard. And at length, there was an unanimous Outcry, from all Corners of the *Stadium*, demanding that the Herald ſhould repeat the Decree a ſecond time. Then the Trumpet ſounded again; and never was Attention greater! The Herald, with a ſtronger, and more diſtinct Voice than before, proclaimed Liberty to all the *Greeks*, without Exception; and not a Word of the Decree which *Flamininus* had drawn up, at the Head of the Council, was then loſt. Scarce was it all read, before the Auditors gave ſuch Shouts for Joy, as one Author could not deſcribe, without an Exaggeration which will be thought fabulous. *The Air*, ſays he, *was ſo agitated with the Acclamations of ſo numerous a Body of People, that ſome Crows which were accidentally flying over the Aſſembly, fell down in the* Arena. But be that as it will, it is certain the People expreſſed their Satisfaction after the *Greek* Manner; that is, with ſuch a Profuſion of Joy, as is not to be deſcribed. Some were ſtruck dumb, for Want of Words to expreſs their Sentiments. Others ſtood motionleſs, as Statues. Some could ſcarce believe their own Ears; and ſtill doubted of what they had heard. And laſtly, the greateſt Number crowded round *Flamininus*, called him the Deliverer of *Greece*, and preſſed to kiſs his Hand. The Crowd was ſo great, and they threw ſo many Crowns and Garlands upon him, that they had like to have ſtifled him. But he was young, being ſcarce in his thirty third Year of his Age, and the Pleaſure of ſeeing ſo much Honour paid him, carried him through.

Plut. Life of *Flamininus.*

31 The Citadel of *Corinth* was built on the Summit of a Mountain, which overlooked the City. Hence the Ancients gave it the Name of *Acro-Corinthus*.

32 The *Iſthmus* of *Corinth* lies between the *Ionian* Sea, to the Weſt; and the *Ægean* Sea, to the Eaſt.

through. At length, the *Games* began; but no Body minded them. The People could look at nothing but the Protector and Avenger of the publick Liberty. They greatly admired the Disinterestedness of the *Romans* in general, and the Conduct of the *Pro-Consul* in particular. *To undertake a War in a foreign Country, at an immense Expence, with no other View but purely to set at Liberty an oppressed Nation, is,* said they, *the highest Pitch of Magnanimity. To subdue a powerful King, without being once worsted or vanquished, and to gain as many Victories as a Man fights Battels, are the highest Efforts of Valour. And lastly, to desire no other Fruits from one's Labours and Expences, than to procure the Happiness of others, is the Perfection of Moderation. What other Nation in the World is Mistress of so many and so great Virtues!* And indeed, there was nothing very extravagant in these Encomiums of the *Greeks*. But after all, *Rome* found her Account in these Acts of Generosity. Her Zeal for *Greece* was not so pure and disinterested as was pretended. If her Finances were not improved, or her Dominions enlarged, by them; her Power was infinitely increased. The *Romans* settled themselves such a Dominion in the Hearts of the *Greeks*, as might be called a sweet Tyranny. Their Confidence in the *Romans* was so great, upon this Experience of their Probity, that all the States of *Greece*, the Kings and the Republicks, sought their Protection with Emulation; and these Protectors gave Law to the Monarchs and other Heads of all the *Greeks*, as well in *Asia*, as in *Europe*.

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Plut. Life of *Flamin.*

§. VIII. After this, in order to compleat his Work, *Flamininus* ordered the Decree he had pronounced in favour of the *Greeks*, to be executed in its full Extent. In the first Place, he brought the Ambassadors of *Antiochus* into the Council of Ten; to give them Notice, to summons their Master to evacuate all the Places he held in *Asia*, which belonged to the *Greeks*, or to *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*. They also forewarned him to take Care how he came into *Europe*. Then the *Pro-Consul* gave Audience to all the Deputies of the Nations, which had come in Crowds, to seek the Protection of *Rome*; and began with the [33] *Orestians*. They had been, till this time, subject to King *Philip*; and their Province belonged to *Macedon*. But they had been the first who had declared for *Rome*; and the Conqueror freed them from the Dominion of their King, and gave them Leave to live according to their own Laws. *Flamininus* also gave the *Perrœbi*, *Dolopes*, and *Magnesians*, their Liberty. The *Thessalians* were not only settled in an absolute Freedom; but the *Pro-Consul* also gave them all that Part of *Phthiotis*, which had been subject to the *Achæans*, except *Thebes* and *Pharsalia*. As to the latter, Regard was had to the Complaints of the *Ætolians*. They pretended that *Pharsalia* and *Leucas* of Right belonged to them, by virtue of the ancient Treaty they had made with the *Romans*. And the Council referred their Claims to the Senate of *Rome*. Only this the Council granted them, That *Phthiotis* and *Locris* should for the future be Parts of the *Ætolian* Body, as they had formerly been. *Corinth*, *Triphylia*, and *Heræa* [34], were restored to the *Achæans*. The Dominions of the *Athenians* were enlarged, by the Addition of four Islands, [35] *Paros*, *Imbros*, *Delos*, and *Scyros*. The Council inclined to give up *Oreos* and *Eretria*, in Property, to King *Eumenes*; but *Flamininus* opposed it. The Affair was therefore brought before the Senate of *Rome*; and it was there adjudged, That the two Cities should be free; and That *Carystus* should also be independent. The Territories of *Pleuratus* were enlarged, with [36] *Lychnis* and *Parthos*, Countries which had formerly belonged to King *Philip*. And as for King *Amynander*, he was put in Possession of all the Places the *Macedonian* had usurped from him. By this [37] Enumeration of these Restitutions, the Reader may judge how far *Philip* had extended his Conquests, in all the Parts of *Greece*, both in *Europe* and *Asia*.

Liv. ex Polyb. de Legat. c. 9.

After

33 We have already spoken of the *Orestians*, the Inhabitants of *Orestis*, a Country of *Epirus*. Its Capital was called *Argi*, or *Argos*; which was distinguished from other Cities of that Name, by the Term *Oresticum*. *Orestes* seems therefore to have been the Founder of it.

34 The City of *Heræa* here spoken of stood in *Peloponnesus*; we have mentioned it already.

35 We have already described the Islands of *Paros*, *Delos*, and *Scyros*. *Imbros* was one of the *Sporades*. It is now called *Lembro*. *Pliny* says it is twenty seven Miles in Circumference; but the Moderns say only twenty. It is at a little Distance from *The Thracian Chersonesus*; and is divided from *Thessaly*, only by a small Arm of the Sea.

36 *Lychnis* and *Parthos* are sufficiently known, by what has been already said of them.

37 According to *Valerius of Antium*, *Attalus*, or rather his Son and Successor, *Eumenes*, had for his Share the Island of *Ægina*, and the Elephants which *Philip*

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After theſe equitable Regulations, in favour of the *Greeks*, the Council of Ten was diſſolved; but the Offices of each Member of it were not wholly at an End. Each took his Diſtrict in the *Levant*, and went thither, to put the Orders of his Republick in Execution there. *P. Lentulus* went to *Bargylia* by Sea, and cleared *Caria* of the Foreigners who had ſeized it. *L. Stertinius* went into the Iſland of *Lemnos*, and delivered [38] *Hephæſtia* out of the Hands of her Uſurpers. From thence he came down to *Thaſſos*, ſent away the foreign Garriſons from thence, entered *Thrace*, and reſtored the invaded Cities their Liberties. *Cn. Cornelius* came to *Philip*, who was then in *Theſſaly*, in *The Valley of Tempe*. He found this Prince ready to ſubmit to the Will of the Republick, complimented him on that Occaſion, and finiſhed his Converſation with a Piece of Advice which he gave him, and which the King turned to his Advantage. *My Lord*, ſaid he, *you have done enough to appeaſe the Anger of the Senate and People of* Rome. *But one thing is ſtill wanting, which, if I may venture to ſay it, is this. Loſe no time in demanding the Friendſhip of* Rome, *and an Alliance with her. If you delay, it will be thought that your Delays proceed from an Intention to join* Antiochus, *who is ready for Action.* *Philip* was too wiſe not to follow Advice which he judged ſalutary; he promiſed to ſend an Embaſſy to *Rome*; and kept his Word. He was ranked among the Allies of the *Roman* People; and ſome Hiſtorians ſay, that his Son *Demetrius*, whom he had given as an Hoſtage, was then reſtored him. But this is not true, as will appear by the Sequel of this Hiſtory. However, *Philip* diſplayed his Fidelity more and more, for a great while, and increaſed his Reputation for Prudence. On the other hand, *Rome* did him Juſtice, and rewarded his prudent Proceedings with freſh Favours. But *Cornelius* did not find the *Ætolians* as tractable as *Philip*. From *Tempe*, the Plenipotentiary went to *Thermopylæ*, where there was held an Aſſembly of the *Greeks*, who met there at certain ſtated Times. This Diet was called *Pylaicum*; and there *Cornelius* found ſome of the Heads of the *Ætolians*, who had ſpoken againſt the Peace *Rome* had granted *Philip*. They frequently complained of it; and at length went ſo far as to ſay, That they were very differently treated after the Peace, from what they had been before. *Nevertheleſs*, added they, *could* Rome *have conquered without us? Would ſhe ever have thought of tranſporting Troops into* Macedon? Theſe Words exaſperated the prudent *Cornelius*; but he kept within Bounds. *If you have any Complaints to make*, ſaid he to them, *addreſs your ſelves to the Senate of* Rome. Thus he ridded himſelf of theſe Mutineers; but their Diſcontents ſtill ſubſiſted; and we ſhall hereafter ſee them produce fatal Effects.

§. IX. Their Recourſe was to *Antiochus*. This Conqueror already threatened *Europe*, and was drawn near to it. He had ſpent the Winter at [39] *Epheſus*, with a Land Army, and a formidable Fleet. The ambitious Prince had already employed himſelf, during his Leiſure, in ſubduing many free Cities in *Aſia Minor*. *Smyrna* [40], and *Lampſacus* [41], had ſet up for Independence; and the King of *Syria* was afraid their Example would be contagious. He had therefore ordered them both to be beſieged, to compel them by Force to acknowledge his Dominion. And he had alſo made uſe of Artifice. He had given them Hopes that he would preſerve their Freedom, provided they would ſurrender to him, and acknowledge that they were indebted to his Bounty for their Privileges. Nevertheleſs, *Smyrna* and *Lampſacus* ſtill maintained their Independence; and the *Syrian* left *Aſia* in

Philip had been forced to deliver up, by the Articles of the Treaty of Peace concluded between the *Romans* and him. The *Rhodians* were put in Poſſeſſion of *Stratonice*, and the other Cities of *Caria*, which *Philip* had joined to his Dominions.

38 *Hephæſtia* was a conſiderable City in the Iſland of *Lemnos*. We have ſpoken of it *Vol.* 3.

39 *Epheſus*, formerly ſo famous for the ſtately Temple of *Diana*, which was one of the ſeven Wonders of the World, was as it were the Capital of all *Ionia*. It is ſaid to have been built by the *Amazons*, near the Mouth of the River *Cayſtrus*, which diſcharges itſelf into the *Ægean* Sea.

40 *Smyrna* was thought to have been built by an *Amazon*, who gave her own Name to this City, and the neighbouring Gulph. It is yet one of the moſt conſiderable, moſt populous, and moſt wealthy, Cities in *Ionia*. This City, and ſeveral others, contended for the Glory of having been the Place of *Homer*'s Nativity.

41 *Lampſacus*, anciently called *Pithyuſa*, according to *Strabo*, was a maritime City of *Aſia Minor*. It is to this Day called *Lampſico*. It ſtands on the South Shore of the Sea of *Marmora*, almoſt over againſt *Gallipoli*, towards the Eaſt. Theſe two Cities are divided by a narrow Sea, which is but eight Miles over. The infamous *Priapus*, who preſided over Gardens, and whom the Ancients made to be the Son of *Bacchus* and *Venus*, was the tutolary God of *Lampſacus*.

the Spring, in order to pass into *Europe*. But before we bring him into this new Scene of Affairs, it is necessary that we should give some Account of him.

ANTIOCHUS was one of the Princes called *Seleucidæ*, who in Succession either from Father to Son, or from Brother to Brother, reigned long in *Syria*. The first of this Family whom Fortune raised to a Throne, was the Son of one *Antiochus*, an Officer in those *Macedonian Phalanxes* which *Alexander the Great* had carried to the Conquest of *Persia*. The Name of this Son of *Antiochus*, was *Seleucus*; who after the Death of *Alexander*'s Children, from being barely a *Satrapa* at *Babylon*, became Monarch of all *Media*; and took the Name of *King*. Nor would even this satisfy him. He trod in *Alexander*'s Steps, extended his Conquests to the *Indies*, and took the Surname of *Nicator*, or *The Victorious*. This Head of the *Seleucidæ* had two Sons, both named *Antiochus*. The first took the Surname of *Soter*. Flattery gave the second that of *God*. *Soter*, in his Father's Life-time, reigned in the Inland-Country of the Kingdom of *Seleucus*, whose unparallelled Tenderness for him was such, that he gave him his own Wife *Stratonice*. So that, the Son-in-law married his Mother-in-law, with whom he was desperately in Love; and *Syria* was then governed by two Sovereigns, the Father and the Son. The former contented himself with reigning over the Countries bordering upon the *Euphrates*, after he had given his eldest Son Possession of the rest of his Dominions. Nevertheless, *Seleucus Nicator* did not renounce War, towards the End of his Days. He entered *Phrygia*, defeated *Lysimachus* there, and deprived him of his Dominions. *Lysimachus*, from being one of *Alexander*'s Life-guards, had become King of *Thrace*, and of some other Nations in *Asia*. At length, *Nicator* died. His Son *Soter* succeeded him; and became Master of all *Syria*. *Stratonice*, whom he loved to Distraction, brought him only one Daughter. So that *Antiochus*, the Brother of *Soter*, succeeded him; and this *God* (for so he suffered himself to be called) experienced, on the Throne, that he was mortal. *Laodice* his Wife poisoned him; and transmitted the Crown to his Son *Seleucus*, surnamed *Callinicus*, who had at least two Sons. The eldest of them bore the Surname of *Ceraunus*; and the youngest was our *Antiochus*. He succeeded his Brother in the Throne; the latter having died young, and childless: And this sixth King of the Race of the *Seleucidæ*, reckoning *Seleucus Nicator* to be the first, will now engage our Attention.

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Appian Syriacis, & alii.

If *Philip* at first appeared formidable to the *Romans*, *Antiochus* must have filled them with stronger Apprehensions from him. By the Extent of his Dominions, his Riches, the Rapidity of his Conquests, and his boundless Views, he had merited the Name of *The Great*. He inherited the Valour of *Nicator* his Great Grandfather; and the soft Delights of *Asia* had neither enervated his Strength, nor his Courage. Being originally a *Macedonian*, he remembered the Exploits of *Alexander the Great*, and proposed to equal them. Being reduced, after the Death of his Brother, to the Kingdom of *Babylon* only, he had re-conquered *Media*, and the Country of the *Parthians*, which had revolted from his Predecessors. And this was too little to satisfy his Ambition. During the Minority of *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, *Antiochus* had usurped from him *Cœlo-Syria*, a considerable Part of *Cilicia*, and *Judæa*, and *Samaria*. From thence, he had extended his Arms quite to the Coasts of the *Hellespont*. Then he entered upon [42] *Ionia*, and *Æolis* [43], on no better Pretensions, than that they were Part of the Dominions of *Asia*, which he undertook to make entirely his own. With a View to pursuing this vast Design, he had at first made an Alliance with *Philip*. But either the Defeat of the *Macedonian* was too sudden for *Antiochus* to send him timely Assistance; or the *Syrian* had the aggrandizing himself more at Heart, than the Interest of his Friend. He still had a Design to get Possession of *Egypt*, at least by Intrigue and Treachery. He had one Daughter named *Cleopatra*, a Prodigy of Beauty and Virtue; and he resolved to betroth her to the King of *Egypt*, who was yet too young to marry her. The Design of the perfidious *Syrian* was to instruct his Daughter how to get rid of her Husband, and deliver up *Egypt* to her Father. But we shall hereafter

St. Jerom upon Daniel.

42 The Name of *Ionia* was formerly given to that maritime Country of *Asia Minor*, which was bounded, to the North, by *Æolis*; and to the South by *Caria*.

43 Old *Æolis* contained that Country which reached all along the Coasts of the *Ægean* Sea, from *Troas* to *Ionia*.

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ſee the young Queen inviolably attached to her Duty; join with *Ptolomy* againſt *Antiochus*; and prefer conjugal Affection to the Ties of Birth and Blood.

§. X. Such was the Prince who deſpiſed the *Roman* Forces; and whom they expected to have ſoon their Enemy. He affected to contradict their Orders, and deſpiſe their Menaces. The proud Republick had forbidden him to come into *Europe*. But he came and entered *Thrace*. His Pretence for it was, to take Poſſeſſion of the old Inheritance of his Anceſtors. We have already obſerved, that *Seleucus Nicator* had vanquiſhed in *Phrygia*, *Lyſimachus* King of *Thrace*; and this *Antiochus* thought a ſufficient Title, to juſtify his claiming *Thrace*, as his Great-Grandfather's Conqueſt. *Lyſimachia* had been founded in *The Thracian Cherſoneſus*, by this *Lyſimachus* whom *Nicator* had vanquiſhed, and ſlain in Battel; and ſince that time, this City had been taken and demoliſhed by the *Thracians*. *Antiochus the Great*, therefore had a Deſign to rebuild *Lyſimachia*, and make it the Capital of a great Kingdom, which he intended for a Portion for one of his Sons. He was warm with theſe Projects, when he left *Epheſus*, early in the Spring; brought his Troops by Land into the *Cherſoneſus*, by the way of *Madytos*, which was forced to ſubmit to his ſuperior Strength; and took his Rout towards *Lyſimachia*, where his Fleet arrived before him. Here the King of *Syria* made it his firſt Buſineſs to rebuild and repeople this great City. It was, by its Situation, the moſt advantageous Poſt he could have ſeized in *Europe*; and he undertook to make it a convenient Port for Ships, and a Magazine of Arms and Proviſions for the Armies he intended to employ in the Recovery of *Thrace*. He therefore carried on the Reſtitution of *Lyſimachia* with Vigour. He aſſembled together its old Inhabitants, who were ſcattered abroad in ſeveral Places; reſcued from Slavery thoſe who had been made Captives; brought new Citizens thither from the neighbouring Countries; gave them Privileges; and furniſhed them with Cattle, and Inſtruments of Husbandry. And laſtly, he employed them, and part, both of his Land and Sea-Forces, in rebuilding the Walls, and Houſes of the City.

* *Liv. B.* 33. *c.* 38.

It is eaſy to believe, that the *Romans* could ill brook the Arrival of the *Syrian*; and therefore the Plenipotentiaries, who had diſperſed themſelves, haſtened to *Lyſimachia*, from ſeveral Places, to divert *Antiochus* from his Deſign. *Lentulus* came thither from *Bargylia*, *Villius* and *Terentius* from *Thaſſos*, and *Cornelius* from 44 *Selymbria*; and all joined in diſſuading *Antiochus* from ſettling in *Europe*. The *Syrian* received the *Romans* graciouſly, and entertained them in an hoſpitable and polite Manner. But afterwards their Minds were ſowered againſt one another. Indeed, the *Romans* behaved themſelves towards the Monarch, with thoſe imperious Airs, which they aſſumed where-ever they came. They told him, that his Conduct, ſince his coming into *Europe*, was diſpleaſing to the Republick; demanded the Reſtitution of thoſe Cities and Provinces to *Ptolomy*, which he had taken from him, during his Minority; and above all, inſiſted on his giving up thoſe Places, which he had uſurped from *Philip*, and which the *Romans*, his Conquerors, had a Right to diſpoſe of. *What!* ſaid the Plenipotentiaries, *ſhall* Rome *have been at all the Expence of the War with the* Macedonian, *and* Antiochus *reap all the Advantages of it? We might perhaps have connived at your Conqueſts in* Aſia. *But ſhall we ſuffer thoſe you are come to make in* Europe? *Is not this Step a Declaration of War with the* Roman *Senate and People? You might indeed ſtill deny it, if you were come into* Italy *itſelf.* Then *Antiochus*, in his turn, put on an haughty Air, and ſaid: *I have long ſince obſerved, that* Rome *is very watchful of my Steps, and very regardleſs of her own. Know then, that you have as little to do, to examine what I do in* Aſia, *as I have to controul you in any of your Undertakings in* Italy. *You complain of my Proceedings with regard to the King of* Egypt. *He is my Friend, and will ſoon become my Son-in-law. And we will ſettle our Differences between ourſelves. As to the* Thracian *Cities, which I have taken from King* Philip, *know, that the* Cherſoneſus *was never a part of his Dominions. My great Grandfather* Nicator, *formerly conquered it from* Lyſimachus, *whom he overcame in* Phrygia. *Indeed* Ptolomy *and* Philip *divided* Thrace *between them. My Predeceſſor was then buſy elſewhere. But that does not alter the Nature of their*

Liv. ibid.

44 *Selymbria* is ſtill in being, and is called *Selivrea*. It ſtands on the Coaſts of *The Propontis*, or Sea of *Marmora*, South of *Conſtantinople*.

their Uſurpation; and I am now come juſtly to recover what they unjuſtly invaded. The Thracians *have demoliſhed* Lyſimachia, *a City belonging to me, and I am come to rebuild it. I will make it the Capital of a Kingdom, which is my Right, and which I deſign for my Son* Syphax. Many Days were ſpent in diſputing about the Pretenſions of the *Syrian*. But it muſt be owned, that according to the Laws ſettled among the *Satrapæ*, who ſurvived *Alexander the Great*, and divided his Conqueſts, *Antiochus* had a juſt Claim. The ſtrongeſt took from the weakeſt the Share he had uſurped upon the Diviſion of *Alexander*'s Empire. And by this Rule *Thrace*, which *Lyſimachus* had kept for himſelf, belonged to *Nicator* his Conqueror, and conſequently to *Antiochus* his Great-Grandſon. Nevertheleſs, this Diſpute would have laſted a great while, if the *Syrian* had not been obliged to leave *Lyſimachia* for another Enterpriſe, which was even of more Conſequence to him than this. A Report was ſpread, that the King of *Egypt* was dead. Whether *Antiochus* had laid the Plot to deprive him of his Life, we dare not affirm; but there was room enough to ſuſpect it.

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§. XI. *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, had in his Service an *Ætolian* named *Scopas*. This Man had the Reputation of a good Soldier, and commanded a large Body of Mercenaries for the *Egyptians*. He had formerly endeavoured to defend *Cœlo-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Judæa*, againſt *Antiochus*; but being vanquiſhed near the Springs of the River *Jordan*, and obliged to abandon [45] *Sidon*, he was come into *Egypt*. And having been, as is probable, corrupted by the Promiſes of the King of *Syria*, the *Ætolian* formed a Plot againſt the Life of the King of *Egypt*. He aſſembled his Friends together at his own Houſe, held ſeditious Councils with them, and diſpoſed the Troops he commanded to ſecond his Deſigns. The Reſolution taken was to kill *Ptolomy*, and deliver up his Dominions to *Antiochus*. But the Plots of *Scopas* were not carried on with Secrecy enough. *Ariſtomenes*, a faithful Subject, and at the Head of the King's Councils, cited the Traitor to appear. Nevertheleſs, he refuſed to give any Account of his Conduct, till Violence was going to be offered to him in his own Houſe. Then he appeared before the King, and ordered his Friends to follow him. He was convicted of Diſobedience and Treaſon; and was thrown into a Dungeon, and condemned to perpetual Impriſonment.

ANTIOCHUS had depended on *Scopas*'s Revolt, and the Aſſaſſination of *Ptolomy*. And this made him ſo much in haſte to leave *Lyſimachia*, break off his Conferences with the *Romans*, and draw near to *Egypt*. He kept along the Coaſts of *Aſia*; and made his Fleet put in at [46] *Patara*, in [47] *Lycia*. There he received Intelligence, that *Ptolomy* was living, and that *Scopas* had loſt his Life. And then Heaven puniſhed the perfidious *Antiochus* himſelf, for his Intrigues againſt *Ptolomy*, to whom he had very lately given his Daughter. The *Syrian*'s Fleet ſuffered Shipwreck near the Mouth of the River [48] *Sarus*, which diſcharges itſelf into the *Cilician* Sea. After a conſiderable Loſs of his Ships, Marines, and Friends, the King, who with Difficulty eſcaped out of the Tempeſt, fled for Refuge to [49] *Seleucia*, and from thence returned to *Antioch*, the Capital of his Dominions, and ſpent the Winter there. Nevertheleſs, *Antiochus* did not drop his Deſign of recovering *Thrace*. He had left his Son *Seleucus* at *Lyſimachia*, with a Land-Army, to finiſh the building of the City, and defend it. As for the Plenipotentiaries, who had juſt finiſhed the Peace in *Macedon*, they had nothing to do, but to return to *Rome*, where they found the Affairs of *Italy* in a good Condition; but were informed that the Revolt in *Spain* was continued with more Warmth than ever.

[45] *Sidon*, a maritime City, now known by the ame of *Seide*, was formerly one of the fineſt, d moſt opulent, Cities in *Phœnicia*.

[46] The City of *Patara* ſtood on an Eminence, ar the Mouth of the *Xanthus*. It was famous r the *Oracles* which *Apollo* formerly uttered there.

[47] *Lycia* is a Province of *Aſia Minor*, bounded to Weſt, by *Caria*; and to the Eaſt by *Pamylia*.

[48] The River *Sarus* riſes near *Comana*; and after has run through part of *Cilicia*, falls into *The Gulph of Adjazza*, which the Ancients call *Iſſicus Sinus*.

[49] There were formerly ſeveral Cities called *Seleucia*, which had been built by *Seleucus Nicator*. That here ſpoken of ſtood in *Cilicia*, twelve Miles from the Sea, on the Banks of the River *Calicadnus*. The Ancients, to diſtinguiſh it from the other Cities of the ſame Name, call it *Seleucia Trachiotis*. This Appellation agreed very well with the mountainous Country in which it ſtood.

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Liv. B. 33. *c.* 36.

§. XII. As to *Italy*, the two *Conſuls*, *Furius* and *Marcellus*, had ſet out early in the Spring, to continue the War with the *Gallic* Rebels. *Marcellus* had entered into the Country of the *Boii*. He had marched his Army with Precipitation, and had poſted himſelf on an Eminence, in order to encamp there. But whilſt he was buſy in throwing up his Entrenchments, *Corolamus*, the King of the *Boii*, fell ſo briskly on the *Romans*, that he gained a conſiderable Advantage over them. The *Gallic* Army was numerous; and their Troops incomparable at cloſe fighting. The Attack was ſo vigorous, that three thouſand *Romans* were killed in it, and among them ſome Officers of Diſtinction. Nevertheleſs, the *Conſul* ſettled himſelf there, and continued ſeveral Days in his Camp, which was ſeveral times attacked. The Reſiſtance of the *Romans* put the *Gauls* out of all Patience; and their natural Levity was ſuch, that they disbanded themſelves. Every one returned to his own Town; and no other *Boian* Army appeared in the Field, all the reſt of the Year. *Marcellus* therefore led his *Legions* towards *Coma*, paſſed the *Po*, and appeared in ſight of the *Inſubres*, who had entrenched themſelves under this City. But whilſt the *Romans* were upon their March, the *Gauls* fell upon them, with all the Ardour that Victory inſpires. The light-armed Soldiers of the *Conſul* were repulſed, and put into Diſorder by the *Inſubres*. The *Roman* firſt ſent a Battalion of *Marſi*, with all his *Latin* Cavalry, to oppoſe them; and this advanced-Guard bravely ſuſtained the firſt and ſecond Attack of the Enemy. And the *Gauls* ſtill continuing to make new Efforts, *Marcellus* then advanced his *Legions* againſt them. In the beginning of the Battel, they only defended themſelves. It was neceſſary to abate the firſt Impetuoſity of the *Gauls*. But afterwards, the *Legionaries* fell with ſuch Fury on the *Inſubres*, that they broke into them, and put them in Diſorder. They all fled, and much of their Blood was ſpilt. One ancient Author affirms, That forty thouſand *Gauls* were killed upon the Spot, and fifty ſeven of their Standards taken. But be that as it will, their Camp was certainly taken, and plundered; and on the Field of Battel were found a great Number of Gold-Collars, a part of the common Dreſs of the *Gauls*. *Coma* was taken after a few Days Siege, and twenty eight Places in the Country ſurrendered to the Conqueror.

Valerius Ant. apud Livy.

§. XIII. The *Conſul Furius* had not yet entered upon Action. He had taken his Rout towards *Umbria*, and was now drawn near to a little Place called 50 *Mutilum*. There he was apprehenſive, that he ſhould be attacked by new Armies of united *Inſubres* and *Boii*; and therefore immediately turned back, and for the future, marched only over open Plains, for fear of falling into Ambuſcades. And at length, after marching far about, he joined his Collegue, and the two *Conſular* Armies, ravaged the whole Country of the *Boii* together. The City of *Felſina* 51, and almoſt all the Caſtles in the Country, ſubmitted to the *Romans*. The *Boian* Youth retired into unpaſſable Foreſts, and ſaved their ſmall remains of Liberty. In the mean time, the *Conſular* Armies entered *Liguria*. The young *Boii* followed them to the Banks of the *Po*, ſtill croſſing their Foreſts; and even the River did not ſtop them in their March. They croſſed it in Boats, and ſtill kept along by the ſide of the *Conſular* Troops, waiting for an Opportunity to fall upon them unawares. And after they had laid the Neighbourhood waſte, theſe Youth thought they had a favourable Opportunity to attack a Body of *Romans*, who were at a little Diſtance from the main Army. The Onſet was briſk, and the Fight more bloody, than a pitched Battel would have been. And then the *Romans* ſhewed what powerful Effects Anger and Revenge have on ſowered Minds. They remembered the Shock they had received in the beginning of the Campaign; and their Rage made them fierce and cruel. They ſeemed to fight more for the ſake of ſhedding Blood, than of acquiring Glory. They gave no Quarter. So that of all this Body of *Boian* Infantry, there was not one left to carry the News of the Defeat into his own Country. After this the *Conſuls* had no more Enemies

50 *Blondus* places the Caſtle of *Mutilum* at the Foot of the *Apennines*, between *Faenza* and *Forbi*, in the Place where *Modigliana* now ſtands. But *Cluver* rather thinks, that this Fort ſtood where *Medolo*, or *Medola* now does. The latter is a City, at a little Diſtance from *Modena*, and *The Valley of Sarſina*, or *Sarſana*.

51 The Name of *Felſina* was anciently given to a City of *Bologna*. It has always been, and is to this Day, one of the moſt famous Cities in *Italy*. It was at different times a *Colony*, and a *Municipium*.

to engage with; their Victory made the *Gauls* hide themselves. *Rome* was extremely rejoiced at all these Successes, and ordered Prayers for three Days. Then 52 *Marcellus* immediately returned to the City; and obtained a Triumph there, for having overcome the *Boii*, and *Insubres*. He entered *Rome* with the usual Pomp, on *The* 53 *fourth of the Nones of March*. His Collegue hoped likewise to obtain a Triumph, at least without the Title of Conqueror of the *Boii*. But it is probable, that the *Roman* Senate and People rejected his Petition; since we don't find his Name in *The Triumphal Tables*.

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§. XIV. After this, the Republick was employed only in punishing some Slaves who had revolted in *Hetruria*, or in publishing some Edicts. The *Pontifices* and *Augurs* had till this time been exempted from publick Taxes. But now they were required to pay a Tax towards the Expences of the War. They appealed to *The Tribunes of the People*; but these refused to bring their Petition before the Tribunal of the People. Those Priests were also discharged from a part of their sacerdotal Office. They were tired out with the great Number of Sacrifices, which they were obliged to attend, and especially with the Sacred Feasts, the Care of which was left to them. *Rome* therefore eased them of this Burden. She erected a new 54 Sacerdotal College, under the Name of *Epulones*, whose whole Office was to be confined 55 to the Care of the religious Feasts. At first the Number of these *Epulones* was but three, all chosen out of *Plebeian* Families. But it is probable, that afterwards the *Patricians* sought to be admitted into this Body, which became 56 more numerous. The three first were *C. Licinius Lucullus*; *T. Romuleius* 57, then a *Tribune of the People*, who had got the Law past; and *Porcius* 58 *Læcas*, who had born the Office of *Tribune of the People*, two Years before, to the Satisfaction of the Commons. This last, and not the renowned *Porcius*, afterwards known by the Name of *Cato the Censor*, was the Man, who got the famous *Porcian* Law passed, which was so favourable to the *Roman Citizens*. Formerly, *Poplicola* had not laid any Penalty on those severe Magistrates, who should cause a *Roman Citizen* to be whipped with Rods. But *Porcius Læcas* 59, *secured the Shoulders of the People* 60, to speak the Language of one of the Ancients; and caused the Edict to be passed, which forbad the *Lictors* to whip a *Roman Citizen* with Rods, under very severe Penalties. The Great *Cato* indeed afterwards used

Cicero de Orat. B. 3.

Sex. Pomp. Fest.

52 A great Number of Standards were taken from the Enemy, three hundred and twenty thousand *Asses* of Brass, and two hundred and thirty four thousand Silver *Denarii* were carried in Chariots, made after the *Gallic* Fashion, and added to the Splendor of the Triumph. The rest of the Booty was divided among the Soldiers who shared the Victory. Every Foot Soldier had eight hundred *Asses* of Brass, that is, about forty *Franks*, at the Rate of one *Sol per As*; and every Horseman, and *Centurion*, three times that Sum.

53 *The fourth of the Nones of March*, answered to our fourth Day of *March*.

54 Whatever *Grutherius* may say to the contrary, in his Work of the *Pontifical* Rights, it is certain the *Epulones* were from that time one of the four Great Colleges established to support the Worship of the Gods. We have a Proof of it, in an old Inscription, which gives the Emperor *Nero* the Titles of *Pontifex Maximus*, *Augur*, *Quindecimvir Sybillinus*, and *Septemvir Epulo*. It is not at all probable, that the Emperors, who assumed all the Distinctions annexed to the Priesthood, would have adopted this last Title, if it had been an inferior one. And *Nero*, who was more jealous of Pre-eminence than any other, would not have failed to have made himself one of the College of *Aruspices*, if, as *Gruber* pretends, it had been superior to that of the *Epulones*. Besides, *Dio*, *B.* 43. seems to give the Preference to the four Colleges alluded to in the Inscription.

55 It was their Business to fix and publish the Days appointed for the Solemnities, and to receive the Legacies, which pious Pagans left to defray the Expences of the Feasts which were made in honour to the Gods: And they had a Power to confiscate the Heir's Estate, if he did not perform the Will of the Donor.

56 There is Reason to believe, that these Priests were fixed to the Number of seven, in *Cornelius Sylla*'s time, or thereabouts. At least, the Ancients always call them *Triumviri Epulones*, till that time. And afterwards they never call them any thing but *Septemviri Epulones*.

57 In all the Copies we read *T. Romuleius*. Nevertheless *Gronovius*, in a very despotick manner, displaces this *Tribune of the People*, and puts one *Publius Manlius* in his room. He builds this Correction on a Passage in *Livy*, where it is said, that *Quintus Fulvius* was made *Triumvir Epulo*, in the room of *Publius Manlius*. But this is a weak Proof, and implies nothing against *T. Romuleius*, who might have preceded *Manlius*, as *Manlius* did *Fulvius*.

58 The *Porcian* Family was *Plebeian*, and came originally from *Tusculum*. At least this City was the native Country of *Porcius Cato*. The *Licinus's*, the *Læca's*, and the *Cato's*, were three Branches that descended from that Stock.

59 The *Consul Marcus Valerius*, one of the Descendants of *Poplicola*, had renewed this Law, as *Livy* observes, in the Year of *Rome* 454. *Marcus Valerius Consul de* Provocatione *legem tulit diligentius sancitam*. But from that time, the Authority of the Magistrates had probably prevailed, contrary to this Law, which *Porcius* revived in favour of the *Citizens*.

60 This Privilege granted to the People did not extend to the Armies, where the Generals had an absolute Power over Life and Death, as we have elsewhere observed.

Year of his Credit, to countenance and give a Sanction to the *Porcian* Law. But the
ROME 561 Medals ſhew, that *Rome* was indebted to *Læcas* for this great Benefit. And the
DLVIII. *Roman* People from this time ſhewed their Gratitude to the *Porcii*, in the enſuing
Elections [62].

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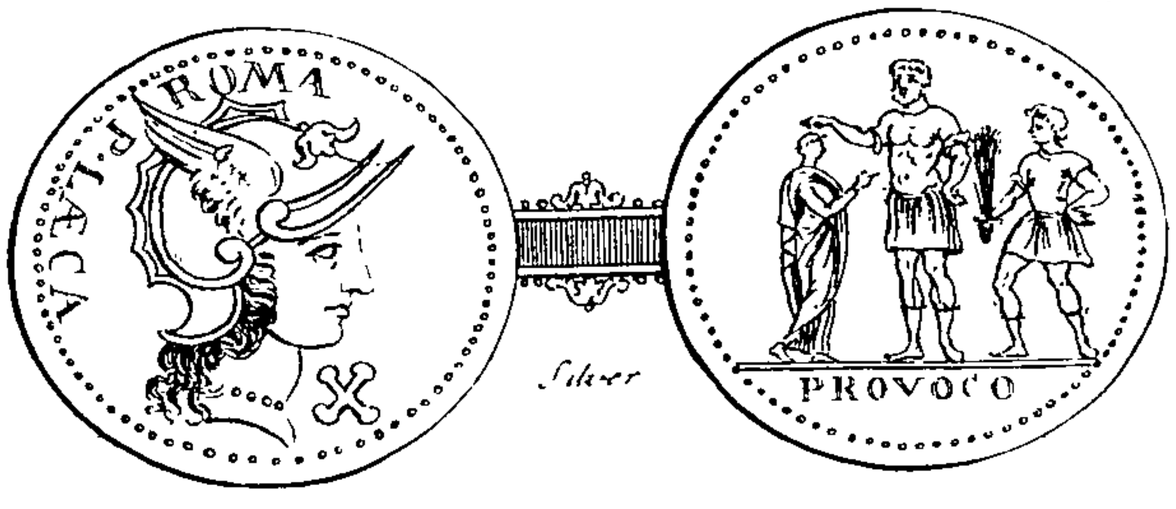
§. XV. THE *Conſul* [63] *Marcellus*, immediately after his Triumph, aſſembled the *Comitia by Centuries*, which promoted *L. Valerius Flaccus*, and *M. Porcius*, ſur-named *Cato*, to the *Conſulſhip*. *Porcius Læcas*, and five [64] others, were choſen *Prætors*. Then the Affairs of *Spain* appearing to be of more Conſequence than uſual, the Senate firſt applied themſelves to them. That whole Kingdom was in a Flame. The little Sovereigns there made it their Buſineſs to raiſe Inſurrections among their People, to ſet themſelves at Liberty. *We made uſe of the* Romans, ſaid they, *to drive out the* Carthaginians. *But our Deliverers are become our Tyrants.* *Rome* therefore reſolved to ſend one of the *Conſuls* thither, with a *Conſular* Army; and to keep the other in *Italy*, to finiſh the War with the *Gauls*. They drew Lots; and *Spain* fell to *Cato*; *Italy*, to *Valerius*. And whilſt Preparations were making for [65] *Cato*'s Departure, and twenty Gallies were equipping to tranſport



61 In order to perpetuate the Memory of this Benefaction, a Medal was ſtruck, on one ſide of which was a *Lictor*, armed with his *Faſces*, and on the other, *A Roman Citizen*, appealing from him to the Magiſtrate. To this the Word PROVOCO on the Medal alludes. It plainly refers to the Law which *Livy* calls *Legem de* PROVOCATIONE.

62 This Year 557 was remarkable, according to *Livy*, for the prodigious Quantity of Corn, which the *Sicilians* ſent to *Rome* from *Sicily*. There was ſo great a Plenty of it, that *The Curule Ædiles*, *Caius Flaminius*, and *Marcus Fulvius Nobilior*, ſold Wheat for two *Aſſes*, that is, about two *Sols* and ſix *Deniers French*, *per Modium*, or Buſhel. This the Iſlanders did in Gratitude to *Flaminius*. His Father had been *Prætor* of *Sicily*; and during his Adminiſtration, the People, who had been waſted with long Wars, began to recover themſelves, and reap the Fruits of a ſolid Peace. They were indebted to his Care, and the Mildneſs of his Government, for the Fruitfulneſs of their Fields, cauſed by the Re-eſtabliſhment of Agriculture. The *Sicilians* therefore thought it their Duty to acknowledge to the Son, the Services his Father had done them. But *Flaminius* took no other Advantage of their Gratitude, but to gain the Favour of the *Roman* People. And he had the Generoſity to ſuffer his Collegue *Fulvius*, to ſhare the Honours of it with him. Theſe two Magiſtrates ſignalized themſelves likewiſe by celebrating *The Roman Games*, for three Days together, with great Pomp. And this Show was followed by that of *The Plebeian Games*. The latter laſted two Days; in which Feaſts were given to the People by *Curius Domitius Ænobarbus*, and *Caius Scribonius*, *Maximus Curio*, the preſent *Plebeian Ædiles*. Out of the Fines levied upon ſeveral Perſons, who were condemned at the Tribunal of the People, for Damages done by their Cattel, they erected a Temple to *Faunus*, in the Iſland in the *Tyber*.

63 *Marcellus*, after his *Conſulſhip*, was honoured with the *Pontificate*. He ſucceeded *Titus Sempronius Tuditanus*, who died in *Spain*, before his *Prætorſhip* expired. *Lucius Valerius* was alſo made *Pontifex* in the room of *Marcus Cornelius Cethegus*. *Quintus Fabius Maximus* the *Augur*, was dead before he came to Man's Eſtate. But his Place was not filled up till the next Year; and then it was given to *Appius Claudius Pulcher*.

64 Beſides *Porcius Læcas*, to whoſe Lot it fell to go to *Piſa* to watch the Motions of the *Ligures*, the Republick choſe the following *Prætors*, *Fabricius Luſcinus*, *Caius Atinius Labeo*, *Cneius Manlius Vulſo*, *Appius Claudius Nero*, and *Publius Manlius*. The firſt was made *Prætor Urbanus* at *Rome*; the ſecond *Prætor Peregrinus*; the third had *Sicily* for his Province; the fourth, *Further Spain*; and the laſt *Hither Spain*, where he was to act in Conjunction with that *Conſul*, who went into *Spain*. As for *Titus Quinctius Flamininus*, he was continued *Pro-Conſul* in *Greece*. His Preſence was more neceſſary there now than ever. It was neceſſary that a Man of Ability and Penetration ſhould reſide there, to unravel the Conduct, of *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, the *Ætolians*, and *Nabis* Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*. The *Romans* had ſuſpected them for ſome time. The Republick left *Quinctius* two *Legions*, and promiſed him freſh Succours, if he ſhould want them. The *Legion Quintus Fabius* had commanded the laſt Year, was kept for *Claudius Nero*; who had Leave given him, at the ſame time, to raiſe two thouſand Foot, and two hundred Horſe more. *Publius Manlius* had alſo the ſame Liberty, and the Command of the *Legion*, which *Minucius* had commanded in *Hither Spain*. The Senate thought two thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe, ſufficient for *Porcius* to keep the *Gauls* and *Ligures* in Awe. And laſtly, they took care of the Affairs of *Sardinia*. The Government of that Province was confirmed to *Sempronius Longus*.

65 Before the *Conſuls* ſet out for their *Provinces*, the *Pontifices* ſummoned them to diſcharge the Vow the *Prætor*, *Aulus Cornelius Mammula*, had made twenty Years before, by the Advice of the Senate, after

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port his Army, which conſiſted of two *Legions*, five thouſand Auxiliaries, and five hundred Horſe; the *Roman* Ladies took a Step, which was new in the Republick. About eighteen Years before, in the Year of *Rome* 540, and in the *Conſulſhip* of *Q. Fabius*, and *T. Sempronius*, a *Tribune of the People*, named *Oppius*, had got a Law paſſed, which reſtrained the Luxury of Women. It was then very ſeaſonable, and well ſuited to the Wants of the State. *Hannibal* was ravaging *Italy*, and the publick Treaſury was exhauſted. It was therefore decreed, *That the richeſt of the* Roman *Ladies ſhould not uſe above half an Ounce of Gold, in Jewels; That they ſhould no longer wear Habits of ſeveral Colours; and That they ſhould not make uſe of Chariots, either at* Rome, *or in the neighbouring Towns, or to any Place within a Mile's diſtance, unleſs to aſſiſt at ſome publick Sacrifice.* But this Regulation, to which the Ladies had with great Reluctance conformed themſelves, in a time of publick Calamity, was by them thought intolerable, when the Republick abounded with Riches. They then grew impatient to ſee themſelves deprived of Ornaments ſuited to their Sex, and agreeable to their Deſires; and made a great ſtir to get the *Oppian* Law diſannulled. Indeed, it muſt be owned, they choſe a very improper time to gain this Point. *Cato* was then *Conſul.* The Auſterity of Life he affected, gave the *Roman* Ladies no great Reaſon to believe he would be a very warm Advocate for re-eſtabliſhing Luxury. But their Paſſions got the better of their Prudence. They preſented their Petition to two *Tribunes of the People*, whom they thought certainly in their Intereſt; namely, to *M. Fundanius*, and *L. Valerius.* Theſe *Tribunes* brought this Petition before the *Comitia*; but it met with Oppoſition among the *Tribunes* themſelves. Two of them, who had leſs Complaiſance for the Ladies, were both of the *Junian* Family, and both bore the Name of *Brutus*, oppoſed their Requeſt, and ſpoke in favour of the *Oppian* Law. Never was an Aſſembly more divided in Opinion. The *Capitol*, where it was held, was full of People crying out for, and againſt, the Law. Even the Women ran thither, contrary to Cuſtom. Neither the Order of their Husbands, nor the Rules of Decency, nor the publick Authority, could keep them at Home, or prevent their lining the Streets, which led from the *Capitol*, to the *Voting-place.* They ſollicited the Men as they paſſed, and repreſented to them the Equity of their Requeſt. *The Republick*, ſaid they, *is arrived at the higheſt Pitch of Grandeur and Wealth. Private Families are alſo immenſely rich. Shall we then be the only Perſons, who ſhall not ſhare the publick Plenty? Shall we be denied the Liberty of increaſing the Magnificence of* Rome, *by wearing rich Clothes?* The Affair was ſeveral Days under Conſideration, and the Women in the City grew more and more numerous, all the while the Aſſemblies were held. They came thither from all the neighbouring *Colonies* and Towns; and never were Votes more earneſtly canvaſſed for. They offered their Petitions, even to the *Conſuls* and *Prætors.* But *Cato* was inexorable. He ſpoke for the Law, and againſt the Women, with all that Sowerneſs and Severity, which he aſſumed out of Affectation, and to make his Fortune. *Romans*, ſaid he to the Aſſembly, *if any of you had kept your Wives within the Bounds of Modeſty, we ſhould not have ſeen here this Croud of Sollicitreſſes, who thus torment us. The Liberty you have given them at Home, is now very notorious. They are become inſolent in their own Families, and now they ſhew their Pride even in our Streets. They are inſupportable by themſelves, and much more ſo, when thus aſſembled. I have hitherto thought it a fabulous Report of the Iſland of* Lemnos, *that the Women there cut their Husbands* [66] *Throats, in order to get the Government into their own Hands. But I am now convinced, that they are capable of exerciſing the ſame Barbarity in any other Country, if they are ſuffered to aſſemble, and form Cabals. Never were more pernicious Precedents, than the Liberty you give your Wives in your own Houſes, and the Diſturbances they make in publick. It is the Province of their Husbands to keep them ſubmiſſive at Home; and of the Magiſtrates, to put a Stop to their tumultuous aſſembling in our Streets.* *Livy, B. 34. c. 2.* *This terrible Diſorder is no doubt to be aſcribed to you,* Fundanius *and* Valerius. *Yet*

after the fatal Battel of *The Lake Thraſimenus*, in the Year of *Rome* 556. By this Vow, the *Romans* obliged themſelves to ſacrifice to the Gods, all the Animals which were born, between *The Calends of March*, and the firſt of *May*. This was what the Ancients called *Ver Sacrum*. See our Diſcourſe on this Subject, *Vol.* 3. The new *Conſuls* diſcharged this Obligation with the utmoſt Care.

66 *Hypſipyle* is ſaid to have been the only Perſon who ſaved the Life of her Father, *Thoas*.

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it is a Queſtion, whether the Reproach of it falls moſt on you, or the Conſuls. *Indeed I bluſhed to find, that I could not come to the* Comitium, *without paſſing through a Croud of Women; and I was ſtrongly inclined to have addreſſed myſelf to them thus. Whence comes this Novelty? Ought Women to come out of their Houſes, and ſpeak to others beſides their Husbands? Could not every one ſollicite her own Husband at Home? Do you think your Charms will have more Power over others, than over thoſe to whom* Hymen *has joined you? Nay, ought you to intermeddle in publick Affairs, even in your own Houſes? But out of Modeſty, and a Regard for ſo many Women aſſembled together, I abſtained from ſpeaking to them in that manner. And as for you,* Fundanius, *and* Valerius, *was it your Intention to raiſe a Sedition like thoſe in former times? Did you deſign, that our Wives ſhould leave the City, ſeparate themſelves from us, and retire to* The Sacred Mountain? *Our Fathers wiſely ordered, that they ſhould not concern themſelves even with domeſtick Affairs, without the Conſent of their Husbands, Fathers, or Brothers. But you carry your Complaiſance very far. In a little while, we ſhall ſee them take their Places in the* Comitia, *determine Affairs of State, and aſpire at the Government of the Republick. Does not their preſent Conduct authorize my Fears? Does it belong to them to intercede for the Preſervation or Abolition of our Laws? They are a kind of Animals that ought to be chained down. If you give Women the leaſt Liberty, they preſently become inſatiable. Have our Anceſtors, with all their Care to reſtrain the Sex, been able to prevent their Audaciouſneſs? And you would now put them upon a Level with us. In a ſhort time, we ſhall ſee them Miſtreſſes of our Lives and Fortunes. But, ſay their Advocates, they deſire nothing new. All they ask, is to be reinſtated in their ancient Rights, before the* Oppian *Law. Nothing new! What? Is it not ſomething new, to force us to aboliſh a Law we have once enacted? There is no Law, that is not contrary to the Paſſions of ſome Perſons or other. When Laws are made, Regard is only had to the general Good: And if all Laws are to be aboliſhed, that are not agreeable to the Inclinations of all Perſons, none will be left in force. The private Inconveniencies that may ariſe from them, are overlooked by Lawgivers, who conſider only the publick Welfare. But what is this Law againſt which the Sex exclaims ſo much? Does it relate to delivering their Fathers, their Brothers, or their Husbands, out of* Hannibal's *Chains? Does it relate to the Reception to be given to the Goddeſs of* Peſſinus [67], *at her Arrival in our Ports? What then is the Point to be gained by this Commotion among the Women? Nothing but this; that they may have leave to dreſs themſelves in Purple, adorn their Fingers and Heads with Gold, and ride in Chariots through the Streets in Pomp, as if they were triumphing over the Law. As then you have often ſeen me inveigh againſt publick Diſorders, I cannot but do the ſame now. Avarice and Profuſeneſs have ever been the Subjects of my Cenſures. The taking of* Syracuſe *gave riſe to theſe two Plagues in the Republick. To this Day, many People are very fond of the rich Furniture that is brought from* Corinth, *and* Greece. *We begin to deſpiſe too much the earthen Veſſels, we uſed in our Sacrifices, and the earthen, or wooden Gods which he worſhiped. If theſe Gods are propitious to us, what does it ſignify, whether they are made by the Potter, Sculptor, or Goldſmith?* Pyrrhus *formerly ordered* Cyneas *to gain the Affections of the* Roman Ladies *by Preſents; but they were not then to be wrought upon by them. The Reaſon of which was, that Luxury was not then introduced among us. If* Cyneas *were to return now, and go from Houſe to Houſe with Gold and Jewels in his Hands, he ſhould find Women enough even in our Streets, very ready to accept his Offers. And that for this Reaſon; becauſe they are grown immoderately fond of Finery. Alas! How many Diſorders would be remedied by an Uniformity of Dreſs! It would put a Stop to all Emulation among Women. The Indigence of Perſons of Condition would be concealed. The pooreſt would not be tempted to aim at an Equality with the richeſt. And Concord would reign between Husbands and Wives. How unfortunate is the Man, whoſe Wife is paſſionately fond of Dreſs! If he indulges her in it, he increaſes his Expences; if he refuſes it, he endangers his Honour. In that Caſe, ſhe will ſeek Abroad, for what ſhe cannot obtain at Home. Nor let it be preſumed, that if*

67 See what we have ſaid of the manner in which the *Roman Ladies* received this Goddeſs *Cybele*, when ſhe was brought from *Peſſinus* into *Italy*, Vol. 3.

the Oppian *Law is abrogated, our Women will be as moderate in their Expences, as they were before it was made. The Times are changed. The Love of Luxury is increaſed with the Riches of the Republick. And a Stop ought to be put to this Diſorder, in time; leſt we ſhould hereafter be forced to correct it by ſevere Puniſhments! Leave the Law therefore in full Force. That will prevent the Riſe of numberleſs Diſorders, and preſerve Peace in Families.*

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CATO's Opinion was backed by the two *Tribunes*, who ſpoke againſt the Petition; and then *Valerius*, who undertook to be the Advocate for the *Roman* Ladies, ſpoke thus. *If only private Perſons had oppoſed the Abolition of the* Oppian *Law, I ſhould have held my Peace. But the Authority of ſo venerable a Magiſtrate as* Cato, *may have made Impreſſions on your Minds, which it is proper to efface. And I cannot but obſerve, that he has inſiſted more on the pretended Irregularities of our Wives, than the Neceſſity of continuing the* Oppian *Law; whereby he has plainly ſhewn us his true Character. We ſee more Auſterity than Solidity, in what he has ſaid. And indeed*, Cato *is a good-natured Man, though ſo very ſevere an Orator. To what Exceſs has he carried his Apprehenſions! He has branded the reaſonable Sollicitations of our Wives, with Plots, Seditions, and Separations, like thoſe of our Forefathers on the* Mons Sacer. *An Exaggeration which drops of itſelf, upon our proteſting here, that we are the only Perſons concerned in the Abolition of the Law. What is there then extraordinary, in our Wives appearing in publick, to ſollicite their own Cauſe? Cato* [68], *who is ſo well verſed in our Hiſtory, muſt know, that the Women have often gone out of their Houſes, and thereby done the Republick great Service. In the time of* Romulus, *they appeared between two Armies, and appeaſed them. When* Coriolanus *threatened* Rome *with a Siege, our Women went to his Camp, and prevented it. The* Gauls *took* Rome, *and beſieged the* Capitol; *and we redeemed it with the Gold our Women moſt freely brought us. In the laſt War, the publick Treaſury was exhauſted, and the Money of the Widows was our Reſource. We wanted a foreign Goddeſs to protect us, and the Ladies walked in Companies, as far as to the Port of* Oſtia, *and conducted the Statue of* Cybele *to the City. There is nothing new in theſe female Aſſemblies. Who then can wonder that they ſhould do that for themſelves, which they did, without Reproach, for the publick Good? Ought Judges to be ſo difficult of Acceſs, as to refuſe Perſons of Diſtinction an Audience, which is not denied even to Slaves? According to the* Conſul, *indeed, we ought not to abrogate any Law; and the* Oppian *Law in particular, ſhould never be altered. But this is a double Paradox, which it is eaſy to anſwer.* Cato *has not made Difference enough between the fundamental Laws of the State, and the temporary Laws, which are only made to ſerve a preſent Purpoſe. The former are immutable. The latter die with the Neceſſity upon which they are built. Some are confined to times of Peace, and are of no force in time of War. Others are neceſſary only in War, and uſeleſs in times of Peace. Such is that of which* Oppius *was the Author. This was not one of thoſe primordial Laws, which we received from our firſt Kings, and which have been in being ever ſince the Foundation of* Rome. *This was not one of thoſe* Decemviral *Laws, which our Fathers put into* The Twelve Tables. *It is a new Law, not of twenty Years ſtanding. And upon what Motive was it made? Was it paſſed on account of the Irregularity of the* Roman *Women, or their Love of Luxury? No. If that had been the Caſe, we ſhould have Reaſon to fear, that a Diſorder, reſtrained by a neceſſary Law, would revive, and infeſt the Republick again, upon the Abolition of that Law. Thanks to the Gods! The Poverty of the State was the only Reaſon for paſſing the* Oppian *Law. And therefore its preſent Opulence ought to be eſteemed a juſt Reaſon for aboliſhing it. In* Oppius's *time, all Orders of Men ſhewed their Zeal, by lending the publick Money; and they have been all repayed. The Women were likewiſe forced by a Law to part with their Jewels. And ſhall they then be the only Perſons, who ſhall have ſuffered by the Miſery of*

Livy B. 34. c. 5.

Livy, ibid.

68 *Cornelius Nepos* tells us, that *Cato* ſpent his old Age in writing hiſtorical Books, which he called ORIGINES. *Senex hiſtorias ſcribere inſtituit, quarum ſunt libri ſeptem*, &c. If ſo, it may well ſeem ſurpriſing, that *Valerius* ſhould quote *Cato*'s Works againſt himſelf. *Tuas adverſus te* Origines *revolvam.* This Magiſtrate was then in the Strength of his Age. And conſequently, the Hiſtory here mentioned was not then in being. Hence ſome have ſuppoſed, that *Livy*, without conſidering the Difference of the times, has put a Diſcourſe of his own making in the Mouth of *Valerius*. At leaſt there is Reaſon to believe, that the Hiſtorian has not faithfully repreſented the *Tribune*'s Harangue, as it ſtood in the *Annals* of the *Pontifices*. See what we have ſaid of *Cato*'s Works, *Vol.* 3.

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the Times, without hope of Relief? Were their Ornaments taken from them, never to be returned them? Shall their Husbands shine in purple, and shew their different Offices and Dignities by their different Habits? Shall Children? Shall the Magistrates of our Municipal Cities, *wear the* Prætexta, *finely laced? Shall the Dead wear it to the funeral Pile, and be burnt in it? Nay, shall even our Horses be harnessed in Purple; and our Women only be forbidden to wear it? And shall they not be suffered to wear any Gold in their* [69] *Head-dresses? Will it sink the Value of that Metal to see it on their Heads or Fingers? Will it not be a Fund of Riches, which they will keep against any pressing Wants of the Publick? It is indeed urged, that the mutual Jealousies which Luxury raises among Women, ought to be prevented. But what can be a stronger Motive to Jealousy, and Rage, than for our Ladies, to see the Women of the neighbouring Cities dressed in what Colours they please, and riding through the Streets at their Ease in Chariots, whilst they are forced to follow them on Foot? The weaker their Sex is, the less able are they to bear this Difference with Temper. Surely, they ought to have some Distinctions or other given them. All Marks of Honour are for the Men.* Fasces, Lictors, Curule Chairs, Triumphs, *and in short, all Marks of Grandeur are confined to us. Is it not therefore just, that the Women should have some Distinctions? They place their Glory in Finery, which I will allow to be as trifling as you please; but still it suits their Taste. A rich Dress is to them, what a Triumph is to one of our Heroes. A trifling Ambition, which it were inhuman not to gratify! And after all, what is the great Misfortune which will follow, if we satisfy their Desires, by disannulling the* Oppian *Law? Shall we not still have it in our Power, to regulate their Expences in our Families, correct their Excesses, and restrain their Luxury? The Law* [70] *which puts Women absolutely under the Government of their Husbands, Fathers, and Brothers, will still subsist. Besides, their Love of Ornaments often makes them more submissive, than the Authority of Laws can do. Let us not then add a new kind of Slavery to that which we have brought them into already. Let us rather treat them as Wives than Slaves. Indulge their Weakness a little, thereby to merit their Affection. The more absolutely our Power over them is, the more tenderly ought you to treat them. Purchase then the Peace of your Families, by a little Condescention to their Infirmities.*

Liv. B. 34. c. 7.

THIS Debate lasted all the Day; so that the Question was not put, till the next. And then the Women were more earnest than ever. They beset the Houses of the two *Brutus's*, who were the only *Tribunes of the People* that opposed the disannulling the Law; and at length, upon their importunate Sollicitations, the *Tribunes* desisted. Then the *Comitia* were at full Liberty to determine as they pleased. The *Oppian* Law was abrogated; and *Cato* was the only Man, who continued to be of his Opinion. But he did not tarry long in *Rome*, after the Opposition he had met with in the *Comitia*.

§. XVI. A nobler Career presented itself to the rigid *Consul* than a War with Women. He set out for *Spain* with a *Consular* Army, and with the *Prætor Manlius*, who was appointed to assist him in his new Expedition. *Cato* was a great and able General, in the Field, as well as a grave Magistrate, in the Senate, and the Assemblies of the People. We shall now see him shine at the Head of the *Roman Legions*, reduce the *Spaniards*, and triumph.

THE *Consul* [71] embarked at the Port of [72] *Luna*, in *Hetruria*, upon the Mouth

69 We shall have Occasion to speak of the Luxury of the *Roman Ladies*, and their several Ornaments, in the History of the latter Ages of the Republick.

70 The *Romans* in this imitated the *Attic* Laws, which adjudged the *Greek* Women to be always Minors. The most mature Age did not free a *Roman* Lady from this severe Subjection. Her Happiness wholly depended, either on the Condescension of a Father, the Tenderness of an Husband, or the Good-nature of a Guardian.

71 The *Consul*'s Presence was necessary in *Spain*. The Number of the Rebels there increased daily. Nevertheless, Letters had lately been received from *Quintus Minucius*, the *Prætor* of *Hither Spain*; in which he gave the Senate an Account of the Victory he had lately gained over *Budarus* and *Besides*, two of the most considerable Chiefs of the revolted Nations. The first had been taken Prisoner; and twelve thousand *Spaniards* killed in the Battel. The rest of the Enemy's Forces had fled, and dispersed themselves about the Fields. This important Action was fought near *Turba*, a City in *Quintus Minucius's* Province, and consequently in *Hither Spain*. But it is impossible to fix the Situation of *Turba*. The Geographers have not said enough of it, to give us room to form reasonable Conjectures concerning it. Unless it be said to be the same Place as *Turbula*; which, according to *Ptolomy*, was in the Country of the *Bastitani*. These People were thought to have inhabited a little District in *Arragon*. But this we will examine hereafter.

72 The City and Port of *Luna* were near a Promontory

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App. in Ileri cis.

Livy, B. 34. *c.* 8.

Mouth of the 73 *Macra*. There he aſſembled all the little Veſſels on the Coaſt, ordered them to go before him, and promiſed the Conductors of them, that he would ſoon follow, with his Fleet of twenty Ships of War. At the time appointed, he came up with them; and all together ſailed for 74 *Rhoda*, now a City of *Catalonia*, known by the Name of *Roſes*. From thence they proceeded to *Emporiæ*, where all the Land-Forces were landed. *Emporiæ* was then as it were divided into two Cities, which were ſeparated by a common Wall. The firſt part, which reached fartheſt into the Sea, belonged to the ſame 75 *Phocæans*, who had formerly founded *Marſeilles*. The other, which reached fartheſt up into the Country, was in the Hands of the revolted *Spaniards*. The *Phocæans* had entered into an Alliance with *Rome*. Nevertheleſs, theſe Foreigners, and the Natives of the Country, lived in a good Underſtanding. By an exact Diſcipline, Peace was preſerved between Inhabitants of ſuch different Characters. They mutually ſtood in need of each other. The *Spaniards* were moſt powerful in their native Country; but the *Phocæans*, who were the moſt skilful Traders, furniſhed the *Spaniards* with Merchandizes, and undertook to vent their Commodities. The *Conſul* landed in that part of 76 *Emporiæ*, which was inhabited by the *Phocæans*; reſided there for ſome time; and informed himſelf of the Affairs of *Spain*. He there exerciſed his Troops, and employed his ſhort Leiſure to Advantage. Nevertheleſs, he ordered the Purveyors of his Army to return to *Rome*. *My Troops*, ſaid he to them, *will be able to furniſh themſelves with Proviſions, whilſt they are making War*. Accordingly *Cato* marched out of *Emporiæ*, ordered the *Spaniſh* Fields to be laid waſte, and burnt all that he could not carry away. The Corn was then locked up in Granaries. The *Conſular* Army encamped near *Emporiæ*, and lived at the Enemy's Expence. And whilſt it reſted in this fruitful Country, *Helvius* arrived at the *Pro-Conſul*'s Camp.

AFTER he had been *Prætor* in *Hiſpania Citerior*, he had been continued there, with the Title of *Pro-Prætor*, and was now about embarking for *Italy*. All the Roads were infeſted with *Spaniſh* Robbers; and he had therefore received of *Appius Claudius*, his Succeſſor in the *Prætorſhip*, a Guard of ſix thouſand Men, which were to conduct him to the *Roman* Fleet. In his March, a Body of twenty thouſand *Celtiberians* fell on his little Army, near *Illiturgis*. But *Helvius* made ſo brave a Reſiſtance, that he defeated the Enemy, put them to flight, took *Illiturgis*, and made a great Slaughter of its Inhabitants. *Cato* gave this brave *Roman* a Reception worthy of his Courage; and which was but the Prelude to the Honours that awaited him at *Rome*. *Helvius* 77 had an *Ovation* there. And he would have had a Triumph, had he fought under his own *Auſpices*. But he was only a Subaltern, when he had fought the *Celtiberians*; and according to the *Roman* Superſtition, the Victory was to be aſcribed to the Head of the Province. Nevertheleſs, ſome Rules were overlooked in regard to his Valour, and the 78 conſiderable Sums he had brought from *Spain*, for the publick Treaſury. But more was

Valerius Antias apud Livium.

montory of the ſame Name, at the Mouth of the *Macra*. It was the firſt City in *Hetruria*, bordering upon *Liguria*. *Cluver* places it where *Lerice* now ſtands. But *Blondus*, and after him *Holſtenius*, thinks that the Situation of *Luna* agrees better with that of *Sarſana*: And the modern Name of *Luneglia-no*, which the Moderns give to the neighbouring Country, ſeems to confirm the Conjecture of the two latter.

73 The River *Macra*, ſtill in a manner retains its old Name, in that of *Magra*, its preſent one. It divided *Hetruria* from *Liguria*.

74 *Cato* being ready to embark at the Port of *Luna*, fixed the *Rendezvous* of his Troops at the Port of *Venus Pirenea*, now called the *Port de Vendres*, in the County of *Rouſſillon*. So that *Cato* coaſted along *Liguria*, and *The Gulph of Lions*; and landed with his naval Armament at the Place appointed. From thence he came to *Roſes*, a City on the Confines of *Catalonia*, and *The Lampourdan*. The *Spaniſh* Garriſon poſted in the Citadel, experienced the Valour of the *Romans*, and were forced to fly.

75 See what we have ſaid of the Foundation of *Marſeilles*, and of the City of *Emporiæ*, Vol. 2. and 3.

76 The Quarter of *Emporiæ*, which was poſſeſſed by the *Phocæans*, was next the Sea, and conſequently moſt convenient for Commerce. Its Walls were about four hundred Paces in Circumference. That part of the City, which was inhabited by the *Spaniards*, was further off from the Sea. Its Walls were about three thouſand geometrical Paces in Circumference, according to *Livy*.

77 *Helvius* being detained in *Spain*, by a long Fit of Sickneſs, did not return to *Rome* till two Years after his Office expired. So that he did not receive the Honour of an *Ovation*, till two Months before a Triumph was decreed for his Succeſſor *Quintus Minucius*.

78 Theſe Sums amounted to four thouſand two hundred and thirty two Pounds weight of Silver in Bars, and ſeventeen thouſand and twenty three ſilver *Denarii* in *Specie*, beſides twenty thouſand four hundred and thirty eight Pounds weight of Silver, taken out of the Mines of *Huneſca* in *Arragon*. As for *Quintus*

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was done for *Q. Minucius*, who was alſo returned from *Spain*, after having ſignalized himſelf there in his *Prætorſhip*. *Rome* granted him a Triumph, for having defeated an Army of Rebels commanded by two Generals, one of which, named *Budorus*, he had taken, and put the other to flight; after he had ſlain twelve thouſand of their *Spaniards*. And it is affirmed, that *Minucius*'s 79 Triumph has been tranſmitted to Poſterity, by a Medal.

§. XVII. These Advantages, which the *Romans* began to gain over the Rebels, gave the Republick great Hopes, and fired the *Conſul* with Emulation. *Cato*, whilſt in the Neighbourhood of *Emporiæ*, often ſent out his Troops in Parties, and by Degrees formed them to War. They were new Levies. And whilſt he was waiting for the Seaſon for taking the Field, Ambaſſadors came to his Camp from *Biliſtages* King of the *Ilergetes*. This Nation was well affected to the *Romans*, and the Rebels threatened them, with the ſevereſt Treatment, if they did not join in the Revolt. At the Head of the Deputation was the King's Son; and this young Prince demanded only a Detachment of five thouſand *Romans*, to ſecure his Father's Dominions. *Cato* was perplexed at this Demand. His Inclination led him to ſuccour a faithful People, whoſe Danger was wholly owing to their great Zeal for the Republick. But on the other hand, it was dangerous for himſelf to divide his Troops, and weaken his Army. So that the wiſe *Conſul* was not in haſte to give his Anſwer. He took the whole Night to conſider of it; and his good Senſe ſuggeſted to him an Expedient, which all the Ancients mention, as one of the beſt deviſed Stratagems, that was ever invented. He told the Ambaſſadors, that though he wanted his Troops himſelf, he would ſacrifice his own Safety to the Intereſts of their Maſter. Accordingly, he immediately gave Orders for ſending away the Succours, baking ſome Bread, and equipping ſome Gallies. He ſent two of the Deputies to carry the News to the King of the *Ilergetes*, and kept the young Prince with him. The Rumour ſoon ſpread far, that part of the *Roman* Army were ready to depart. *Biliſtages* conceived great Hopes from it, and his Enemies were ſeized with Terror. They haſtily left the Country of the *Ilergetes*, which they threatened with a general Deſolation. And on the other hand, *Cato* embarked his Detachment, and they ſet ſail. But they returned to the Port from whence they ſet out, under Pretence that they had been driven back by contrary Winds. And by this alone the *Conſul* gained his Point. The Enemy diſperſed themſelves, *Biliſtages* was delivered from his Fears, and *Cato* kept in his Camp that part of his Army, which he thought neceſſary for the Expeditions he had in view.

Frontin. Stratag. B. 4. c. 7.

§. XVIII. The War the *Conſul* was going to begin was no trifling Affair. The *Spaniards* had never been more formidable. They were ever thought a warlike People, and they had now learnt to fight, and encamp, in form. Their long Wars firſt with the *Carthaginians*, and then with the *Romans*, had taught them the military Art. Their natural Courage, their Conſtancy in enduring Fatigues, and their Contempt for Life in perillous Caſes, made them formidable. Beſides, the Army the *Conſul* had brought from *Rome*, almoſt wholly conſiſted of raw young Soldiers, little inured to military Duty. But indeed, *Cato* was juſt ſuch a General as they wanted to diſcipline them. Which he did by his own Example; by great Diligence in inſtructing them; ſevere Orders; and by finding out proper Expedients to quicken their Courage. The General was an exemplary Pattern to his Soldiers, of Vigilance, Sobriety, and Aſſiduity in Labour. His Dreſs was always plain; and he made no Scruple of expoſing himſelf to the Inclemency of the Weather in bad Seaſons. His Proviſions were the ſame the common Soldiers had, and he drank no other Wine, than what was given them. When he was to pitch a Camp, he took a Spade in his Hand, and removed the Earth himſelf. He was of a ſweet affable Behaviour; and inexorable only to thoſe, who had contravened his Orders. By this Management, the *Conſul* ſoon put his Troops on the Foot he deſired. And at length

Quintus Minucius, he brought from his Province thirty four thouſand eight hundred Pounds weight of Silver in Bars, ſeventy eight thouſand ſilver *Denarii* in *Specie*; beſides ſeventy eight thouſand Pounds weight of Silver, which the Mines of *Hueſca* produced every Year.

79 *Goltzius* is the only Author who has given us the Figure of this Medal; and the Silence of the Ancients concerning it, give us Reaſon to queſtion the Authenticknes of it.

the time came, when he thought it proper to march them againſt the Enemy, and try the Fate of a general Action. Nevertheleſs, he did not ſo much endeavour to rouze his young Soldiery, by Principles of Fear, as by thoſe of Honour. In the firſt Place, *Cato* ſent away his Fleet to *Marſeilles*, and thereby gave his Soldiers to underſtand, that having no Reſource left, they muſt not now build their Hopes on any thing but their Valour. Then he aſſembled all his Officers, even to the *Centurions*, and addreſſed himſelf to them in this manner.

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App. in Ilericis. Livy B. 34. c. 13.

THE Expeditions in which I have hitherto employed you, have not indeed been very honourable ones. You have only laid Fields waſte, and pillaged Granaries. But the time is now come for drawing nearer to the Enemy. The Plunders of a Farm ſhall no longer be the Reward of your Labours. The more plentiful Booty of Cities taken by Aſſault, ſhall be your Recompence. And in order to this, you muſt beat the Enemy, and gain pitched Battels. Before the Scipio's *came to make War here, in order to drive out the* Carthaginians, *we were in Poſſeſſion of the beſt part of the Country on this ſide the* Ebro. *Since that time, we have brought the Countries beyond that River, into Subjection to* Rome, *and have governed them by* Prætors. *Now theſe conquered Nations revolt. But there are three* Roman *Armies here, to bring them again under the Yoke, which they have ſhaken off. Two of our* Prætors *ſhall act ſeparately with their Troops. And do you, who follow the Standards of a* Conſul, *labour for your own Glory, and for mine. This very Night I will lead you to the Enemy's Camp. Prepare for your March, and for a Battel.*

Livy, ibid.

IN the middle of the Night, *Cato*, after he had conſulted the *Auſpices* as uſual, marched away, took a Compaſs, and came and poſted himſelf beyond the Enemy's Camp, on an Eminence. The *Conſul* choſe this Poſt, though a dangerous one. From thence he detached three of his *Manipuli*, to inſult the Enemy, even at the Foot of their Trenches. As for himſelf, at break of Day, he drew up his Troops in Battalia. The *Spaniards* were much ſurpriſed to ſee the *Romans* poſted beyond their Camp. It muſt be granted, that *Cato* underſtood Stratagems of War, much better than the Heads of the Nation with whom he was contending. The *Spaniards* hoped to gain Succeſs by Valour only, and an obſtinate Reſolution never to retreat. They ran to Arms, and were in a great Commotion; and at that inſtant the *Conſul* choſe to give Battel. He ſent Orders to the three *Manipuli*, he had ſent to the Gate of the *Spaniſh* Camp, to retire precipitately, as if ſeized with a ſudden Fright; and this feigned Flight had its Effect. Some *Spaniſh* Troops ſallied out briskly to attack the Fugitives in the Rear; and in an inſtant, all the Plain, between the *Roman* Army and the Enemy's Camp, was full of *Spaniards*. Then *Cato* ran from Rank to Rank, and ſaid, *Our only hope, fellow-Soldiers, is in your Intrepidity. The Enemy's Army and Camp are between our Entrenchments and us. We muſt therefore conquer the one, and plunder the other, before we can come to our Tents.* At theſe Words, the *Conſul* ordered the Attack to be begun, whilſt the *Spaniards* were yet forming. In the firſt Place he ordered his two Bodies of Horſe in the two Wings, to give the Onſet. The Cavalry in the right Wing were vigorouſly repulſed; and by retreating, they already began to diſorder the light-armed Infantry. The *Conſul* ſaw that, and ſent two *Manipuli* with Orders to ſhew themſelves in the Flank of the Enemy, to the left, without making any Motion. This *Cato* did before the main Body of his Infantry came to engage; and by that Means the Body of Cavalry, which was repulſed, began to recover themſelves. They rallied, though with Difficulty; as well as the light-armed Infantry which the General himſelf led back to the Battel. In this firſt Attack the *Romans* had had ſome Diſadvantage. Their Darts and Courage had both failed all at once, in their right. But in the left, and in the Center, the *Conſular* Troops broke through the *Spaniards*. The latter now fought with dread, at the ſight of the two *Manipuli*, which they ſaw near their Flanks, and ready to fall upon them. And the Succeſs of the Battel [80], which was hitherto pretty equal, was much changed,

80 According to *Appian*, whilſt the two Parties were warmly diſputing the Victory, the *Conſul* went up to an Eminence, the better to judge of the preſent State and Succeſs of the Battel. He carried thither with him the three Battalions, of which his *Corps-de-reſerve* conſiſted; and from thence perceived, that his Men in the Center had great Difficulty to ſuſtain the Attacks of the Enemy. Inſtantly therefore he flew thither with a freſh Reinforcement, and ſo raiſed the Courage of his Troops by his Example, that they at laſt gained the Victory.

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when they were forced to come to a cloſe Fight, Sword in Hand. No more Darts were thrown, which are often caſt at Random, and often loſt. Valour, and Addreſs, alone determined the Victory. After a long Fight, the *Conſul* ſaw that his firſt Line was fatigued; and he therefore ordered the ſecond to advance, and they came on with double Vigour. Theſe freſh Troops, whoſe Swords were not blunted, formed themſelves into ſharp Angles, and broke quite through the Enemy's Battalions. Then the Rout of the *Spaniards* was certain. They retired, and immediately fled. The Plain was full of Fugitives, and all returned towards their Camp. Nevertheleſs, the ſecond *Legion* had not yet engaged. The *Conſul* had reſerved it for any Occaſion; and he now led it to the Attack of the Camp, which his other Troops had begun. He made it advance very faſt, but in ſo good order, that as ſoon as any Soldier got out of his Rank, the General himſelf ſtruck him, or ordered his Officer to puniſh him. At length, the *Conſul* and his *Legion* appeared within reach of the *Spaniſh* Trenches. His Preſence was neceſſary there. The *Romans*, overwhelmed with the Darts the Enemy threw at them from above, began to give way. But at ſight of the Reinforcement they took Courage again. The *Conſul* obſerved the Diſpoſition of the Camp, and took Notice, that at the Gate which was to his left, the Trenches were more weakly guarded than elſewhere. He therefore ordered the *Haſtati* and *Principes* of his ſecond *Legion* to advance thither; and their Attack was ſo vigorous, that the *Spaniards* could not withſtand it. The *Romans* entered the Camp, and put all to the Sword who reſiſted them. Then there was an univerſal Diſorder among the Enemy. Every one fled towards the Gates of the Camp, which were ſo narrow, that they were ſoon ſtopped up, by the great Number of *Spaniards* who ſtrove to get out at them. As for the *Romans*, ſome fell on the Fugitives, and made a terrible Slaughter of them; others fell to plundering. According to one Author, who is uſed to magnify too much the Advantages of the *Romans*, the *Spaniards* loſt forty thouſand Men, this Day. But *Cato*, who was not ſparing of his Commendations, only ſaid, *That a great Number of the Enemy were killed.* However, the *Conſul* ſignalized his Conduct in this Battel, by three Acts, which ſhewed his great Ability in War. 1. He choſe to fight in a Plain at a great Diſtance from his own Camp, and thereby put his Soldiers under a Neceſſity of conquering, if they would return to it. 2. He detached two of his *Manipuli*, only to ſhew themſelves by the Enemy's Flanks, and thereby keep them in Awe. And 3*dly*, He reſerved a whole *Legion* for any Emergency, and led it very ſeaſonably to take the Enemy's Camp.

Livy B. 34. *c.* 15.

Val. Antias apud Livy.

And this Victory of the *Conſul* was not unfruitful. That part of the City of *Emporiæ*, which belonged to the *Spaniards*, ſurrendered to the Conquerors. The neighbouring Countries were either confirmed in their Attachment to the *Roman* Intereſt, or delivered up to be plundered. The *Conſul* decamped, and took the Road to *Tarragona*; and whilſt he was on the Way, a great Number of Deputies came from the neighbouring Cities to ſubmit to him. *Romans*, which the Rebels had put in Irons, were brought to him from all Parts. He accepted theſe Submiſſions [81], but guarded againſt new Revolts. He pardoned none, till they had firſt given him Hoſtages. And it was probably at this time, that *Cato* made uſe of an Artifice, which put it out of the Power of many rebellious Cities to take up Arms again. As the Dread of his Name made him reſpected in many Provinces beyond the *Ebro*, he wrote the ſame Day private Letters to the Commanders of ſeveral fortified Towns, to demoliſh their Fortifications. This he ordered to be done in all haſte, and promiſed Favour to none, but according to the Readineſs of their Obedience. Every Governor thought the Order ſent only to himſelf, and the Inhabitants immediately beat down their Walls and Towers. So that all the

Appian in Iberiis. *Plut.* Life of *Cato.*

81 A Report was ſpread at the ſame time, that *Cato* was preparing to march againſt the Mountaineers of *Catalonia*, and would from thence march into the Country of the *Turdetani*, a People of *Andaluſia*. Upon this News, the Inhabitants of theſe Countries were ſtruck with Terror. The *Bergiſtani*, who dwelt round *Berga* on the Frontiers of *Arragon*, delivered up ſeven of their Towns to the *Romans* of their own Accord. And it coſt the *Conſul* little Trouble to reduce thoſe Cities of the Province, which had before refuſed to ſubmit. A little time after, *Cato* returned again towards *Tarragona*; and then they, whom his Preſence had intimidated, took Advantage of his Removal, to ſhake off the Yoke. Upon which the *Roman* General led his Army againſt theſe unquiet People, a ſecond time; conquered them; and they in vain implored the Clemency of the Conqueror. They were all puniſhed for their ſecond Revolt, with being reduced to Slavery, and ſold to the beſt bidder.

Places,

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Places, in whole Provinces [82] beyond the *Ebro*, were left defenceleſs, and *Rome* took Poſſeſſion of them.

§. XIX. Whilst *Cato* was ſubduing or pacifying the People of *Hiſpania Citerior*, and near it; the *Prætor Manlius*, who had been ſent with him to aſſiſt him, fell on the *Turdetani*, who were ſituated more to the South, towards *Luſitania*. *Manlius*'s Troops, when joined with thoſe of the *Prætor Appius Claudius*, who commanded in *Hiſpania Ulterior*, made an Army of Soldiers, who had long made War with the *Spaniards*, and whoſe Experience had made them formidable. Whereas, the *Turdetani* on the other hand, and the *Turduli*, their Neighbours, were in no Reputation for Valour. Nevertheleſs, their Obſtinacy in the Rebellion deſerved Chaſtiſement. *Manlius* drew near their Country; and found more Enemies there than he had expected. The [83] *Turdetani* and *Turduli* had hired the *Celtiberians*, who were reputed brave, into their Service; and in theſe Mercenaries conſiſted the whole Strength of the Army of the Rebels. But they encamped by themſelves; and by that Means the *Romans* had at firſt only the *Turdetani* and *Turduli* to engage with: And theſe weak Enemies were broken, and put into Diſorder, upon the firſt Shock. The Difficulty was greater, when the *Romans* were to give the *Celtiberians* Battel; inſomuch, that the *Prætors* did not think their Armies ſufficient to cope with them. They judged it neceſſary for the *Conſul* to come in Perſon. The *Turdetani* were then rallied, and ſtill kept the Field in a ſeparate Body from the *Celtiberians*; notwithſtanding, that all the ſlight Skirmiſhes that had happened between the former, and the united *Romans*, turned to the Diſadvantage of the *Spaniards*. And *Cato* himſelf was a little [84] afraid of the *Celtiberians*. He ſent Deputies to them to make this Propoſal to them; That they ſhould either *1ſt*, return into their Country, in which caſe, their Revolt from the *Roman* People ſhould be entirely forgiven them. Or *2dly*, That they ſhould end the War with a Battel, the Time and Place of which was left to their Choice. Or *3dly*, That they ſhould join their Troops to thoſe of *Rome*, upon Condition that they ſhould receive of her double the Pay that the *Turdetani* gave them. This laſt Propoſal was not agreeable to the *Roman* Officers, whom the General conſulted. They thought it ſhameful to buy off the *Celtiberians* with Money. But *Cato* perſiſted in his Opinion, and anſwered; *If we are Conquerors, we ſhall pay the* Celtiberians *with our Enemy's Money; and if they are overcome with us, they will have nothing to demand.* Thus the prudent *Conſul* was above a ridiculous Scrupuloſity in points of Honour, when his Republick found her Account in neglecting them. The *Celtiberians* demanded of the *Romans*, that a Day ſhould be appointed for them to deliberate of their Offers. A Council was held; but the Aſſembly was always full of *Turdetani*, which hindered the Members of it from declaring for either ſide of the Queſtion. They deferred giving their Anſwer beyond the Day appointed; and all this Interval was ſpent in a Ceſſation of Arms, though not formally agreed on. During this kind of Truce, the People of both Camps viſited each other, and were permitted to converſe together with Freedom. Each Party made their Preparations, and filled their Magazines, without any Obſtruction. Theſe Delays therefore made the *Conſul* very impatient; and he endeavoured to bring the Enemy

Plut. Life of *Cato.*

82 The City which *Livy* calls *Segeſtica*, one of the richeſt of any in theſe Cantons, ventured to ſuſtain a Siege. Where it ſtood, is utterly unknown to modern Geographers; and none of the Ancients ſay one Word of it, but *Livy*. Some think that *Livy* meant *Segeda*; which *Pliny* places between the *Bætis* and the Ocean. *Sanſon* thinks that *Segeſtica*, was a City of the *Turduli*, between *Arjona*, to the Weſt, and *Ubeda*, to the Eaſt. *Ambroſe Morales* makes *Segeſtica* the ſame City as *Segiſa*, which gave Name to the *Segiſians*, or *Segians*, a People of the Province of *Tarragona*, according to *Pliny*. But the *Spaniſh* Author ſays, it ſtood between *Soria* and *Oſma*, in the Place where the Town of *Seges* now ſtands. Whereas, *Sanſon* places this City in the Country of the *Baſtetani*, near Mount *Argentarius*, in the Neighbourhood of *Caſtel Segura*. But ſo far as we can judge of it by *Livy*'s Story, it ſeems more natural to place *Segeſtica*, far from *Andaluſia*, beyond the *Ebro*, in the Kingdom of *Leon*. There *Sentica* formerly ſtood, which *Morales* took for *Zamora*, and *Sanſon* for *Alba de Tormes*. The Copyiſts may, by an eaſy change, have turned *Sentica* into *Segeſtica*.

83 The *Turdetani* and *Turduli* were formerly but one People. Afterwards they divided themſelves, and ſeized two different Countries. The Weſtern part of *Andaluſia*, of which *Seville* is the Capital, was the Portion of the former; and the latter took Poſſeſſion of the Territory of *Cordova*, in the Eaſt-part of *Bætica*.

84 According to *Livy*, the Deſertion of the *Borgiſtani*, a People of *Catalonia*, who had lately declared againſt the *Romans*, created *Cato* new Trouble. In order to ſecure thoſe, who might be drawn into a Rebellion by ſo dangerous an Example, he diſarmed the *Spaniards* on this ſide the *Ebro*. But this was ſo heinous an Affront to this warlike Nation, that ſeveral of them choſe rather to kill themſelves, than ſubmit to ſo ſhameful an Indignity.

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to a Battel. He ſent to ravage their Lands, which had hitherto been ſpared, and ordered [85] *Seguntia*, where the *Celtiberians* had left their Baggage and Effects, to be beſieged. But by all theſe Hoſtilities, he could not provoke the Rebels to hazard a general Action. *Cato* therefore returned to his old Camp near the *Ebro*, and left the *Prætorian* Armies to watch the Enemy, in order to fight them if occaſion ſhould offer. And though the *Conſul* was guarded with only ſeven Battalions in his return, he ſignalized it by taking many Cities. The [86] *Sedetani*, *Auſetani*, and *Sueſſetani*, returned to their Duty. The *Lacetani* [87] only continued obſtinate in their Revolt. Their Confidence aroſe from the Nature of their Country, which was interſperſed with Rocks, and covered with Woods and Thickets. During the Abſence of the *Conſul*, they had carried the War into the Territories of the Allies of *Rome*, and had ravaged their Lands. The *Conſul* therefore reſolved to puniſh the Rebels, and take their Capital. It was a walled City, of a conſiderable Length, but little Breadth. In order to begin his Attacks, *Cato* formed his little Army about four hundred Paces from the City, and took only one Detachment with him, which conſiſted almoſt entirely of the *Sueſſetani* who had joined him. This Detachment he led in Perſon, almoſt to the Foot of the Rampart, after having firſt given his *Manipuli* orders not to ſtir, till he returned to them; and the *Conſul* was obeyed. He led the *Sueſſetani* to attack the Place; and the *Lacetani*, as ſoon as they ſaw them, deſpiſed them. The latter had often experienced how much theſe Troops were inferior to them, in Courage. They hoped to put them immediately to flight; which was the very thing the *Conſul* deſigned. They opened their Gates; and the whole Garriſon made a Sally on theſe *Sueſſetani*. Upon this the Cowards inſtantly gave way, and diſperſed themſelves. And whilſt the *Lacetani* were intent upon purſuing them, the *Conſul* made all poſſible haſte to his *Manipuli*, and led them to the Gates of the beſieged City, which was left defenceleſs. So that the *Romans* eaſily forced their Way into it, and made themſelves Maſters of it. By this Stratagem the Capital was taken before the *Lacetani* returned; and they had no Reſource, or Aſylum left. The only Method they could take, was to ſurrender to the Conqueror at Diſcretion. From thence the *Conſul* brought his Troops before [88] *Bergium*. This Place was the Retreat of the *Banditti* of the Province, who were continually making Incurſions into it, and infeſting it. The Governor of the Place was very uneaſy to ſee theſe Rogues aſſemble there. But what could he do? They were ſtronger than he, even in the Place where he was Governor. He therefore came privately to the *Conſul*; made an Apology to him for the Violences which the Inhabitants of the City, and the *Banditti* which came from other Places committed, contrary to his Inclination; and *Cato* took proper Meaſures with him, to get Poſſeſſion of the Place. He adviſed him to retire into the Citadel, with thoſe of the Inhabitants of *Bergium*, who were leaſt faulty; and the *Conſul* came in Perſon, and appeared before the Gates of the City. The *Banditti* were ſtruck with Terror at this Sight. The Governor attacked them

85 There were three Cities in *Spain* called *Seguntia*. The firſt which is here ſpoken of belonged to *Celtiberia*, and was therefore called *Seguntia Celtiberiorum*. *Pliny* places it in the Country of the *Arevacæ*. This was the Name formerly given to the People who lived about the River *Areva*; which is now called *Ereſma*, and diſcharges itſelf into the *Duero*. The City we ſpeak of ſeems to be the ſame that *Ptolomy* calls *Segortia*. It is now known by the Name of *Siguenca*. There was alſo a City of *Seguntia* in *Bœtica*. Its Situation agrees pretty well with that of *Giſgonza*, a Town of *Andaluſia*, near the River *Guadalete*. And laſtly, the third *Seguntia*, which was diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Paramica*, belonged to the *Varduli*, a Nation which poſſeſſed part of the Territories of *Alava* and *Biſcay*. Some think this laſt City was the preſent *Segura*. *Sanſon* and *Briet* will have it to be the ſame as *Sergame*, which belongs to the Province of *Guipuſcoa*. Add to this, that according to *Aulus Gellius*, the *Conſul* foreſaw, that a Place ſo well fortified as *Siguenca*, would make a long Reſiſtance; and therefore that he might not interrupt the Courſe of his Conqueſts, he turned towards *Numantia*. There he received, in the Name of the Republick, the Homages of the *Sedetani*, *Auſetani*, and *Sueſſetani*.

86 The *Sedetani* inhabited the South-part of the Kingdom of *Arragon*, and a little Canton of the Kingdom of *Valencia*. As for the *Auſetani*, they took their Name from the City of *Auſa*, afterwards called *Auſona*, and now *Vic d'Oſona*. They inhabited a part of *Catalonia*, near *Gironne*. It is generally thought that the Weſtern-part of the Territory of *Guipuſcoa* belonged to the *Sueſſetani*. See what we have ſaid of theſe three *Spaniſh* Nations, *Vol.* 3.

87 The Country of the *Lacetani* contained part of the Biſhoprick of *Lerida* and of *Catalonia*, along the Sea-Coaſts, between the Rivers *Lobregat* and *Ter*. See *Vol.* 3.

88 Moſt modern Geographers think that *Bergium* ſtood in the ſame Place where *Berga*, a City of *Catalonia*, now does. *Mariana* ſpeaks alſo of another Town called *Berga*, near the City of *Hueſca*; which is thought to be the ſame Place that *Ptolomy* calls *Bergidum*.

on

on one Side, from the Top of the Citadel; and *Cato*, on the other, beſet their Gates. So that *Bergium* was taken by Aſſault. Nevertheleſs, when the *Conſul* was Maſter of it, he diſtinguiſhed the Innocent from the Guilty. All thoſe whom the Governour had carried with him into the Citadel, were reinſtated in the Poſſeſſion of their Liberty, and Eſtates. The other Citizens of *Bergium* were condemned to Slavery, and ſold by the *Quæſtors*, for the Benefit of the Publick. And the *Banditti* were all executed. Theſe Conqueſts and Exploits re-eſtabliſhed Tranquillity in *Hither Spain*; and *Cato* was then wholly intent on getting what Advantages he could from it, for his Republick. The Silver and Iron Mines with which it abounded, were an inexhauſtible Fund of Riches for *Rome*; and the *Conſul* himſelf was the only Man who received no Profit from them. The Soldiers enriched themſelves there. Beſides the Booties they took in the Cities they conquered, the General gave each of them a Pound Weight of Silver. Some of the Officers were ſurprized at this Liberality. But *Cato* ſaid, *It was better that many of the* Romans *ſhould return Home with Silver, than a few only with Gold.* It is certain that the General appropriated nothing of all theſe rich Spoils to himſelf. He lived in as low and frugal a manner, as the meaneſt Soldier, and appropriated [89] nothing to his own Uſe.

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§. XX. THIS News from *Spain*, gave the People of *Rome* great Joy, and an high Eſteem for *Cato*. They ordered publick Prayers to be offered up for three Days, by way of Thankſgiving to the Gods. But at the ſame time, the Enemies the *Conſul* had at *Rome*, were uneaſy at the Glory he acquired in *Spain*. The Great *Scipio* himſelf was jealous of him. They were both Heroes; but Men of very different Characters. *Scipio* loved Luxury and Expence. *Cato* lived very abſtemiouſly, and denied himſelf every thing, in order to heap up great Riches. The one made War with the Magnificence of a Sovereign; the other was ſo frugal in the Management of the publick Expences, that he left his Succeſſor in *Spain* the Horſe the Republick had given him. The latter was a little accuſed of Avarice; or at leaſt he was ſordid in his OEconomy. The former was liberal to Profuſeneſs. Both were very brave, and very enterprizing. But *Cato* made War like a Fox; *Scipio* like a Lion. Beſides, they had been at Variance. *Cato*, who was of an obſcure Birth, had ſided with the Great *Fabius*, *Scipio*'s eternal Rival. This Difference of Temper, Party, and Conduct, and the Equality of the Eſteem which began to divide the *Roman* People between the Merit of the one and the other, rouzed again the Ambition of *Scipio Africanus*, which ſeemed to lie dormant. He ſtood for the *Conſulſhip* for the next Year. It is pretended, that his Deſign was to ſucceed *Cato* in *Spain*, and there compleat the Pacification of this great Continent, which he had formerly conquered. *Cato*, tho' in *Spain*, was not a Stranger to the Plots and Deſigns of *Scipio*; and he made Haſte to finiſh the Work he had begun; that he might not leave his Rival a Pretence to demand *Spain* as his Province, when he ſhould be elected *Conſul*. In the mean time, *Cato* ſpoke of the Emulation which appeared between him and *Scipio*, like a Man of Senſe. *A little Rivalſhip*, ſaid he, *between the firſt Officers of the Republick, will only increaſe its Luſtre. As long as the* Patricians *ſhall endeavour to ſurpaſs the* Plebeians, *and the* Plebeians *ardently aſpire at equalling the* Patricians, *in glorious Actions*; Rome *will be well ſerved.* In ſhort, *Cato* ſo much increaſed the Number of his Exploits, and ſettled all *Spain* in ſuch Tranquillity and Order, that the Senate did not think it neceſſary to ſend a *Conſular* Army thither. He returned to *Rome* with his Troops, and there received the Honours of a Triumph the next Year. We are aſſured, that in the Account he gave the Senate of his Exploits, he ventured to affirm, that he had ſubdued a greater Number of Places in *Spain*, than he had been Days there. And indeed, there were reckoned up above four hundred Cities which

89 As far as we can judge of it by *Cato*'s Character, the Diſintereſtedneſs he then ſhewed, was rather the Effect of Vanity and Ambition, than a true Greatneſs of Soul. He would not even ſuffer any of his Domeſticks to apply any of the Spoils of the Enemy to their own Uſe. Nevertheleſs, one of his Slaves, named *Paccus*, out of a Greedineſs of Gain, had bought three young *Spaniſh* Priſoners, for whom he expected to have a conſiderable Ranſom. But, to his great Misfortune, he was not ſecret enough in the Affair. It came to *Cato*'s Knowledge; and the unfortunate *Paccus* hanged himſelf, out of Deſpair. He choſe rather to die, than ſubmit to the rigorous Uſage of an hard and inflexible Maſter, who made it a Rule never to pardon any Fault in his Slaves. As for the three young Priſoners, the *Conſul* ſold them, and put the Money into the publick Treaſury.

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the Victorious *Conſul* had re-conquered for his Republick. When he was returned to *Rome*, and become a private Man again, he ſpent his Leiſure in hard Labour. In private, he employed himſelf in Study. He enquired into [90] the Origin of the Cities of *Italy*, and wrote an Account of them, which deſerved Commendation. He took Pleaſure in Agriculture, and laid down Rules for it. In publick, he often pleaded before the People and Senate; and was always ready to ſerve his Country in Arms, even as a private Soldier.

§. XXI. But *Cato*'s Victories in *Spain* have made us a little loſe Sight of the illuſtrious *Flamininus*, who continued in *Greece*. Upon the Report of the Plenipotentiaries, who had juſt concluded a Peace with *Macedon*, the Senate judged it neceſſary that *Flamininus* ſhould continue in his old Province. They plainly ſaw that, ſooner or later, they muſt have a War with *Antiochus*. This King of *Syria* was very ambitious of extending his Conqueſts into *Europe*; and the *Roman* Republick was as deſirous of ſpreading the Terror of her Arms into *Aſia*. When two Conquerors become Neighbours, they never continue long quiet. They ſtudy one another, and try each other's Strength for ſome time; and then a Rupture breaks out, and Hoſtilities begin. Under this Perſuaſion, the Senate thought it neceſſary to begin her Precautions very early, in order to preſerve the Affections of the *Greeks*, and thwart the Meaſures *Antiochus* was labouring to enter into with them. Beſides, the *Romans* began to ſuſpect the *Ætolians*, and *Nabis* the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*. They had Cauſe to apprehend, that *Lacedæmon* and *Ætolia* would join with the *Syrian*, and draw other *Greek* Nations into a new Confederacy againſt *Rome*. For theſe Reaſons, the Senate were for leaving *Flamininus* the Troops he had hitherto commanded; and even increaſing them, if there ſhould be occaſion. Indeed, the Plenipotentiaries lately arrived from the Eaſt, were inceſſantly repreſenting to the *Conſcript Fathers*, That *Antiochus* had a formidable Fleet at Sea; That his Land-Forces were numerous; That his Son *Seleucus* was at the Head of them, in *The Thracian Cherſoneſus*; and That this young Prince waited only for the Return of his Father, in order to attempt the Conqueſt of all *Thrace*. To which they added, That the Tyrant *Nabis* ſet no Bounds to his Ambition; That being placed in the Center of *Greece*, his Aim was to make himſelf Sovereign of it; and That the *Ætolians*, who were diſſatisfied with the *Romans*, ſought all Opportunities to ſtir up Enemies againſt them. This Report of the Plenipotentiaries made ſtrong Impreſſions on the Minds of *The Fathers*. They were now fully inſtructed by them in the true Situation of Affairs in *Greece*. Nevertheleſs, the oldeſt Senators thought it neceſſary to begin where the Danger was greateſt. *Antiochus* was returned into *Syria*, and his Fleet had been ſhattered with a Tempeſt. The *Ætolians* had, as yet, only declared againſt *Rome* in Words and Murmurs. But the Senate thought *Nabis* a more formidable Enemy, becauſe ſo artful a Man. *The Evil with which he threatens us*, ſaid they, *is in the Heart of* Greece. *We muſt begin with* Nabis. But the Houſe was a little divided in Opinion, as to that Matter. However, the Senate at laſt decreed, That Orders ſhould be ſent to *Flamininus* to attack and ruin *Nabis*, if he thought it for the Intereſt of the Republick. And this firſt Reſolution of the Senate was followed by another, which ſeemed to be of as much Importance. Many Letters were come from *Carthage*, which gave the *Romans* Reaſon to ſuſpect the Fidelity of *Hannibal*. They brought Accounts, that there was a conſtant Correſpondence kept up between *Antiochus* and him. *The* Carthaginian, ſaid the Writers, *often correſponds with the King of* Syria; *and* Antiochus *has his Agents about* Hannibal, *who is a wild Beaſt which can never be tamed. His Hatred to* Rome *ſurvives his Defeat. He is turbulent, factious, and implacable. He complains, That the City grows dull and unactive; and That nothing can rouze it out of its preſent Lethargy, but the Sound of Arms.* Indeed theſe Letters were ſent to *Rome* by *Hannibal*'s Enemies. The *Barcan* Faction had always oppoſed him; and all theſe Letters came from them. It was alſo well known, that *Hannibal*'s Enemies were very lately increaſed at *Carthage*. He had been made Head of the Republick; and during his annual Adminiſtration, had cited a *Quæſtor* of great Intereſt and Credit to appear before him. The Judges were then perpetual at *Carthage*; and the *Quæſtors*, after the Expiration of their Office, became Judges, of

Liv. B. 33. c. 45.

Livy, ibid.

90 See what we have ſaid of the Works aſcribed to *Cato*, *Vol.* 3.

Courſe,

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Courſe. This Expectation therefore doubled the Pride of the *Quæſtor*, who was of the *Barcan* Faction; and he refuſed to appear. His Accuſer therefore brought his Information before the People; and in the Aſſembly, *Hannibal* complained both of the Inſolence of the *Quæſtor*, and the Miſchief which perpetual Judges did the State. *They reign tyrannically*, ſaid he, *and it is very common among them for Favour to prevail over the beſt Right. When a Man has once incurred the Diſpleaſure of one of theſe Judges, they all become his Enemies; and then Life and Eſtate are no longer ſafe.* *Hannibal*'s Diſcourſe pleaſed the aſſembled People; and they aboliſhed the Perpetuity of the Office of Judge, and ordered that new Judges ſhould be annually choſen. This Edict gained *Hannibal* many Friends among the People. But it drew upon him the Hatred of all the great Men; whoſe Averſion was increaſed by another Law, which he cauſed to be made. The Revenues of the *Carthaginian* Republick were imbezzled. The Lords who had the Care of them, applied them to their own Uſe. And in ſhort, the Treaſury was ſo much exhauſted, that there was ſcarce Money enough left in it, to pay the *Romans* their Tribute. A new Tax was going to be laid on the People, in order to raiſe it. But *Hannibal* prevented the Oppreſſion. He repreſented to the People, That if they would make an Enquiry after the imbezzled Money, they would find enough to pay the *Romans*, without overburdening the People. Theſe Regulations were indeed juſt; but they created the Author of them many Enemies. Hence *Scipio Africanus* took Occaſion to defend *Hannibal* in the Senate of *Rome*. *The Calumnies caſt upon this illuſtrious* Carthaginian *are*, ſaid he, *only the Effects of the Reſentments his Wiſdom has drawn upon him. It is beneath the Dignity of the* Roman *People to adopt unjuſt Accuſations. Is it not enough to have overcome* Hannibal, *without ſuffering him to ſink under the unjuſt Accuſations of thoſe who envy him?* This Diſcourſe did Honour to *Scipio*; but it did not efface all Mens Suſpicions. *Hannibal*'s Temper was well known at *Rome*; and the Oaths he had taken in his earlieſt Infancy to be an eternal Enemy to the *Romans*, were remembered there. Whether therefore out of Caution, or out of an implacable Hatred, *The Conſcript Fathers* ſent an [91] Embaſſy to *Carthage*. The Pretence for it was, to ſettle ſome little Differences between *Maſiniſſa* and the *Carthaginians*; but the true Deſign of it was to watch *Hannibal*'s Conduct. If he had entered into any Engagements with *Antiochus*, the Ambaſſadors were ordered to give him up to his Enemies, and deſtroy him by their Hands. But *Hannibal* was too ſagacious not to penetrate into the Deſigns of the *Romans*; and being conſcious that he was guilty, reſolved to withdraw from the Enquiries of the Ambaſſadors. As he was *Suffes*, that is, the firſt Magiſtrate in the Republick, he was obliged to appear in publick continually; and this made his Eſcape the more difficult. He therefore managed it with a great deal of Addreſs. He ordered his Gold and Silver to be carried to *Thapſus* [92], a City near a Country-Seat which he had on the Sea-ſhore, not far from *Carthage*. There he got two *Felucca*'s equipped with good Rowers, and hid them in a little Gulph within reach of his Houſe. When the Day came, in which he deſigned to ſet out, he appeared before the Senate and People, as uſual; and had a Conference with the *Roman* Ambaſſadors. In the Evening he took Horſe, as it were to take a Turn to *Thapſus*, from whence he was to come back immediately; and he ordered his Attendants as *Suffes*, to wait for him at the Gate of the City. As ſoon as he arrived at his Country-houſe, he immediately embarked, with a few choſen Servants, and ſet ſail for the Iſland of *Cercina* [93]. The next Day, the People at *Carthage* were much ſurprized, not to ſee *Hannibal* there. The Market-place was ſoon filled with Crowds of People. Some ſaid he was fled, to avoid the Violence of his Enemies; and others ſuſpected, that he had been privately aſſaſſinated, by Order of the *Romans*. But at length, a Bark arrived from *Cercina*, and cleared up the Truth. *Hannibal* had been ſeen there. From thence he ſailed for *Tyre*, where he was received with all the Reſpect due to the

Juſtin, B. 33. *c.* 47. *Livy, B.* 33. *c.* 47. *App. in Syriac.*

91 The three Ambaſſadors which the Republick ſent to *Carthage*, were *Caius Servilius*, *Marcus Claudius Marcellus*, and *Quintus Terentius Culeo*.

92 *Thapſus* in *Africa*, was a maritime City in *The Byſacene Province*, or the Kingdom of *Tunis*; between *Ruſpæ* and *Adrumetum*. It is now buried in its Ruins.

93 The little Iſland of *Cercina* lies near the Coaſt of the Kingdom of *Tunis*, not far from *The Little Syrtis*. It is now known by the Name of *Cercara*, or *Cercare*. It could ſcarce furniſh Subſiſtence for a ſmall Number of Inhabitants.

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greateſt Warrior who had been bred by a Republick which owed its Riſe to the *Tyrians*. But *Hannibal* did not tarry long there. He continued his Journey towards *Antioch*, from whence King *Antiochus* was already gone, towards *Epheſus*. But one of the King of *Syria*'s Sons detained him ſome Days at *Antioch*. The Prince was willing this Great Man ſhould be preſent at the Feſtival celebrated near 94 *Daphne*, in Honour to *Apollo* and *Diana*. After the Ceremony, *Hannibal* was in Haſte to be gone; and he ſailed to *Epheſus*, where he found *Antiochus*. This King was yet wavering between Peace and War: But *Hannibal*'s Preſence helped much to turn the Scale. The moſt formidable Enemy *Rome* had, was now come to him; and he could make what Uſe he pleaſed, both of the Hands and Head of an Hero, who had very like to have utterly ruined the *Roman* Republick. Beſides, the *Ætolians* ſeemed diſſatisfied with *Flamininus*, to whom the Senate had given Power to determine the Fate of *Pharſalia*, *Leucas*, and ſome other Places claimed by them. They had been diſappointed of their Pretenſions, and were inclined to favour *Antiochus*. Strong Motives to the *Syrian*, both to declare War, and begin it!

§. XXII. This was the Situation of Affairs in *Greece*, when *Flamininus* received Orders to turn his Arms againſt the Tyrant *Nabis*. This ambitious King had, I know not by what Surprize, got Poſſeſſion of *Argi*, which the *Romans* had formerly taken from him; and *Flamininus* was particularly enjoined to take this important Place from *Nabis* again, and drive him out of it a ſecond time. But the *Pro Conſul* either could not, or would not, attempt this, without the Conſent of the Allies of the *Roman* People. He therefore aſſembled a Diet at *Corinth*, at which the Deputies of all the *Greek* Nations were preſent. The *Ætolians* themſelves came thither, notwithſtanding their Diſcontents. *Flamininus* opened the Aſſembly in this manner. *In the War we jointly made with* Philip, *the* Romans *and* Greeks *had each their different Intereſts to purſue. We both had Reaſon to join in the ſame Reſolutions. But the War we are now going to begin, relates only to you.* Greece *alone is intereſted in it.* Rome *is no farther concerned than to aſſiſt her Friends and Allies with her Arms and Councils.* Nabis, *you know, has taken Poſſeſſion of* Argi. *By that means, the Strength of the Tyrant is increaſed, at the Expence of the publick Liberty. It is you who are attacked; it is your Rights which ſuffer. And it is therefore your Buſineſs to determine, Whether you will leave* Peloponneſus *in Slavery to a Tyrant, or ſhake off the Yoke which he impoſes upon you. Whatever Part you chooſe,* Rome *will acquieſce. Examine then, whether Slavery is preferable to Liberty; and whether the Uſurpation of* Argi *does not endanger all* Peloponneſus. *As for me, I ſhall approve of whatever the Majority agree on.* As ſoon as *Flamininus* had concluded, one of the Deputies of *Athens* aſſumed the Diſcourſe, and exaggerated the Benefactions of the *Romans*, with that kind of Eloquence which was peculiar to that Nation. *It is not enough,* ſaid he, *for their Republick to deliver* Greece *from the Slavery to which* Philip *had reduced it. She now ſollicites us to free our ſelves from the Chains of a new Tyrant. Let it not then be ſaid, after this, that* Rome *had nothing in view in pacifying* Greece, *but to enſlave her! This were an unjuſt Calumny, which ought never to come out of the Mouth of a* Greek. Theſe laſt Words were a ſevere Reflection upon the *Ætolians*; and the Chief of their Deputies, named *Alexander*, was piqued at them. He firſt inveighed againſt the *Athenians*, who with their cowardly Flatteries betrayed the common Cauſe; and then fell on the *Achaians*, whom he ſuppoſed to be the Authors of the War which it was propoſed to declare with *Nabis*. *What!* ſaid he, *ſhall then* Achaia, *which was ſo long attached to* Philip, *ſet no Bounds to her Deſires?* Corinth *is juſt ſurrendered to her; and would ſhe have* Argi *too? Have We been treated in this manner?* The Ætolians *joined with the* Romans, *from the firſt Beginning of the War; and continued faithful to their Confederates, to the Concluſion of the Peace. And they were promiſed indeed, That all the Cities which had formerly belonged to them, ſhould be reſtored them, when re-*

94 The Citizens of *Antioch* gave the Name of *Daphne*, to one of their Suburbs. Near it was a delicious Grove, on the Banks of the *Orontes*; and in the middle of this Grove, a Temple conſecrated to *Apollo* and *Diana*. The Inhabitants, and neighbouring Nations, came thither to celebrate the Feſtivals inſtituted in honour to theſe two Divinities. The Grove, tho' near to the Suburbs, was about forty *Stadia*, or one League and a half from the City itſelf, according to *Strabo*.

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taken from Philip. *But has this been performed? Have* Echina, Leucas, *and* Pharſalus, *all* Ætolian *Cities, been put into the Poſſeſſion of their old Maſters? No;* Rome *has only given us a vain Shadow of Liberty. Does not ſhe continue Miſtreſs of* Chalcis, *and* Demetrias? Roman *Garriſons abſolutely govern thoſe Places. But what am I ſaying? Why does not* Flamininus *withdraw his Troops from* Greece? *The War with* Nabis, *and the Recovery of* Argi, *are only Pretences, to keep us always ſubject to the Republick. Let the* Romans *be gone from hence! Let them ſuffer us to enjoy the Liberty they have procured for us! And then, the* Ætolians *will undertake to oblige the King of* Lacedæmon *to ſurrender up* Argi, *either of his own Accord, or by Force. We ſhall not look on* Flamininus *as our Deliverer, till he has carried back his Army croſs the Seas.*

THIS Diſcourſe of *Alexander* was thought by the Aſſembly a very unſeaſonable Bravado; and *Ariſtænus*, the Chief of the *Achæans*, anſwered it, in theſe Words. *O Great* Jupiter! *and you* Juno, *the Protectreſs of* Argi! *will you ſuffer either the Uſurper of* Lacedæmon, *or the* Ætolians, *to keep Poſſeſſion of it? The former is a Tyrant; the latter are Robbers. He has ſeized* Argi, *in ſpight of us; and it would be to our Prejudice, if they were to become Maſters of it. Theſe Pyrates would then extend their Piracies to our Countries. What will become of us, if they ſhould eſtabliſh themſelves in the Middle of* Peloponneſus! Flamininus, *will you ſuffer it? Theſe Barbarians have nothing that is* Grecian, *except their Language. They have neither the Heart nor the Politeneſs of* Greeks. *We therefore earneſtly entreat you,* Romans, *to take* Argi *out of the Hands of* Nabis; *and to ſettle the Affairs of* Greece *in ſuch a manner, that we may be abſolutely ſecured from the Enterprizes of the* Ætolians. The Deputies of the other Nations ſaid almoſt the ſame thing; and the War with *Nabis* was agreed on, without any Oppoſition, unleſs from the *Ætolians*. The *Pro-Conſul* concluded with a few Words, relating to the Invectives of *Alexander*. *I ſhould anſwer you,* ſaid he, *but that I find the Allies are already ſo much exaſperated againſt you, as to need rather to be appeaſed than irritated with a longer Diſcourſe.* Thus ended the Diet; and the Deputies returned to their reſpective Cities. Then the *Pro-Conſul* applied himſelf wholly to getting from each of the Confederate Nations their Contingent, in order to form a great Army; and he even ſent to the *Ætolians*, to engage them to join their Troops with thoſe of the reſt of the Confederates. But they refuſed; and their Refuſal rendered them very odious to the reſt of *Greece*, and confirmed the *Romans* in the Suſpicions they had entertained of them.

Livy, B. 34. c. 24.

Livy, ibid.

§. XXIII. WHEN all things were got ready, *Flamininus* marched his *Legions* from *Elatia*, where they were encamped. Doubtleſs *Antiochus* was informed at *Epheſus*, of the Preparations the *Pro-Conſul* was making for a new War. And perhaps he was afraid that the Forces of the *Romans* and *Greeks* would come and fall upon his Son *Seleucus*, who was buſy in rebuilding *Lyſimachia*, in *Thrace*. But be that as it will, he ſent Deputies to *Flamininus*, to propoſe an Alliance to him. The *Pro-Conſul*, however, was too wiſe to enter into Engagements with a King, whoſe Artifices he dreaded. He anſwered the Envoys, That his Power was expired, ſince the Departure of the ten Plenipotentiaries; and That if their Maſter would treat with his Republick, he might ſend an Embaſſy to *Rome*, where the Senate would examine his Propoſals. In the mean time, theſe Conferences did not delay the March of the *Legions* a Moment. They advanced towards *Argi*, to beſiege it; and in their March, they were joined by a Reinforcement of ten thouſand Foot, and one thouſand Horſe, commanded by *Ariſtænus* the *Prætor* of *Achaia*. The *Achæans* furniſhed moſt Troops in this War, becauſe all the Conqueſts were to be given up to them, and *Rome* was only fighting their Battels. Theſe united Forces encamped together; entered the Country of the *Argians* together; and at length arrived within four Miles of *Argi*. This City was ſtrong and defended by a numerous Garriſon. It was guarded by two Citadels, which flanked it on two Sides. But after all, nothing contributed ſo much to the Difficulty of taking it, as the Ability of the Governour, who commanded in it. This was *Pythagoras*, Son-in-law to the Tyrant *Nabis*, Brother to the Queen his Wife, and the beſt Soldier the King of *Lacedæmon* had in his Dominions. Nevertheleſs, at the Approaches of *Flamininus*, and the Sight of his Army, he was ſeized with Dread. Beſides the vaſt Compaſs of Walls he had to defend, *Pythagoras* had ſome

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Reaſon to fear inteſtine Seditions. The *Argians* in general were impatient under the Yoke of the Tyrant *Nabis*, and ſighed for Liberty. This appeared by the Step taken by a young Citizen named *Damocles*. He, as imprudent as zealous for recovering the Liberty of his Country, had ſworn to drive out *Pythagoras* and his Garriſon. Then he communicated his Deſign to his Friends, one of which betrayed him. He was immediately cited to appear before the Governour; and knew that his Death was certain. He therefore choſe rather to be killed Sword in hand, than to die by the Hands of the publick Executioner. He ran, like a Madman, into the midſt of the Market-place, crying out, Argians, *if you have yet any Love for Liberty, follow me!* But the Madman cried out in vain. There did not appear to be any Meaſures taken for a general Revolt; and *Damocles* was abandoned to the Vengeance of *Pythagoras*, who cauſed him to be cut in pieces. Some of his Accomplices underwent the ſame Fate; ſome were ſhut up in Priſons; and the reſt eſcaped out of the City, by the help of Cords, with which they let themſelves down the Walls in the Night. Theſe Fugitives retired to the *Roman* Camp; and *Flamininus* examined them concerning the Condition of the Place. They informed him, That if his Camp had been nearer to the City, the Sedition would have ſucceeded. And the *Pro-Conſul* therefore ordered ſome of his Cavalry and Infantry to advance to a Place called *Cylabaris*, where the *Argian* Youth uſed to exerciſe themſelves in Wreſtling and Boxing. This *Gymnaſium* was no more than three hundred Paces from the Walls; and was guarded; but *Pythagoras*'s Soldiers made but a ſlight Reſiſtance. They were put to Flight; and the *Pro-Conſul* came and encamped his whole Army at *Cylabaris*. There, *Flamininus* ſpent a whole Day, in watching for a new Inſurrection in the City. But all was quiet there. He therefore called a Council of the Allies, to deliberate whether it was beſt to beſiege *Argi* in form, or to fall on *Lacedæmon*, in order to ſurprize *Nabis* in his Capital. All, except *Ariſtænus*, who would have found his Account in ſubduing *Argi*, were for going directly to *Lacedæmon*. *There*, ſaid they, *is the Source of the Evil. The Tyrant's Head ought to be cruſhed.* The *Pro-Conſul* heard the Remonſtrances of *Ariſtænus* with Patience; but concluded, That ſince the whole Deſign of the War was to deliver *Argi*, they ought to attack her Uſurper. *I will haſten to* Lacedæmon, ſaid he, *and level all my Aim at the Tyrant himſelf.* Then he immediately ſent his Troops to lay waſte the Country round *Argi*, which was all left deſolate, and nothing remained for the Subſiſtence of *Pythagoras*'s Garriſon. In the mean time, the *Pro-Conſul* was advancing towards *Lacedæmon*, and had already croſſed Mount 95 *Parthenius*. He had paſſed by 96 *Tegea*, and was arrived on the Confines of *Arcadia*, at a Town called 97 *Caryæ*; where he encamped for ſome Days, before he entered the Territory of *Lacedæmon*. All the Allies were not yet aſſembled; nor were the Proviſions which the Confederate Cities were to furniſh, all arrived. *Flamininus* waited for them. But at length the Auxiliaries arrived from all Parts. Even *Philip* ſent fifteen hundred

95 Mount *Parthenius* bordered upon *Arcadia* and *Argolis*. It is ſuppoſed to have been ſo called becauſe a Number of Virgins, called in *Greek* παρθενοι, *Parthenoi*, aſſembled there to offer Sacrifices to *Minerva*, to whom the *Greeks* gave the Surname of *Parthenos*. The *Athenians* erected a Temple to this Goddeſs, and called it *Parthenon*.

96 *Tegea*, a City of *Arcadia*, ſituated on the Frontiers of *Argolis*, near the River *Eurotas*, is now nothing but a Caſtle, called by the Natives *Muchli*, according to *Niger* and *Chalcondyles*.

97 *Sanſon* and *Laurembergue* place the Town of *Caryæ* in the Territory of *Lacedæmon*. Nevertheleſs, *Livy* ſeems to bring it near the Frontiers of *Arcadia*. According to the latter, *Quinctius* encamped his Army there, before he entered *Laconia*.

From the Name of the City of *Caryæ*, the ancient Architects borrow the Term *Caryatides*; by which they mean certain Figures of Women placed like Pillars, (in the *Ionic* Order,) to ſupport an *Entablature*, or the Projections of a Corniſh. *Vitruvius* aſcribes the Origin of the *Caryatides* to the Ruin of the Inhabitants of *Caryæ*. The *Caryates*, ſays he, entered into a League with the *Perſians*, againſt their own Nation; that is, againſt the other People of *Greece*. And when the *Greeks* were victorious over ſo formidable a Power, they united their Forces againſt the Traitors; and ſpread Fire and Deſolation in the Territory of *Caryæ*. The City was beſieged, and taken by Aſſault. The Conquerors reduced it to Aſhes, after they had killed all the Men without Exception. The Women and Children were made Slaves. And to perpetuate the Memory of their Triumph, and their Revenge, the *Greeks* made Figures in their publick Buildings which repreſented theſe wretched Captives, who ſeemed to groan under the heavy Burdens with which they were loaded, as a Puniſhment for the Crime of their Husbands.

To which we ſhall add, by the by, That the *Perſian* Order had much the ſame Origin. *Pauſanias* had beaten the *Perſians*; and the People of *Lacedæmon*, in order to perpetuate the Shame of the Vanquiſhed, made Statues reſembling theſe *Perſians*, and ſet them in the Poſture of Slaves ready to ſink under the Weight of the Buildings which they ſupported.

of his *Macedonians*, to ſerve in the Army of his Conqueror. And great Numbers of thoſe *Lacedæmonian* Exiles whom three ſucceſſive Tyrants had obliged to leave their native City, within theſe twenty Years, daily arrived in the *Pro-Conſul*'s Camp. After the Death of *Cleomenes*, the laſt of the *Spartan* Kings, one *Lycurgus* had got himſelf to be elected King, by Violence, or Bribery. *Machanidas* had ſucceeded this *Lycurgus*; and *Nabis* now illegally retained a Crown which he had uſurped from the old Royal Family to which it belonged. There was yet one Deſcendant of that Family left, in the Perſon of *Ageſipolis*. This young Prince had been driven from the Throne of his Anceſtors, and out of his native Country, in his Infancy, by *Lycurgus*, the firſt of the Uſurpers. And now, *Ageſipolis* conceived Hopes, that the *Romans* would be ſo equitable as to reinſtate him in a Throne which belonged to him, by Right of Blood, and by the Laws of his Country. *Flamininus* received with Joy, the illuſtrious Company of *Lacedæmonians*, whom the Tyrants had forced to leave their native Country: And every thing was now ready for an Attempt upon *Lacedæmon*. *L. Quinctius*, the *Pro-Conſul*'s Brother, and Admiral of the *Roman* Fleet, appeared with forty Ships of War, on the *Lacedæmonian* Coaſts. Eighteen *Rhodian* Gallies had joined thoſe of *Quinctius*; and ten others were expected, under the Command of *Eumenes*, the Son of *Attalus*. They had been ſeen near the *Cyclades*.

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Polyb. B. 4. *c.* 81.

§. XXIV. It is not to be doubted, that all theſe Sea and Land Forces filled the Tyrant *Nabis* with Terror; but nevertheleſs, they did not diſcourage him. He brought a thouſand more Soldiers frome *Crete*, to join the *Cretans* he already had; and raiſed three thouſand Mercenaries, among the neighbouring Nations. Theſe Reinforcements included, he had in his Army ten thouſand of his Countrymen; to whom he added a Militia of Peaſants, whom he aſſembled from all the Towns in his Dominions. Then he fortified his Capital with all Diligence; ſurrounded it with a large Ditch, and repaired the Breaches. All that remained for him to do, was to guard againſt Seditions. An Uſurper has always Reaſon to fear ſome of his Subjects; and *Nabis*'s Oppreſſion increaſed his Anxieties. But he thought of ſuch an Expedient to rid himſelf of them, as became a Man of his Character. He ordered a Review of his Troops, in a Field called *Dromos*, in the Language of the Natives, becauſe the *Lacedæmonian* Youth uſed to run Races in it. All were ſummoned to appear there under Arms. One ſingle Company, in whom the Tyrant could confide, were ordered to ſurround the *Dromos*, and come well armed; and then he addreſſed himſelf to the People aſſembled, in this manner. *Theſe are critical Times. You muſt therefore pardon my juſt Suſpicions, and well-grounded Fears; and excuſe my taking ſuch Precautions as I think neceſſary. I had rather deprive the Perſons I ſuſpect of an Opportunity to commit a Crime, than puniſh them for it. I will therefore keep ſome of you in Priſon, till the preſent Tempeſt which threatens us is blown over. A Calm will ſoon return, if inteſtine Seditions don't increaſe the Storm; and then the Priſoners ſhall be releaſed.*

Liv. B. 34. *c.* 27.

This ſaid, he repeated the Names of fourſcore young Men of the principal Nobility; and they were dragged to Priſons as faſt as they were named. Nor was this all *Nabis* did. The next Night he ordered all their Throats to be cut. Some [98] *Ilotæ* (which was the Name the *Lacedæmonians* gave their Peaſants) were ſuſpected of an Inclination to deſert; and *Nabis* ordered them to be whipped thro' all the Streets in the City, and then put to Death. Thus the Tyrant extorted by Fear, an Obedience which would not have been paid him out of Affection. And as he durſt not appear in the open Field, he ſhut himſelf up in *Lacedæmon*, where he had a Garriſon ſtrong enough to make Sallies on the Beſiegers.

98 The *Ilotæ*, according to *Strabo*, came originally from a little Country of *Laconia*. They preſerved their Independence till the Reign of *Agis* King of *Sparta*, who forced them to pay Tribute to the *Lacedæmonians*. Moſt of them ſubmitted to the Will of the Conqueror, except the Inhabitants of the City of *Helos*. Theſe revolted, and ran to Arms, to ſhake off the Yoke which was going to be impoſed upon them. But the *Lacedæmonians* were victorious; and the *Ilotæ* were puniſhed for their Rebellion. They and their Poſterity were condemned to perpetual Slavery, and to labour in the Fields, without Hope of Redemption. The Race of them continued till *Auguſtus*'s Reign, who at laſt reſtored them their Liberty. And they then took the Name of *Eleuthero-Lacones*, in Memory of the Recovery of their Freedom.

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§. XXV. In the mean time, *Flamininus* advanced towards the Capital; and drew near to [99] *Sellaſia*, on the Banks of the [100] *Oenus*, where there was a very difficult Paſs. The *Roman* Army therefore marched round the Mountains, and arrived on the Banks of the [101] *Eurotas*, a River which waſhed the Walls of *Lacedæmon*. The *Roman* General marched before, with a Detachment of light-armed Cavalry and Infantry; and whilſt he was buſy in pitching his Camp, the auxiliary Troops of the Tyrant ſallied out of the Place on a ſudden, fell on the Workmen, and put them into Diſorder. Then the *Legions* which followed inſtantly appeared in Order of Battel, and fell on the Aggreſſors; who were as precipitate in their Flight, as they had been warm in purſuing the *Romans*. Then *Flamininus* made his Army halt for ſome time, out of the Reach of the Enemy's Darts. The latter attempted to make no more Sallies; and the *Romans* retired into their Camp; but not to continue long there. The *Pro-Conſul* did not pretend to attack the Town in the Place where he at firſt appeared. He decamped the very next Day, and keeping the River on one Side of him, and Mount *Menelaius* [102] on the other, he marched along by the City, through a narrow road. His Army filed off in good Order. The *Legions* were the Advanced Guard, and the light-armed Soldiers, ſupported by the Cavalry, cloſed the Rear. The Lieutenant-General, *Appius Claudius*, who commanded the Rear-Guard, fully expected that *Nabis* would attack him behind, and had prepared his Troop for facing about to the Enemy, in caſe of any ſuch Accident. Accordingly, the Tyrant thought the Opportunity too good a one to be loſt; and ordered his Mercenaries to make a Sally, and attack the *Romans* behind. The latter inſtantly faced about, and the Battel was fought, as in a Plain. After a pretty vigorous Attack, the Mercenaries of *Nabis* gave way; yet they were the Body in which the Tyrant placed all his Confidence. He depended more on them, than on his own Subjects. They would, however, have made a good Retreat, if the *Achæans*, who were acquainted with the Country, had not ſeized the narrow Paſſes. But the latter made a terrible Slaughter of the Fugitives. At length, *Flamininus* brought his Army near *Amyclæ* [103], a little City very near *Lacedæmon*; and there he pitched his Camp, at the Foot of Mount [104] *Taygetos*. The charming Valley which reaches from this Mountain to the *Eurotas*, lay at the Mercy of the *Romans*; and the *Lacedæmonians* ſuffered them to lay it waſte, without making any Sally. On the other hand, *Flamininus* continued unactive for ſome time; waiting for the Succeſs of the Expeditions his Brother *Quinctius* had begun, on the Coaſts of *Laconia*; that is, the Country of the *Lacedæmonians*. This *Roman* Admiral had already ſeized ſome Towns on the Sea-Coaſt; and he thought [105] *Gythium* a Conqueſt of more Importance. This was a ſtrong City, which might be called the Port of *Lacedæmon*, and the Receptacle of all its Riches. And *Flamininus*'s Camp was not ſo far from it, but *Quinctius* might receive Succours from thence, if there ſhould be

99 The City of *Sellaſia* belonged to the *Lacedæmonian* State. It was famous for the Defeat of the Tyrant *Cleomenes*, the laſt King of *Sparta*.

100 The River *Oenus* watered *Laconia*, and the Territory of *Sparta*. *Stephen of Byſantium* gives the ſame Name to a little City in this Country.

101 The River *Eurotas* riſes near Mount *Stymphalos*, now Mount *Pogliſi*, in *Arcadia*, near the Place where the River *Alpheus* roſe. It croſſes old *Laconia*, and waters the City of *Sparta*, from whence it runs into *The Laconic Gulph*. The Ancients gave it ſeveral Names. It was indifferently called *Ægyledes*, *Neris*, *Hemerus*, *Marathon*, and *Galeſus*. *Niger* calls it *Iris*. According to others, it is known in the Country by the Name of *Baſilipotamo*, or *The Royal River*. But this great Name does not very well agree with a little River, which is ſcarce navigable at the Mouth of it.

102 The Name of *Menelaius*, was given both to a Mountain of *Arcadia*, on the Confines of *Laconia*; and to a little Country in that Neighbourhood, which *Polybius* mentions.

103 *Amyclæ* ſtood on the Eaſt Bank of the *Eurotas*, a little below *Lacedæmon*, and near Mount *Taygetos*. Therefore this City was alſo called by the ſame Name as the Mountain. Some of the Ancients call it *Limnæ*. It was famous for the Birth of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. *Pauſanias* ſpeaks of a famous Temple, which the Inhabitants conſecrated to *Apollo*. *Niger* calls it *Vordona*.

104 Mount *Taygetos* reached into *Laconia*, above *Tænarus*, at a little Diſtance from the Sea. The Natives now call it *Maina*. It was conſecrated to *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, according to *Homer*; and to *Bacchus*, according to *Servius*. It took different Names, from its ſeveral Branches. *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pauſanias*, *Ælian*, *Plutarch*, *Pliny*, and *Cicero* tell us, that formerly a great Rock was broken off from this Mountain by an Earthquake, and deſtroyed the City of *Lacedæmon*. Twenty thouſand of the Inhabitants were buried alive, or cruſhed to pieces, in the Ruins of the Houſes.

105 The City of *Gythium*, was formerly a Sort of Port and Arſenal to *Lacedæmon*, from which it was diſtant about thirty *Stadia*; that is, three thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty Geometrical Paces; to the South. It is now only a Village which the *Greeks* call *Palæopoli*. *Pliny* tells us, it gave its Name to *The Laconic Gulph*. It ſtood on the ſame Shore, near the Mouth of the *Eurotas*. It was there that *Tolmides* the *Athenian* General burnt the Ships of the *Lacedæmonians*.

Occaſion;

Occaſion; which was the Admiral's chief Motive to begin the Siege. But after all, *Gythium* was well fortified, and defended by a large Garriſon. However, the Squadrons of King *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, came very opportunely, to inveſt the Place. *Quinctius* landed his Marines, Seamen, and even the Rowers of his Fleet; carried aſhore all the Machines neceſſary for a Siege; advanced with his *Mantelets* and *Covered Galleries*; and battered the Walls with *The Ram*. One of the Towers was already thrown down, and with its Fall had demoliſhed a Part of the *Courtine*; ſo that there was a conſiderable Breach made. Then the *Romans* endeavoured to mount it; and, to make a Diverſion, ordered a ſecond Attack to be made at one of the Gates of the City. Upon this, the Terror of the Beſieged was ſo great, that one of the *Lacedæmonian* Generals, named *Dexagoridas*, ſent an Herald to the *Roman* General, to capitulate. But this *Lacedæmonian* was not abſolute Maſter of the Place; one *Gorgopas* had an equal Share of Power with him; and the latter cauſed his Collegue to be murdered, and alone ſuſtained the Attacks of the *Romans*. Nay, it was even obſerved, that when he was ſole Governour, the Beſieged made a more vigorous Reſiſtance than before, and the Aggreſſors were often repulſed.

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So that *Quinctius* deſpaired of taking *Gythium*, when *Flamininus* appeared in Perſon, at the Head of four thouſand choſen Men. The *Pro-Conſul*'s Camp was within Reach; and he came very ſeaſonably to ſupport his Brother. As ſoon as *Flamininus* appeared on an Eminence, with his four thouſand Men drawn up in Battalia, *Gorgopas* himſelf ſunk into Deſpair. He then thought himſelf obliged to capitulate, and to accept worſe Terms than thoſe for which he had killed his Collegue. Strange Caprice! a Fit of Zeal often makes Men puniſh others for what they themſelves are forced by Neceſſity to do.

THE Surrendry of *Gythium* broke *Nabis*'s Meaſures, in *Lacedæmon*. He had brought from *Argi* his Son-in-law *Pythagoras*, who was the braveſt and moſt prudent Officer in all his Troops; and both were of Opinion, that it was beſt to ſue to the *Roman* General for a Peace. The Tyrant had almoſt all his Dominions taken from him, except his Capital, and the City of *Argi*, where *Pythagoras* had left a Garriſon of three thouſand Men, under the Command of a *Pellenian*, named *Timocrates*. The beſt Meaſures therefore that could be taken, were to ſave the Remains of his uſurped Territories. With this View, *Nabis* ſent to *Flamininus*'s Camp one of thoſe Meſſengers of Peace, who were called *Caduceatores*. His Buſineſs was only to demand an Interview between the King of *Lacedæmon* and the *Roman Pro-Conſul*. The latter would give no Anſwer, till he had called a Council of the Allies. But they being all unanimous that this Requeſt might be granted, ſince it would leave all the Blame on the Tyrant, if they did not agree; the Day and Place were fixed, for a Conference.

§. XXVI. THERE was a Plain between *Lacedæmon* and the *Roman* Camp, in which were ſeveral little Hills. On one of theſe Eminencies the King appeared, and on another, the *Pro-Conſul*; each having only a ſmall Train of Attendants. *Nabis* had only Part of his Guards with him; and only King *Eumenes*, *Soſilaus* the Head of the *Rhodians*, *Ariſtænus* the General of the *Achæans*, and a few of his *Tribunes*, accompanied the *Pro-Conſul*. When they were met, the *Pro-Conſul* gave *Nabis* Leave to ſpeak firſt; and the Tyrant began thus. *If I could have found out the Reaſons which made you take up Arms againſt me, I would have waited for my Deſtiny in Silence; and if I muſt periſh, let me at leaſt know, what it is that cauſes my Ruin. Indeed if I was contending with* Carthaginians, *who know no Rule of Equity but their Ambition, I ſhould not be ſurprized at their Proceedings againſt me. But I ſee at the Head of my Enemies,* Romans; *Men of ſtrict Probity, who keep Conventions, and obſerve the Faith of Treaties with a religious Regard. What then is my Crime? Is it my having entered into the general Confederacy of the* Greeks, *with the* Romans, *againſt King* Philip? *Is it that I violated my Engagements, by receiving of the King of* Macedon *the City of* Argi, *which he offered me? This were a vain Accuſation. The Thing itſelf, and the Circumſtances of the Time, acquit me of all Blame in that Particular. I neither got Poſſeſſion of* Argi, *by Violence, or Artifice. I was in Alliance with* Philip, *at the Time he gave it up to me. Since I have been Maſter of it, I have indeed entered into Engagements with you. But upon what Terms? Upon Condition that I ſhould abandon*

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Argi? *No. But that I should furnish my Contingent of Troops, to continue the War with* Philip. *I have done so; and you are now come to punish me for it. As to the main Point then of the Detention of* Argi, *I am perfectly innocent. Some say I am a Tyrant. But what Reason have they to complain of my Administration? Others complain, that I have beaten off the Chains of many Slaves, and distributed the* Lacedæmonian *Fields among the Citizens of* Lacedæmon, *with a perfect Equality. But this is a frivolous Charge. And as to any thing else, I cannot believe that* Flamininus *would reproach me with seizing a Throne, which did not belong to me; because I am in no other Condition now, than I was when* Rome *made an Alliance with me. She gave me the Title of King; and can she now only allow me that of an Usurper? This were an Inconstancy unworthy of the* Roman *Name. And as to the many Slaves I enfranchised, and the equal Distribution I made of the Lands, these were Edicts, which I had passed, before I entered into an Alliance with you. Did you then judge me unworthy of it? Besides, how are you concerned in the two Laws, which I thought very proper for my Kingdom? Every Nation governs itself by different Maxims. At* Rome, *Riches are the Measure of Honour and Distinction. A Man cannot be a* Roman Knight, *till he has* [106] *such an Income. At* Lacedæmon, *our Lawgivers have settled other Customs. We have thought that an Equality of Condition, would tend most to the publick Good; and that the King would be best served, if there were no Preheminence or Distinction among his Subjects. So that I have only put our Laws in execution. I have placed Slaves on the same Level with the free Citizens of* Lacedæmon; *and divided the Lands equally among them all. This is my Crime; this my pretended Tyranny! If I am not very* Laconick, *in my Address to you, (a Method of speaking much esteemed among us,) the Desire of justifying my self before you, is my only Motive to neglect it. However, I shall conclude with observing, in two Words, that since my Alliance with you, I have not done any thing that can render me unworthy of it.* This Discourse of *Nabis* was full of Artifice, and suitable to the Genius of his Nation. *Flamininus* answered it in these Words. *In vain,* Nabis, *do you take Advantage of your Alliance with* Rome. *We never treated with you; but with* Pelops [107], *the unfortunate Son of* Lycurgus, *whose Throne the Tyrants have invaded. Did it become us to enter into a League with such an Usurper as* Nabis? *The only Design of* Rome *in bringing her Armies into* Greece, *was to banish Tyranny. This* Philip *has found to his Cost. But after all, was he as unjust a Tyrant as you? I don't speak of* Argi, *which you have invaded, either by Violence, or by the Cession of another, it matters not which; but of* Lacedæmon *itself. You there keep Possession of a Crown which does not belong to you; and in the Scheme which we have formed, to deliver all* Greece *from all her Tyrants, the* Lacedæmonians *ought to have the first Place. I therefore come to reinstate them in their former Liberties. Shall we have forced*

106 In order to be a *Roman Knight*, a Man must have been worth at least, four hundred thousand *Sesterces*, which make about fifty thousand *French Livres*. This Law was certainly founded in good Policy. The only Design the *Romans* could have in it, was to prevent the Abuses that Poverty in a high Station produces. It was to be feared, that a poor *Roman Knight* would dishonour himself, and his Order, by supplying his Wants by shameful Methods. Besides, it was a Guard against the common Profuseness of Men of distinguished Rank. Spendthrifts became more frugal, lest they should be deprived of their Dignity. Whatever *Turnebius*, and some Moderns after him, may say to the contrary, the Republick required, that a *Roman Knight* should be worth at least four hundred thousand *Sesterces*, in Estate or Effects only, and not so much yearly. We need no other Proof of it, than this Passage of *Pliny the Younger*'s Epistle to *Firmus*. *Esse autem tibi centum millia censum satis indicat, quod apud nos Decurio es. Igitur ut te non Decurione solum, verum etiam Equite Romano perfruamur, offero tibi, ad implendas equestres facultates, trecenta millia nummum.* *It is certain*, says he, *that you are worth an hundred thousand* Sesterces, *since you are a* Decurion *in our Province; and in order to make that a* Knight's *Estate, I offer you three hundred thousand* Sesterces *more.* If, as some Criticks pretend, the Laws required that a Man should have four hundred thousand *Sesterces per Annum*, before he could be made a *Roman Knight*, it will follow, that *Pliny* must have offered his Friend *Firmus* a Present of above thirty six thousand *Livres* a Year. Which does not seem at all probable. Besides, the *Census* of a *Knight* or a *Senator* was the same, as of any other *Citizen*. And by the Word *Census*, the Ancients always mean the Estimate or Valuation that was made of every Man's Estate by the *Censors*. And lastly, the Law of the *Census*, for Senators and *Knights*, was designed only to provide, that every Man should have enough to support him, according to his Dignity. Now in order to this, it was not necessary that the latter should have four hundred thousand *Sesterces* a Year, and the former twice as much. See *Vol.* 3. where we have explained all the Particulars that relate to the Senate of old *Rome*.

107 *Pelops* was the Son of *Lycurgus*, one of the last Kings of *Lacedæmon*. He did not long survive his Father. He was but young, when the Tyrant *Nabis* murdered him, in order to usurp a Crown, which by Law, and Inheritance, belonged to this young Prince.

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the Macedonian *Garriſons to leave* Jaſſos *and* Bargylia; *and ſhall we not reſcue* Argi *and* Lacedæmon *from Slavery? Shall we leave two of the moſt flouriſhing Cities in the Univerſe in the Hands of an Uſurper? This would be to ſpoil the good Work we have begun. It would be to bring a Reproach on ourſelves. You may indeed pretend, that* Argi *ſurrendered voluntarily to* Philip, *and that you only ſucceed to his Rights. But don't we know, that the* Macedonian *ſeized it, through the Treachery of two or three* Argians, *and contrary to the Inclinations of the reſt of the Inhabitants? Nay, had you yourſelf the Conſent of the Commons, when you got Poſſeſſion of it? But ſuppoſe* Philip *had a juſt Right, have we not delivered* Theſſaly, Phocis, *and the Country of the* Locri, *out of the Slavery in which he kept them? And ſhall* Argi *be the only Place, which ſhall not ſhare the common Good? You indeed pretend, that none can reproach you with any thing, but your new Diſtribution of Lands, and the vaſt Multitude of Slaves you have ſet at Liberty. And it is true, that you have put the vileſt of the Populace on a Level with the moſt illuſtrious* Lacedæmonians; *which is a great Crime. But is this to be compared with the Barbarities and Violences you daily commit upon your Subjects? If you would know all the Particulars of them, call Aſſemblies of the* Argians *and* Lacedæmonians, *and give them full Liberty of Speech. The* Argians *will then tell you, that your Son-in-Law* Pythagoras, *has cruelly maſſacred a good Number of their Inhabitants, almoſt in my ſight. The* Lacedæmonians *will deſire you to reſtore them thoſe fine Youths you have ſo lately murdered there. If you deny it, produce them. Bring them out of the Priſons, where they were to be kept, only for a time. But you will ſay, what have the* Romans *to do with my Conduct? Nothing more,* Nabis, *than to ſet* Greece *at Liberty, and deliver her from her Tyrants. This was the Deſign which has made us croſs the Seas, exhauſt our Treaſures, and liberally ſpill our Blood. And if after all, you will again reply, that you have not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, broke your Alliance with* Rome; *this is a vain Illuſion. I could reproach you with numberleſs Breaches of Faith. But to include all in two Words; was it not double Perfidy, to commit Hoſtilities againſt our Allies, and to join with our Enemies? And have not you done both? You have ſeized* Meſſene [108], *a City in Confederacy with us; and you have entered into a Correſpondence with* Philip, *by his Miniſter* Philocles. *You have infeſted the Seas of* Malea [109] *with your Piracies, and ſpilt almoſt as much* Roman *Blood there, as* Philip *did on the Continent. Pretend not then to take Advantage of the Appellation of an Ally; you have abuſed and deſpiſed it. The ſoft Terms you uſe, ill become you. Aſſume the Air and Tone of a Tyrant; and you will be more in Character.* At theſe Words Confuſion appeared in *Nabis*'s Face; and *Ariſtænus* exhorted, nay, entreated him, to ſave his Life and Eſtate, by a ready Abdication. He quoted to him the Examples of many Tyrants, who had executed Juſtice on themſelves; and had ſpent the reſt of their Days, with more Glory, and Tranquillity in a private Life, than they could have done on an uſurped Throne. The whole Day was ſpent in theſe Conferences, without coming to any Concluſion. The next Morning they were renewed, and then *Nabis* made ſome Propoſals for a Peace. He conſented to give up *Argi*, withdraw his Garriſon from thence, and reſtore the Allies all their Deſerters. To which he added, that if the *Pro-Conſul* had any other Pretenſions, they ſhould be given him in writing, that he might conſult with his Friends about them: And thus ended the Interview.

108 The City of *Meſſene* was one of the largeſt and moſt powerful Cities in *Peloponneſus*. It was the Capital of a Province, which from it was called *Meſſenia*, a Country famous in Story, for the long and bloody Wars it maintained with *Lacedæmon*. But at laſt, the *Meſſenians* were overcome and oppreſſed by the *Lacedæmonians*, and long groaned under the Yoke of a ſevere Bondage. Inſomuch, that to ſay *a Man was a greater Slave than a* Meſſenian, was a proverbial Expreſſion to ſignify, that a Man was not his own Maſter, but a ſervile Dependent on another. *Meſſene* is now remarkable only for its Antiquity. The Natives of the Country call it *Moſeniga*. It is now a little City on the Coaſt of *The Meſſenian Gulph*, or *The Gulph of Coron*, or in the Language of the Seamen, *The Gulph of Calamata*. It is ſo called from neighbouring Cities of thoſe Names.

109 The Name of *Malea* was formerly given to a Promontory of *Peloponneſus*, on the Weſtern Coaſt of old *Laconia*. It runs out into the *Ægean* Sea, and divides *The Laconic* from *The Argolic Gulph*. The former of theſe Gulphs is that which the *Italians* moſt commonly call *Il Golfo di Caſtel Rampani*, and not *Golfo di Colochina*, as *Briet* pretends. The ſecond is the ſame with *The Gulph of Napoli di Romagna*. The Promontory is now known by the Name of *Capo Malio*, according to *Sophian*; or *Capo Malio di Sant Angelo*, according to Father *Briet*.

§. XXVII. It

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§. XXVII. As ſoon as *Flamininus* returned to his Camp, he aſſembled the Chiefs of his Confederates; and the greateſt part of them were for purſuing *Nabis* to the laſt Extremity. *Greece*, ſaid they, *will never enjoy Peace, or a perfect Liberty, till the Tyrant of* Lacedæmon, *either has abdicated, or is deſtroyed. It had been better never to have declared War with him, than to finiſh it without this Cataſtrophe.* Nabis *will think himſelf authoriſed by the Peace, to detain a Crown, which ſhall be left in his Poſſeſſion. The imperfect Judgment of the* Romans *will confirm his Right; and many little Tyrants, will think themſelves allowed, by this Example, to uſurp the Sovereignty in their reſpective Countries.* But the *Pro-Conſul* had quite other Views. He wanted to finiſh the Affair with *Nabis*, and return to *Rome*, with the Glory of having completed the Deliverance of all *Greece*. He, like *Scipio*, was afraid, leſt a Succeſſor ſhould come and rob him of the Honour of finiſhing the Affair he had begun. Nevertheleſs, it was not to be concluded, in a forcible Way, without reducing *Lacedæmon*; and *Flamininus* therefore repreſented to the Allies, the Condition of the Place, and the Difficulty of the Enterpriſe, in theſe Words. *We have*, ſaid he, *already endured many Fatigues, for a great while together, not in taking* Gythium *by Force, but only in obliging it to ſurrender. And yet* Gythium *is nothing in Compariſon of* Lacedæmon. *How much Blood muſt yet be ſpilt, how much Money ſpent, if we will reduce this Capital? We had great Reaſon to expect an Inſurrection in the City againſt the Tyrant, and therefore drew near to it. But we don't find the leaſt Commotion there. Beſides, I know that* Antiochus *threatens us with a ſpeedy War. He is already come into* Europe, *with Sea and Land-Forces; and is more formidable than ever. What Troops then ſhall we have to ſend againſt him, if we employ them before* Lacedæmon? But theſe Reaſons did not in the leaſt move the Allies. They ſtill inſiſted on purſuing the Siege of *Lacedæmon*, and deſtroying *Nabis*. And then the *Pro-Conſul* ſhewed his Addreſs, and his Skill in the Art of Diſſimulation. He pretended to come over to their Opinion. *Since it is your Deſire*, ſaid he, *let us beſiege* Lacedæmon. *But let us take proper Meaſures, and make due Preparations, for ſo long a Siege. We ſhall be forced to ſpend the Winter here. Let me then only exhort you to arm your ſelves with Conſtancy enough to ſupport the Hardſhips of the Seaſon. Great Sums of Money will alſo be wanted for building Machines, particularly erecting* Moveable Towers, *and furniſhing them with* Balliſtæ *and* Catapultæ. *Not to mention Proviſions, great Convoys of which muſt be continually coming hither. Write therefore to your reſpective Cities, and enquire how much each is able to ſupply. As for Troops, we have enough. But the more numerous our Army is, the greater Quantities of Proviſions will be wanted. Make haſte. Winter approaches; and the Badneſs of the Roads, will make Carriage the more difficult.*

Livy, B. 34. c. 34.

Livy, ibid.

At theſe Words, the Chiefs of the Confederacy looked ſteddily on one another, and held their Peace. Every one was afraid of alienating the Minds of his People from him, by the Taxes, that it would be neceſſary to lay upon them. The more free each City was, the greater was the Difficulty of bringing the whole Body to be unanimous. The Deputies feared the Murmurs of thoſe, whom they had left at Home, and who only contributed their Money towards carrying on the War. Moſt of theſe petty Nations were impoveriſhed by the Wars; and the *Greeks* were not of a liberal Temper. So that the Ardour of the Chiefs for the Siege, inſtantly began to cool. In ſhort, they all agreed to leave the *Roman* General at full Liberty, to ſuſpend, or carry on the Operations of the Campaign, as he pleaſed.

THUS *Flamininus* was more authorized than ever, to ſettle a Peace; and he called for *Nabis*'s Ambaſſadors, and propoſed to them the following Terms as the Conditions of it. 1. *There ſhall be a ſix Months Truce, between the* Romans, *King* Eumenes, *and the reſt of the confederate* Greeks, *on the one Hand; and the King of* Lacedæmon, *on the other.* 2. *In this Interval,* Nabis *and* Flamininus *ſhall ſend Deputies to* Rome, *to get the Treaty ratified there.* 3. *The Truce ſhall take Place, from the Day, that* Nabis *ſigns the Articles.* 4. *In a Fortnight after that Day,* Nabis *ſhall evacuate* Argi, *in order to put it into the Hands of the* Romans; *and no Slave ſhall be taken away from thence, till his Maſter is firſt paid the Value of him.* 5. Nabis *ſhall reſtore all the Ships taken from the maritime Cities of the Allies; ſhall not equip more than two Brigantines for his own Uſe, and thoſe only of ſixteen*

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ſixteen Oars each; ſhall reſtore the Romans, *and the other Confederates, all the Deſerters and Priſoners of each Nation; and ſhall deliver up to the* Meſſenians *in particular, all the Booty he has taken from them, which ſhall be any where to be found.* 6. Nabis *ſhall reſtore to the* Lacedæmonian *Exiles, their Effects, and ſuch of their Wives and Children, as ſhall be willing to follow them; but none of the Women ſhall be forced to go into Baniſhment with them.* 7. *The* Romans *and their Allies ſhall* bona fide *ſurrender up to the* Lacedæmonians, *all their Mercenaries, which have taken Refuge among them.* 8. *The* Lacedæmonians *ſhall not keep Poſſeſſion of any of their Towns in the Iſland of* Crete, *but ſurrender them all up to the* Romans; *and ſhall not keep up any Correſpondence with the* Cretans, *or make War in their Country.* 9. Nabis *ſhall immediately evacuate the Cities, which he is to ſurrender up to the* Romans, *or which have voluntarily delivered themſelves up into their Hands; and ſhall make no further Attempts on their Liberty.* 10. Nabis *ſhall not for the future, erect any Cities or Caſtles, in the Territories of another; or even, in his own.* 11. *He ſhall give the* Pro-Conſul *any five Hoſtages he ſhall chooſe, as Pledges of his Fidelity; of whom his own Son ſhall be one. And laſtly, he ſhall pay down a hundred* Talents [110] *immediately; and fifty more, in equal Payments, in the Space of eight Years.*

§. XXVIII. These were hard Conditions; nevertheleſs *Flamininus*, when he propoſed them, was extremely deſirous of having them accepted. He was very impatient to leave *Greece*, and return to *Rome*. The Reputation of *Philopœmenes* began to eclipſe his. This *Philopœmenes*, then Captain-General of the *Achaian* Troops, ſhared at leaſt the Glory of theſe Expeditions with the *Pro-Conſul*. Nay, the illuſtrious *Greek* ſeemed even to excel the *Roman*, in point of Valour, and Knowledge in the Art of War. He was born at [111] *Megalopolis* in *Achaia*, to which his native City belonged. In the ſeveral Wars the *Achaians* carried on with their Neighbours, before *Flamininus* came into *Greece*, *Philopœmenes* had all along diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Courage, and Conduct, in the Command of Armies. He had from his Infancy ſtudied an Art, which the *Greeks* called [112] *The Tactick Art*, and of which they were the Inventors. No one underſtood better than *Philopœmenes*, how to draw up an Army, ſeize advantageous Poſts, ſuit his Diſpoſitions to his Ground, order Evolutions at a proper time, and in a regular manner, make an Attack ſeaſonably, or judge of the critical time for a Retreat. This great Man, was looked on as the Reformer of military Diſcipline, in *Achaia*. He had changed both the offenſive and defenſive Arms uſed there. He had taught the *Achaians* a new way of forming themſelves; had inured them to fighting pitched Battels; and above all, had made their Cavalry in a manner invincible. Nothing was ever better judged, than the Motions he taught them, whether they were inſtantly to fall off from the Front to the Rear, or to feign a Flight, in order to return unexpectedly on the Enemy, or to rally after an Onſet. And *Philopœmenes* was no leſs able in point of Practice, than in Theory. He had fought many Battels, and had always behaved himſelf with great Courage as a Soldier, conducted the Actions like a great General, and ſecured the Victory. He was now in the ſame Camp, and the ſame Confederacy, as *Flamininus*; and theſe two great Men, were the Subjects of the Soldiers Diſcourſes, at their Leiſure. They compared them together, and the *Roman* always had the Diſadvantage, upon the Compariſon. They thought that *Philopœmenes* had a greater Genius and Ability for War. They found that *Flamininus*'s having vanquiſhed *Philip* in two pitched Battels, was not ſo much to be imputed to his own Valour, or regular Conduct, as to the Intrepidity of his *Legions*. Whereas, they agreed that *Philopœmenes* owed his Victories only to himſelf. To him alone, ſaid they, the *Achæans* are indebted for the uſe of their Arms, and the Regularity of their Marches, Encampments, and Evolutions. But after all, if *Flamininus* was inferior to *Philopœmenes*, in the Art of commanding Armies, he ſurpaſſed him in Juſtice, Eloquence, Moderation, and all thoſe civil Vir-

Plut. Lives of *Flamininus*, and *Philopœmenes*.

[110] A hundred and fifty *Talents* make, according to our Computations, a hundred and fifty thouſand *French Crowns*.

[111] We have already given an Account of the City of *Megalopolis*.

[112] By *Tacticks* the *Greeks* meant the Art of drawing up an Army in Battalia, and making Machines of War.

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tues, which are the Bands of Society. No Man ever had more Addreſs, in managing Bodies of Men, and keeping Nations of different Tempers and Characters, in ſuch an Union, as is neceſſary to ſupport a Confederacy. Nevertheleſs, the *Roman* was not eaſy to ſee himſelf outſhined by a *Greek*, in thoſe Qualities, which moſt dazzle the Eyes of the Multitude; and this made him ſo zealous to finiſh the War, and get the Terms he had ſent to *Nabis* accepted. To this end, he advanced with his Army nearer to *Lacedæmon*. He fancied, that Fear would oblige the Tyrant to ſubmit to the Will of the ſtrongeſt. *Philopœmenes* was alſo very capable of increaſing the Fears of the *Lacedæmonian*. As for the Tyrant, whether by Accident, or out of Policy, the Conditions which had been propoſed to him, and which he had read only to a few Confidants, were immediately made publick in *Lacedæmon*. He had himſelf obſerved but one thing in them, which pleaſed him. Nothing was ſaid of his quitting the Throne, ſurrendering it up to [113] *Ageſipolis*, or calling home the Exiles, which were the things he moſt dreaded. But in other Particulars, he thought himſelf hardly treated. What enraged him moſt, was the Neceſſity to which he was reduced of ſurrendring up all the maritime Cities he poſſeſſed. From thence came the Riches of *Laconia*, and the beſt part of the Soldiers he had in his Service. To them his Pirates brought the Prizes they were continually taking, and eſpecially to *The Cape of Malea*. And as for the Heads of the *Lacedæmonian* State, every one conſidered how far his own private Intereſt was concerned in the Propoſals of the *Roman*. They who kept the Wives of the Exiles, and loved them, diſliked the Liberty that was given them of returning to their Husbands. They who had ſeized their Effects, looked upon them as their own, and refuſed to give them up. The Slaves, whom *Nabis* had ſet at Liberty, and to whom he had probably given the Lands of the Exiles, were alarmed at being reduced to their former Indigence and Servitude. And laſtly, the Mercenaries, who had adhered to the Tyrant, contrary to the Inclinations of their native Cities, were going to loſe their Pay, if Tranquillity ſhould be eſtabliſhed; and to be denied an Aſylum, in their own Country.

Livy B. 32. c. 36.

So that all theſe different Objectors to the Treaty (ſtirred up, no doubt, by Men hired by *Nabis* for that Purpoſe) ran to Arms; and demanded the Continuance of the War, with great Clamours. The Tyrant took Advantage of the Commotion he had raiſed; aſſembled the *Lacedæmonians* in the Market-place; read the Conditions offered him; added ſeveral odious Articles to them; and ſaid, *What Anſwer ſhall I give the* Roman Pro-Conſul? *Give him no Anſwer at all,* replied the Multitude, *but run to Arms. A War! A War! We will have War!* Theſe Clamours, and this Tumult, were very agreeable to the Tyrant. He promiſed himſelf great Advantages from the Good-will of a People, who voluntarily offered to run the Hazards, and ſupport the Fatigues of a Siege; and he exhorted his Troops to perſevere in theſe brave Sentiments, which a ſudden Start of Paſſion had inſpired them with. *Courage*, ſaid he, *often gives the brave, Succeſs over thoſe who are more numerous.* To which he added, That the *Ætolians* would ſoon come to their Aſſiſtance; and That, at all Events, the City was provided with Proviſions and Men to defend it. Every one therefore haſtened to the Poſt aſſigned him; and ſome *Lacedæmonians* even marched without the Walls, and threw ſome Darts at the advanced-Guards of the *Roman* Camp. Then *Flamininus* could no longer doubt, but that *Nabis* had rejected his Propoſals for Peace. Mutual Attacks ſoon followed; but theſe were only ſlight Skirmiſhes, and laſted only four Days. On the fifth Day, the *Lacedæmonians* made a Sally, which turned to their Diſadvantage. The Number of Combatants on both ſides was ſo great, that the Action looked like a pitched Battel. Some Hiſtorians pretend, that it was a general Action, and that all the *Macedonian* Army encamped without the Walls. But be that as it will, *Nabis*'s Troops gave way, and the *Romans* purſued them ſo warmly, that ſome of them entered the City, through the Openings between the different Parts of the Walls. In order to explain this, it is neceſſary to give a Deſcription of *Lacedæmon*. This City of *Sparta* (for this was another Name for the Capital

Polyb. B. 5.

[113] *Ageſipolis*, after the Death of his Uncle *Cleomenes*, had a lawful Right to the Crown of *Lacedæmon*. But the Tyrant *Lycurgus* took Advantage of the Prince's Infancy, and ſeized the Throne. *Machanidas* and *Nabis*, who ſucceeded this Uſurper, made themſelves yet more odious to the *Lacedæmonians*, by their Uſurpations and Violences, to the Prejudice of *Ageſipolis*, and the publick Liberty.

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of *Laconia*) which was ſo famous in all Ages, was almoſt of a round Figure. It ſtood in a Plain; but nevertheleſs had ſome Eminencies about it. The *Eurotas* waſhed the Eaſt-ſide of it, and for almoſt the whole Year, was not fordable in any Part. Beyond the River Eaſtward, there were ſeveral ſteep Rocks, between which and the River, there was only a very narrow Way. The City ſtood on the oppoſite Bank of the River, and was in ſome Places, defended only by theſe ſteep Rocks. Old *Lycurgus*, who built it, did not think it proper to ſurround it with Walls. He, out of a kind of Bravado, was againſt his City's having any other Fortifications, but the Bodies of his Subjects. And *Ageſilaus*, one of his Succeſſors, ſaid, in the ſame Senſe, that the *Lacedæmonians* themſelves [114] were the only Bulwark their Country had. But afterwards, the Tyrants who ruled in *Lacedæmon*, fortified it with ſome pieces of Wall, at certain Diſtances. Yet ſtill there were ſeveral Parts left open, without any Walls to defend them, eſpecially in the ſteep Places; and in them Temples were erected to ſeveral Divinities. Such was the City which *Flamininus* undertook to beſiege. His Army, including the *Romans*, the *Greek* Confederates, and the Marines he had brought from *Gythium*, amounted to fifty thouſand Men. The *Pro-Conſul* ordered the Place to be ſurrounded on all ſides, and a general Aſſault to be given. All his Soldiers inſtantly loaded themſelves with Scaling-Ladders, took Flambeaux in their Hands, and armed themſelves in an odd manner, but ſuch a one as was proper to ſtrike Terror into the Beſieged. Then the Aſſailants made a great Shout, and at the ſame time began the Attack. This ſight filled the *Lacedæmonians* with Terror; and the Uncertainty of their Commanders increaſed the Confuſion. They knew not whither to go, or ſend Succours, firſt. The Beſiegers attacked all parts of the Wall, and every Hill at once. It was therefore neceſſary to watch over all, and defend the whole Compaſs of the Walls, at the ſame time. But the principal Attacks were on three ſides; towards the Temples of [115] *Apollo*, and *Diana*, and in a Place called [116] *Heptagoniæ*. Theſe Poſts were guarded indeed, but had no Walls or Ramparts. The News which was brought *Nabis*, almoſt together, of the Danger of the City, and the Attack at theſe open Places, threw him into a Conſternation. He for ſome time continued motionleſs, like one Thunderſtruck. He had ſcarce the uſe of his Reaſon. He neither heard any Body, nor gave any Orders. Nevertheleſs, the *Lacedæmonians* kept their Ground, in the ſeven Angles, or ſeven narrow Paſſes of *Heptagoniæ*; till at length, the Conteſt became unequal. The Beſieged only defended themſelves with their Darts, which they threw at the *Romans*. The latter eaſily warded off the feeble Strokes of the Enemy, with their Bucklers. The *Lacedæmonians* were ſo cloſely drawn up, that they had not room to uſe their Arms. The *Romans* therefore made a ſort of *Tortoiſe*, and advanced with their Bucklers over their Heads; and the Enemy in vain threw down upon them, Showers of Stones and Tiles, from the Tops of the Houſes. However, the *Lacedæmonians* ſuſtained the Impetuoſity of the *Romans*, as long as they were ſhut up in the narrow Paſſes. But when the Beſiegers had forced their Way into the wide Streets of the City, the Beſieged could no longer ſtand before them. They fled, and retired to the Eminencies. As for *Nabis*, the Extremity of the Danger brought him to himſelf; and he thought only of finding ſome Way to make his Eſcape out of the City. But *Pythagoras*, who, during the Inaction of the Tyrant, did the Office of a Governor, had more Preſence of Mind. He ordered the Houſes to be ſet on Fire, in all the Places where the *Romans* had entered the City. Theſe Houſes, which were for the moſt part built of Wood, burnt the faſter, becauſe thoſe Officers were ordered to promote this Fire, which were generally employed in extinguiſhing others. So that the Roofs, Beams, and pieces of Walls, fell on the *Romans*, and cruſhed them to pieces. The Flames burſt

[114] *Lycurgus*, the Lawgiver of *Sparta*, a different Perſon from him, of whom we have lately ſpoken, uſed to ſay, *That Courage was the ſureſt Bulwark to a beſieged City.* In this Senſe *Ageſilaus* ſaid of a Body of *Lacedæmonians* under Arms, *Theſe are the Walls and Fortifications of* Sparta.

[115] It is paſt doubt, that *Livy* by *Phœbeum* means a Temple dedicated to *Apollo*. Nevertheleſs, *Meurſius* has gueſſed, that the Copyiſts have by miſtake put *Phœbeum* for *Ephebeum*. Which was the Name of an Academy, or *Gymnaſium*, in *Lacedæmon*, where the young *Spartans* were taught bodily Exerciſes. *Pauſanias* mentions it.

[116] This was the Name the *Lacedæmonians* gave a Fort, or Building, which was built in the form of an *Heptagon*.

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out againſt them, amidſt Clouds of Smoke, which ſtifled them. So that no new Troops of the Beſiegers durſt enter the City; and thoſe that had entered it, marched back again with Precipitation, for fear of being pent in by the Flames, which they began to feel behind them. As for *Flamininus*, who was a Spectator of this Diſorder, he ſounded a Retreat. The *Romans* had at leaſt the Glory of having reduced *Nabis* to the laſt Extremity, though they were forced to retire; and *Pythagoras* had the Honour of having ſaved his Country [117].

§. XXIX. NEVERTHELESS, the Retreat of the Beſiegers was too ſlight an Advantage to the Tyrant to raiſe his Courage. He conſulted his Fear, and reſolved to ſend *Pythagoras* to *Flamininus*'s Camp, to offer to ſubmit to thoſe very Conditions of Peace, which he had before rejected with Scorn. The *Pro-Conſul* at firſt received the Ambaſſador with great Haughtineſs, and ordered him to go out of his Tent. But he returned back, threw himſelf at the *Roman* General's Feet, and with many Intreaties, obtained what the *Roman* General was extremely deſirous of giving him. *Flamininus*, without ſtreightening the Yoke of the Conquered with new Conditions, was ſatisfied with the firſt Treaty, but preſſed the Execution of it. He inſiſted upon receiving the Money and Hoſtages demanded, without any Delay. And as for the City of *Argi*, which was the Cauſe of the War, it had already recovered its Liberty. Upon the firſt News that *Lacedæmon* was beſieged, the *Argians* had taken up Arms, under the Command of one of their Countrymen, named *Ariſtippus*; and *Nabis*'s Garriſon had been driven out of the City, with *Timocrates* their Commander. But the latter had had his Life given him, becauſe he had treated the Inhabitants with the greateſt Mildneſs, during his Adminiſtration. Theſe Succeſſes ſpread Joy in *Flamininus*'s Camp. His Brother *Quinctius*, King *Eumenes*, and the *Rhodians*, congratulated him upon it, and returned to the Fleet, which ſoon left the Coaſts of *Laconia*. *Quinctius* ſailed for *Rome*, without Delay, in order to carry thither the News, that *Greece* was entirely reſcued from Slavery: and publick Prayers were ordered to be offered up, for three Days. *Eumenes* returned to *Pergamus*, and the *Rhodians* to their own Iſland. But *Flamininus* continued in *Greece*, and ſpent the Winter there. He had now completed the great Work of the Pacification of the *Greeks*; and was no longer apprehenſive of being robbed of the Glory of it by a Succeſſor. He therefore went to all the Feaſts, where the flattering *Greeks* piqued themſelves upon paying him the higheſt Honours. *The Nemæan* [118] *Games* were of ancient Inſtitution. They were celebrated in *Argia*, near *The Nemæan Foreſt*, in Honour to *Hercules*, who was ſaid to have cleared the Foreſt of its Monſters. Both the Show, and the Aſſembly, which was held there on a ſtated Day, had been poſtponed, on Account of the War and Troubles in the Country; and now *Flamininus* was nominated to be *Agonothetes*, or Preſident, in them. This Diſtinction was the more agreeable to him, becauſe in the other *Games*, the *Achaians* had often divided that Honour between *Philopœmenes*, and him: And he appeared at the Show with all the State of a *Roman Pro-Conſul*. He there proclaimed Liberty to the *Argians*, by an Herald; which was received with extraordinary Acclamations. But after all, the Joy of the *Greeks* was not ſo complete, as they pretended. The Tyrant was ſtill in the Heart of *Peloponneſus*; and amidſt this general Recovery of Freedom, *Nabis* ſtill kept *Lacedæmon* in Slavery. This was a Grievance that ſunk deep into the Heart of *Ageſipolis*, and the other *Spartan* Exiles. The former loſt all Hopes of being ever re-eſtabliſhed on the Throne: The latter ſaw themſelves baniſhed from their native Country for ever. And the *Ætolians*, who were dangerous Enemies to *Flamininus*, took Ad-

Plut. Life of *Flamininus*.

Livy, *B.* 34. *c.* 41.

117 Some ancient Authors, whom *Livy* mentions, gave a very different Account of the Circumſtances and Succeſs of the Action, which produced a Peace between the *Romans*, and the Tyrant *Nabis*. The latter, ſay they, pitched his Camp over againſt that of *Flamininus*. He there entrenched himſelf, reſolving not to attack the *Pro-Conſul*, till he had received a new Reinforcement of Troops, which the *Ætolians* promiſed him. He tarried a long time, but no Succours came; and a Detachment of *Romans* had ſurpriſed his Foragers, who were diſperſed in the Fields. Then he immediately left his Trenches, and at the Head of ſome Battalions, haſtened to their Defence. And what was at firſt a Skirmiſh only, became all on a ſudden a pitched Battel. But every thing gave way before the *Roman* Valour. The unfortunate *Nabis*, after a Loſs of fifteen thouſand Men killed upon the Spot, and four thouſand made Priſoners, had no Refuge but in the Clemency of the Conqueror. He was forced to accept thoſe Terms of Peace, which he had ſo ſcornfully rejected. It is eaſy to ſee, that this Account cannot be reconciled with that of *Livy*, as we have inſerted it in the Text.

118 See what we have ſaid of the Origin and Celebration of theſe *Games*, Vol. 3.

vantage

vantage of theſe ſecret Murmurs, and divulged them. In all the Diets of *Greece*, they attacked the *Pro-Conſul*'s Reputation. *In the Treaty that was made with* Philip, ſaid they, *this warlike King was obliged to withdraw all his Garriſons, out of the* Greek *Cities*; *and ſhall the cruel Tyrant* Nabis *continue in* Lacedæmon? *Shall* Ageſipolis *be deprived of the Crown of his Anceſtors? He, who joined the* Romans, *and fought under their Standards? It is plain* Flamininus *has had nothing in view, but to make* Nabis *his Creature.* Year of ROME DLVIII. L. VALERIUS FLACCUS, M. PORCIUS CATO, Conſuls.

THE *Roman* in vain replied, That he could not deſtroy *Nabis*, without ruining the *Lacedæmonians*. His Mildneſs and Humanity were ſet at nought. But he was feared; and the Regulations he made in *Greece* were ſtrictly followed. He reformed many new Cuſtoms, which the Licentiouſneſs of the *Macedonians* had introduced into the Cities which they had ſeized. In a Diet, which he cauſed to be aſſembled at *Corinth*, he prepared the People for his return to *Italy*; made a long Harangue; and largely enumerated the great Services he had done *Greece*. The ſubduing of *Philip*, the putting him out of a Condition to hurt his Neighbours, and the re-eſtabliſhing of the *Greek* Nations in the Poſſeſſion of their Laws and Liberty, were the Topicks he touched on, with moſt Applauſe. And at length he came to the Peace he had concluded with *Nabis*; and diſcovered a great Coldneſs among his Auditors, upon the mention of this Particular. Every one ſaid within himſelf, that the *Roman* had not done enough to deſerve the Name of a General Deliverer. The Orator read in their Faces this Diſapprobation of his Conduct, with regard to *Nabis*; and therefore made his utmoſt Efforts to convince them, that he could not have deſtroyed *Nabis*, without the utter Ruin of one of the moſt venerable Nations in *Greece*. *I have*, ſaid he, *reduced* Nabis *ſo low, that he cannot juſtly give Umbrage to any one; and to have purſued the Vengeance of* Rome *further, would have been to have made the Remedy worſe than the Diſeaſe. I ſhall therefore return to* Italy, *with the Satisfaction of ſeeing you happy, and in Tranquillity. But before my Departure, I will take away even the Suſpicion that the* Ætolians *have entertained of me, and affected to ſpread among you. I will ſoon withdraw the Garriſons I have put in* Demetrias *and* Chalcis; *and evacuate the Citadel of* Corinth. *The Enemies of the* Roman *Name ſhall no longer ſay, That* Greece *has only changed her Maſters; and That* Rome *has taken* Philip's *Place. Your Cities will then ſee, who are their true Friends; whether theſe* Ætolians, *or the* Romans. *Don't judge of it by Words, but by Facts: And think of nothing now, but making the beſt uſe of our Benefactions. Let not the Liberty for which you are indebted to us, degenerate into Licentiouſneſs! Let it be the chief Buſineſs of the Heads of the Nations, and their reſpective Subjects, to maintain Concord! Let it ever reign among you. Then no King, or Tyrant will be able to hurt you. Your Paſſions and Partialities are your greateſt Enemies. Obſtinacy in Opinion produces Diviſions. Then Aſſiſtances are called in from Abroad, to prevent being forced to give way; and thus through ſlight Contentions, the People fall a Prey to Foreigners. Let me then have the Satisfaction of ſeeing when I come to* Rome, *That I have not been obliging ungrateful Men; and That the Tranquillity I have* [119] *ſettled among you, proves a laſting one.*

THESE laſt Words, which ſeemed to flow from a Paternal Affection, drew Tears from the Eyes of ſome in the Aſſembly; and the *Pro-Conſul* himſelf was ſoftened. There appeared a viſible Emotion in his Countenance, and the *Greeks* were affected with it. They mutually exhorted one another to retain a grateful Remembrance of ſo gracious a Protector, to reverence his Advice as Oracles, and to imprint it deeply on their Minds. And as the laſt Teſtimony of their Affection, they ſought for all the *Romans* who were reduced to Slavery, in all the Coaſts of *Greece*, and delivered them up to him. The greateſt Part of them were Priſoners of War whom

[119] *Flamininus*, ſays *Plutarch*, ſeems to have forgotten the Glory he had acquired by his military Exploits, and to remember only, that he had reſtored the People their Liberty, and delivered them from the Oppreſſion of their Tyrants. This was what he moſt valued himſelf upon. The *Pro-Conſul* made it the Subject of a *Greek* Inſcription, on his own Buckler, which he conſecrated, with ſeveral other Silver Bucklers, to *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, in the Temple of *Delphi*. The Inſcription, according to *Plutarch*, was this. *Brave* Tyndarides, Flamininus, *of the Race of* Æneas, *makes you theſe Preſents. Accept them as a Pledge of the Liberty he reſtored to* Greece. At the ſame time, he adorned the Statue of *Apollo* with a Crown of Gold, on which was another Inſcription, which perpetuated the Memory of his Victories and Conqueſts.

Year of *ROME* DLVIII. L. Valerius Flaccus, M. Porcius Cato, Conſuls.

Hannibal had taken in *Italy*, and ſold to the *Greeks*. They amounted to twelve thouſand [120] in Number; and the Redemption of them coſt the *Achæans* a hundred *Talents*. This was the moſt acceptable Preſent they could have made *Flamininus*; and it did him the moſt Honour at his Triumph.

§. XXX. After this, he thought of nothing but leaving *Greece*. The Lieutenant General *Appius Claudius* was ordered to march the *Roman* Troops thro' *Theſſaly* and *Epirus*, and wait for the *Pro-Conſul* at [121] *Oricum*. In the mean time, the latter came to *Chalcis*, cauſed the Diet of *Eubœa* to be aſſembled there, and repreſented to the Deputies, the Situation in which he found the Iſland, and the Condition in which he left it. Then he drew his Garriſon out of that City; took his Road thro' *Theſſaly*; rectified the Diſorders that the Mixture of the *Macedonians* with the Natives had introduced into the Cities; eſtabliſhed Councils in them and choſe the Senators out of the richeſt of the Citizens. He ordered, that the Cities which were moſt concerned in Intereſt to maintain the publick Tranquillity, ſhould have the Precedence in the general Aſſemblies. And laſtly, after he had withdrawn the *Roman* Troops from *Demetrias*, he arrived at *Oricum*, where he embarked his Troops, and landed at *Brunduſium*. His Paſſage thro' the Cities in *Italy*, was one continued Triumph. The *Romans* he had delivered out of Captivity, and the Chariots loaded with the Spoils he was carrying to *Rome*, for the publick Treaſury, and which were very numerous, marched before him. His *Legions* followed him: and thus attended, he arrived in the Suburbs; where he lodged, till the Senate ſhould determine the Affair of his Triumph, which was unanimouſly granted him. It was alſo ordered, contrary to Cuſtom, that the Proceſſion ſhould continue three Days. The *Romans* never had before ſeen ſo many Riches as *Flamininus* had brought from *Greece*. By this Expedition he not only procured the *Romans* Glory, and Allies; but alſo enriched them, and helped to embelliſh the Capital. The firſt Day, the Multitudes of Arms of all Sorts, which *Flamininus* had taken from the Enemy, were carried in Proceſſion. Among theſe were Pikes made after the *Macedonian* Manner, Helmets of the *Greek* Faſhion, and Javelins of all Sorts. The ſame Day were alſo carried in Carts the fine Statues which had been taken from *Philip*; and among theſe, particular Notice was taken of a beautiful Statue of *Jupiter*, under the Figure of a General of an Army. It was a Maſter-piece; and the Victor ordered it to be placed in the *Capitol*. The ſecond Day, the Gold and Silver was carried on Hand-barrows; as well that which was in Specie, as in Bars and Ingots. The Silver in Bars was computed at eighteen thouſand Pounds * Weight; and the Silver Coin at two hundred and ſeventy Pounds Weight. There were alſo a great Number of Silver Vaſes, moſt beautifully chaſed; and Multitudes of Braſs Veſſels, the Workmanſhip of which coſt more than the Metal. But what moſt attracted the Eye was a Buckler of maſſy Gold, and ten others of maſſy Silver. In Silver Money there were four thouſand *Attick Tetradrachmæ* †, each of which weighed about four [122] *Roman Denarii*. In Ingots of Gold there was three thouſand ſeven hundred Pounds ‡ Weight; and in Gold Coin, fourteen thouſand five hundred and fourteen || *Philippuſes* [123]. On the third Day, the triumphant Victor appeared. In the firſt place, a hundred and fourteen

Plut. Life of *Flamin.* *Cicero in Verrina Sexta.*

* *Worth* 54000 *l. Sterling, at* 3 *l. per Pound.*

† *Worth* 8116 *l.* 13 *s. and* 4 *d. Sterl. Arbuthnot.*

‡ *Worth* 177600 *l. Sterling, at* 48 *l. per Pound.*

|| 13123 *l.* 1 *s. and* 6 *d. Arbuthnot.*

120 Every Slave was taxed at five hundred Silver *Denarii*, according to *Livy*. And *Polybius*, as quoted by him, ſays that it coſt the *Achæans* a hundred *Talents* to redeem all their Slaves. Whence *Livy* concludes, that their Number was twelve thouſand. And by this we may certainly fix the Value of the *Talent*, and *Roman Denarius*, at that time. Five hundred *Denarii* multiplied by twelve thouſand, make ſix hundred thouſand *Denarii*, which were equal to a hundred *Talents*. So that ſix thouſand *Denarii* were worth a *Talent*. Now each *Talent* contained ſix thouſand *Attick Drachmæ*, as has been elſewhere obſerved. Whence it follows, that the *Denarius* and *Attick Drachma* were, at this time, of the ſame Weight and Value.

121 The City of *Oricum* is moſt commonly thought to be the Place the *Italians* now call *La Vallone*. It ſtood on the Coaſts of the *Ionian* Sea. See *Vol.* 3. It was at this Place that *Lucius Quinctius*, by Order of his Brother the *Pro-Conſul*, aſſembled all the Ships of Burden which were to tranſport to *Rome* the richeſt of the Spoils taken from the Enemy.

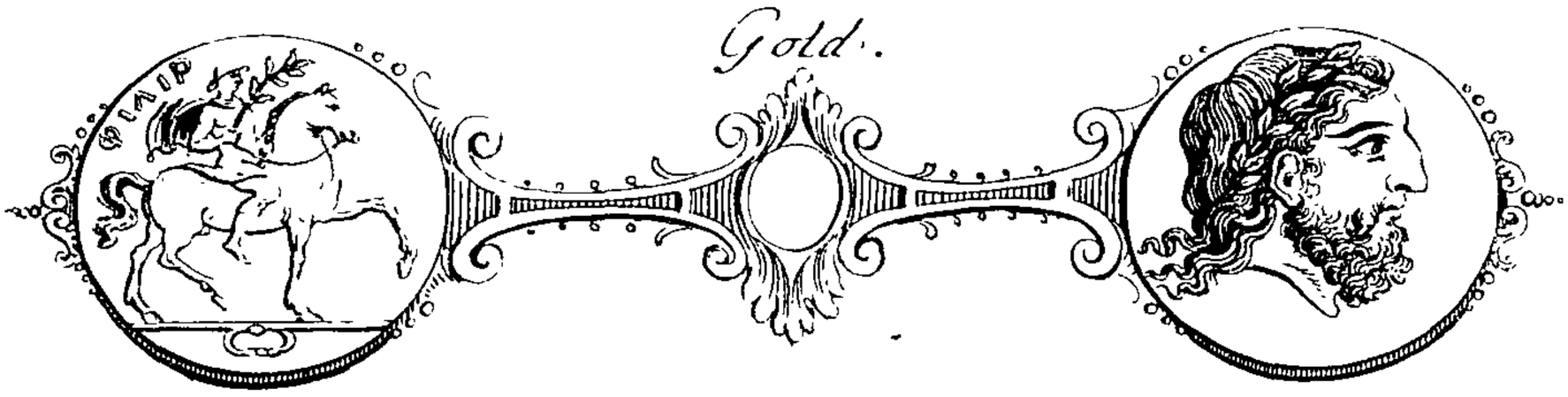
122 *Livy* here compares the *Attick Drachma* with the *Roman Denarius* current in his time.

123 A *Philippus* was the Name of a current Coin among the *Macedonians*. *Philip of Macedon*, the Father of *Alexander the Great*, ſtruck a Gold Coin which bore his Image and Name. And from hence they were called *Philippus's*; as well as thoſe of the ſame Weight and Metal which were afterwards ſtruck in Imitation of them. The Succeſſors of the King of *Macedon*, after his Example, cauſed to be engraved on their Coins, their Symbols, Figures, and Names. Therefore *Horace*, *Ep.* 1. *B.* 2. calls this Sort of Money *Regale Numiſma*.

——*Incultis qui verſibus & male natis,*
Rettulit acceptos, regale numiſma, Philippos.

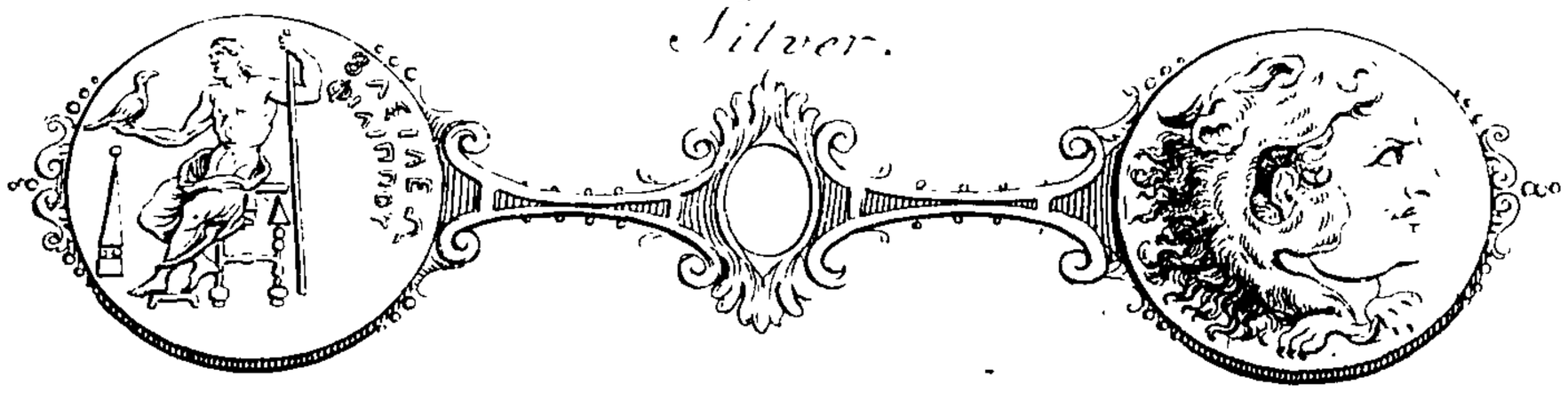
The Name of a *Philippus* was alſo common to two other

Gold.

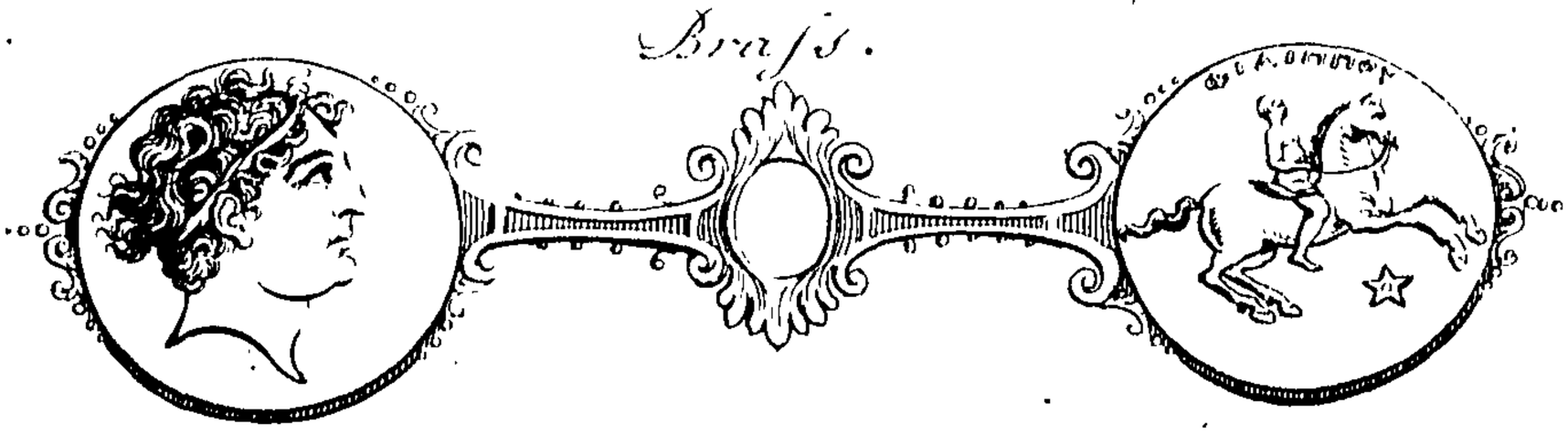


Gold.

Silver.



Brass.



Different Sorts of Philippuses, *an ancient* Macedonian *coin*

Year of *ROME* DLVIII.
L. Valerius Flaccus, M. Porcius Cato, Conſuls.

ourteen Crowns of Gold, which *Flamininus* had received in Preſents from the ities he had ſet at Liberty, were carried before him. After the Hand-barrows n which theſe Teſtimonies of *Grecian* Gratitude were carried, followed the Vic- ims which were to be ſacrificed. Then came the Captives the Conqueror had aken, and the Hoſtages he had demanded. Among the latter was *Demetrius*, the on of the King of *Macedon*, and *Armenes* the Son of the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*. After them, came *Flamininus* in his Chariot; and the Soldiers he had brought from *Greece* cloſed the Proceſſion. They were many in Number, becauſe no Part of the *Roman* Army had been left there. Their old General gave each Foot Sol- dier the Value of two hundred and fifty *Aſſes*, twice as much to every *Centurion*, nd three times that Sum to every Trooper. But after all, what moſt affected the *Romans*, in this great Solemnity, was the great Number of *Roman* Slaves who had been delivered from Chains in *Greece*. They followed the Victor's Chariot; and that they might appear *New Men*, they, in Token of their being again made free, had ſhaved their Heads, and wore *Pilei*. The Number of theſe unfortunate Men, who were brought back to their Families, gave great Luſtre to *Flamininus*'s Tri- umph, and gained him the Hearts of many *Romans*. Indeed, this Sight was not preſented in *Rome*, till the next Year; but we have anticipated it a little, to join the glorious Rewards *Flamininus* received, to our Account of his Victories. Let us now return to the *Conſul Valerius Flaccus*, who was left, without his Collegue, in *Italy*.

Val. Max. B. 5. c. 2. § 6.

§. XXXI. He made War with the *Boii*, in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, with Succeſs. Near *The Foreſt of* [124] *Litana*, he defeated them in a pitched Battel, and killed eight houſand of them. This Loſs obliged the *Gauls* to confine themſelves to their Cities. So that the *Conſul*, who only wanted an Opportunity to ſignalize himſelf, ſpent the reſt of the Campaign on the Banks of the *Po*, in repairing and re-peopling *Placentia*, and *Cremona*. It muſt be owned, that the Glory of the *Roman Conſuls* depended very much on the Hazard of Lots. By them their *Provinces* were aſ- ſigned them. *Valerius* would have immortalized his Name, if it had been his Lot to have had a Commiſſion more capable of doing him Honour. *Spain* fell to *Cato*; and he triumphed. *Valerius* had only a few *Gauls* to fight with; and he defeated them. But his Victory was not deemed of Conſequence enough to de- ſerve to be honoured with a Triumph. However, he came and preſided in the *Comitia*, in which the *Conſuls* were choſen for the next Year.

Year of *ROME* DLIX.
P. Scipio Africanus, Tib. Sempronius Longus, Conſuls.

SCIPIO AFRICANUS had inſerted his Name among the Candidates; and the Views of this Great Man were never mean. He had now conceived Hopes, either of being ſent into *The Levant*, to begin the War with *Antiochus*, or of ſucceeding *Cato* in *Spain*, and ſnatching from this declared Enemy to his Fa-

other Sorts of Money, of different Metals. This appears by a Letter of the Emperor *Valerian* to *Ceionius Albinus*, as mentioned by *Vopiſcus*. We are there told, that as a Reward for the great Services *Aurelian* had done, that Prince allowed him two *Antoninus's* of Gold, *per diem*, and fifty ſmall Sil- ver *Philippus's*. And it is obſerved in another Let- ter, that the ſame Emperor had made him a Pre- ſent of three hundred Gold *Antoninus's*, and three thouſand Silver *Philippus's*, for the Celebration of *The Games of the Circus*. And laſtly, the Author juſt now quoted produces alſo another Letter, in which *Valerian* orders *Mulvius Gallicanus*, the *Prae- torian Præfect*, to pay *Probus*, who was juſt pro- moted to the Empire, one hundred Gold *Antoni- nus's*, a thouſand Silver *Marcus Aurelius's*, and ten thouſand Braſs *Philippus's*. So that here are Gold *Philippus's*, Silver *Philippus's*, and Copper *Philip- pus's*. We may form ſome Judgment of theſe three Sorts of Money, by the Figures we have engraven of them. We ſee on one, the Head of a *Jupiter Olympus*, and on the Reverſe, *Philip* on Horſeback, holding a Palm-Branch in his Hand. The Face of the ſecond was the Figure of this Prince, crowned with Laurel, and the Reverſe, the ſame Prince ſit- ting in a Chariot drawn by two Horſes, with a winged *Victory* running before it. Theſe two Re- verſes ſeem to allude to the Prizes *Philip* gained in the Chariot-Races, and Horſe-Races, during the So- lemnization of *The Olympick Games*. The Author of *Alexander's Life*, inſerted among thoſe of *Plutarch*, ſays, that the King of *Macedon* had multiplied the triumphal Chariots on his Coin. One of the two Medals that follow is of Silver. On it we ſee the Head of *Philip*, covered with a Lion's Skin, and the Statue of *Jupiter Olympus*, holding an Eagle in his Hand. At the Foot of this God we ſee one of thoſe little Pyramids which were the Bounds for thoſe who diſputed for the Prize in the Races at *The Olympick Games*. The next Medal is of Braſs, and has nothing in it but what has been explained in the former ones.

Add to this, that all the Sums of Money which we have mentioned in the Text, after *Livy*, amount to above forty Millions, a hundred and twenty one thouſand *Livres*; at the Rate of ſeven *Franks* for a *Philippus*, according to the received Opinion of the moſt able Antiquaries. We value the Pound of Gold at five hundred *Livres*; and the Pound of Silver, at the Rate of twenty five *Livres per Mark*.

124 According to ſome, *The Foreſt of Litana* was planted near the Territory of *Bologna* and *Mo- dena*, in an uneven Country, full of Rocks. They fix it near the Place which the *Italians* call *Selva Romaneſca*. But others bring it nearer to the *Apen- nines*, in the Neighbourhood of *Lizano*. See *Vol.* 3.

mily,

Year of ROME DLIX.
P. Scipio Africanus, Tib. Sempronius Longus, Consuls.
Liv. B. 34. c. 42.

Family, the Honour of finishing the War there. But tho' he obtained the Consulship a second time, with *Tiberius Sempronius Longus*, who was made his Colegue; he was disappointed of both his Views. He applied to the Senate to make *Greece* at least one of the *Consular Provinces*; and represented, That *Antiochus* was come into *Europe*; That he had brought *Hannibal* with him; That the *Aetolians* began to stir; and That it was indispensably necessary for the Republick to have a considerable Army in a Country where the first Sparks of this great Fire already appeared. But the *Conscript Fathers* would not comply with the Instances of the new *Consul*.

§. XXXII. *ANTIOCHUS* had not yet openly declared against *Rome* by any Act of Hostility. His Designs indeed were obvious; but they were not yet made publick. It would still be time enough to oppose his Invasions, whenever the Rupture should be made. Besides, the Seditions in *Spain* seemed to be stifled at least; and the Senate therefore thought it necessary to recall the Troops there, as they had done those in *Greece*, and disband them. It was also highly proper to give all those *Roman Citizens* some Repose, who had so long served in foreign Wars, in the *Legions*. So that it was decreed, That the *Consuls* should not serve any where but in *Italy* all the Year. The *Gauls* still persisted in endeavouring to shake off the *Roman* Yoke. But the *Carthaginians*, *Macedonians*, and *Greeks*, were become subject to the Republick. *Cisalpine Gaul* alone maintained War with her, and was neither exhausted of Men, nor discouraged, after so many Losses. If the *Roman* Historians have given us exact Accounts of the Numbers of the *Gauls* that were slain in continual Battels, it is scarce conceiveable that any of them should have been yet left alive. Nevertheless, three Generals of the Republick led three different Armies this Year, only against the *Gauls*. *Valerius Flaccus*, the late *Consul*, went to take upon him again the Command of his Army, after he had presided in the *Comitia* for Elections. He entered *Insubria*, in Quality of *Pro-Consul*, and drew near to *Milan*, in Quest of the *Boii*. They had passed the *Po*, under the Command of one of their Generals named *Durilocus*. Their Design was to make an Insurrection in *Insubria*, and embark the *Insubres* again in their Revolt. But *Valerius* gave them Battel, and killed ten thousand of their Men. Yet were not the *Gauls* intimidated by all these Disadvantages. *Bojorix* their King had soon got together a new Army. He kept the Field, attended by two of his Brothers, seized some advantageous Posts in his own Country, and there waited for the Enemy. Then the *Consul Sempronius* left *Rome* without Delay. He brought his *Consular* Army into the Enemy's Country, and appeared within reach of *Bojorix*; and the Appearance and Multitude of the *Gauls* terrified him. He wrote to *Scipio* his Collegue to come and join him with his Army, and promised to delay fighting till he arrived. But the Great *Scipio* seems to have disdained engaging with such weak Enemies. He was not in haste to go to reduce Mutineers, whom so many Generals had weakened, without gaining much Glory by it. He did not think *Cisalpine Gaul* a proper Scene of Action for him, and therefore delayed taking the Field. In the mean time, *Bojorix* imputed the Delays of *Sempronius* to Weakness, or Fearfulness; and the Reasons that occasioned the Dilatoriness of the *Romans*, animated the *Gaul* to hasten a general Action. He was afraid of having two *Consuls* united against him; resolved to give Battel; and gave his Soldiers but two Days Repose. Nay, even in this Interval, he exercised them in frequent Skirmishes, and emboldened them to bear the Sight and Arms of the *Romans*. On the third Day in the Evening, he marched out of his Entrenchments, and appeared before the Enemy's Camp, to force it. The *Roman* Lines were surrounded on all Sides, and the Attack was general. *Sempronius's* Army had but four Gates, at which they could march out; one fronting the Enemy's Camp; another opposite to it, called *The Quæstorian Gate*, because it opened upon the *Quæstor's* Quarters; and one on each Side. The two latter were called [125] *Principales*, because they were over against the Ends of that Row of Tents which was pitched for the *Principes*; that is, the second Line of the *Legionaries*. *Bojorix* ordered some large Battalions of *Gauls* upon the Attack of these *Principal Gates*; and they kept themselves drawn up in exceeding close Order, without them. In the mean time, the most vigorous Attack was made at

125 See our Dissertation on the *Roman* Camps, and the Plate annexed to it, *Vol. 2.*

Year of ROME DLIX. P. Scipio Africanus, Tib. Sempronius Longus, Conſuls.

The Quæſtorian Gate, and the *Gauls* broke thro' it. They entered the Camp, and killed the *Quæſtor Sempronius*; and with him were ſlain *M. Atinius*, and *P. Sempronius*, two Officers of the Auxiliaries, and two hundred of their Men. Then, the two *Legions* of the *Conſul* were ordered inſtantly to make Sallies at *The Principal Gates*; and the Battel was terrible, and much confuſed. The *Romans* laboured to get out of the Camp, and the *Gauls* to get into it. They mutually ſtabbed one another with their Swords, and puſhed one another with their Elbows and Bucklers. In ſhort, the *Romans* could not clear the Way to the Gate, till *Q. Victorius* and *C. Atinius*, two *Tribunes*, one of the ſecond, and the other of the fourth *Legion*, both, as if it had been by Agreement, threw their Enſigns into the Middle of the Enemy's Battalions. This was a Stratagem which had long been practiſed by the *Romans*. And now, it raiſed their Valour to the higheſt Pitch. They made inconceivable Efforts, to recover their *Eagles* out of the Enemy's Hands; and the Victory declared for the *Romans* on all Sides. The *Conſul* detached away a Body of the Allies who always guarded him, and whom he always kept in Reſerve for great Emergencies; and theſe brave Men marched towards *The Prætorian Gate*; fell upon the *Gauls*, who had ſeized a Part of the Camp, on this Side; drove them from their Poſt; made a terrible Slaughter of them; and kept the reſt of the *Gauls* from entering. The *Romans* likewiſe began to gain the like Advantage at both *The Principal Gates*. On one Side, the fourth *Legion* marched out of their Trenches, and repulſed the Enemy in the Plain. On the other, the ſecond *Legion* made a brave Reſiſtance, and kept the Enemy out of the Camp. So that there were in a manner three Battels fought at the ſame time, round the ſame Entrenchments. In the Center of the *Roman* Camp great Outcries were heard, and confuſed Voices from different Places. Nevertheleſs, the Onſet and the Confuſion continued. The Danger ſtill remained, and the Victory was uncertain, till Noon. But then the *Gauls* were extremely tired. They could hold out no longe againſt the Heat of the Sun, Thirſt, and the Perſeverance of the *Romans*. Generally ſpeaking, the *Gauls* were not ſo able bodied Men as their Enemies; and they had naturally as much Levity, as the *Romans* had Conſtancy and Patience in Labour. So that the Soldiers of *Bojorix* gave way, and retreated towards their Camp; and the *Legionaries* were too ardent in purſuing them to the Foot of their Trenches. The *Conſul* in vain ſounded a Retreat. Theſe brave Men, in the Heat of their Blood, were obſtinately bent on forcing the Lines *Bojorix* had raiſed; and they ſuffered for it. All the *Gallic* Army marched out againſt them, and drove them back to the *Roman* Camp. Whereas, if they had paid any Obedience to the Commands of their General, they would have returned thither, without this Repulſe. Thus ended a bloody Battel, remarkable for a continual Viciſſitude of Advantages and Diſadvantages on both Sides. The chief Difference between them was, that one had loſt many more Men than the other. Eleven thouſand *Gauls* were killed on the Spot; whereas the *Romans* loſt but five thouſand.

§. XXXIII. Some Hiſtorians divide the Glory of this Action between *Scipio* and *Sempronius*. But it is moſt probable, that the former did not join his Collegue till he came near *Placentia*, after the Retreat of *Bojorix*. This King of the *Boii* ſheltered his Troops in his Cities, and left the Country expoſed to be plundered by the *Conſuls*. They jointly made Incurſions into the Territories of the *Gauls* and *Ligures*, laid all waſte wherever they came, and penetrated wherever there were no Lakes or unpaſſable Foreſts to ſtop them. Thus *Scipio's* ſecond *Conſulſhip* was very barren of Glory to him. Nevertheleſs, the new *Cenſors*, *Ælius Pætus*, and *Cornelius Cethegus*, continued him *Preſident of the Senate*; and he cauſed them to make a Regulation, by which he loſt much of his Credit among the People. Before the Year that the illuſtrious *Africanus* was *Conſul* the ſecond time, the Senators had no Place of Diſtinction at *The Scenic Games*. They had always ſate mixed with the reſt of the Spectators. But now *Scipio* prevailed on the *Cenſors*, to order the *Ædiles* to ſee *The Conſcript Fathers* placed in the *Orcheſtra*. 'Tis true, the Precedence was due to them in all Places; but Innovations always create Jealouſies. And all the Odium of this new Diſtinction fell on the *Preſident of the Senate*, who was deemed the Author of it.

Cicero de Aruſpic. Reſpon. Val. Max. B. 2. c. 4. §. 3.

Year of ROME DLIX. P. Scipio Africanus, Tib. Sempronius Longus, Consuls.

In this Year *Rome* also sent out a great Number of *Citizens*, to settle *Colonies*. Some went to [126] *Puteoli*, [127] *Vulturnum*, and [128] *Liternum*, in *Campania*; others to [129] *Salernum*, [130] *Buxentum*, and [131] *Sipontum*; and lastly, others to [132] *Tempsa* and [133] *Croton*. But what was deemed most singular at that time, was the Repetition of a superstitious Practice, which had already had some Footing among the *Romans*. Four and twenty Years before, a *Consul* had made a Vow to consecrate to *Jupiter*, all the Animals which should be born in one Spring, except prophane Animals; that is, such as it was not lawful to offer up in Sacrifice. This Consecration had been appointed to be made the last Year; but some Fault had been found in the Execution of it; and the *Pontifices* ordered that it should be begun again, this Spring. At the same time, was also discharged another Vow, which the *Consul Sulpicius* had made five Years before, at the breaking out of the War with *Philip*. He had vowed to celebrate *The Great Games*, in order to obtain the Prosperity of the Republick in *The Levant*. All these religious Ceremonies, and the building of several Temples, which were dedicated to *Juno*, *Faunus*, *Fortune*, and *Jupiter*, were the Marks of peaceful and wealthy Times. *Rome* had gained vast Riches, by the Spoils of *Greece*, and *Spain*; and was now eased of the Expence of those great Armies which she so long maintained beyond the Seas. She had now only eight *Legions* in Pay; and had no considerable War to support, but in *Cisalpine Gaul*. Happy Times for the *Romans*, if they could have set Bounds to their Desires! But their Ambition increased with their Conquests [134].

Year of ROME DLX. L. Cornelius Merula, Q. Minucius Thermus, Consuls.

§. XXXIV. As soon as the new *Consuls*, *Cornelius Merula*, and *Minucius Thermus* were chosen, the Republick shewed the Desire she had, to extend her Dominion into *Asia*. There were three Ambassadors come to *Rome*, from *Antiochus*. Their Names were *Menippus*, *Hegesianax*, and *Lysias*. Their whole Business was only to desire, in the Name of their Master, the Friendship and Alliance of the *Roman* People. It may be affirmed, that no Sovereign in the World was better able to vie with the *Roman* Republick, than King *Antiochus*. Besides his personal Merit, and the Extent of his Conquests, which had procured him the Surname of *The Great*, he was the most fortunate Prince in his domestick Affairs, of any of the *Seleucidæ*. *Antiochus* had at least three Sons, old enough to succeed him; and four Daughters, already marriageable; and by marrying them to the most powerful Kings, he might procure himself very formidable Alliances. Besides, no Power in *Asia* was comparable to his. All the rich Countries of that Continent, from

126 *Puteoli*, an ancient City of *Campania*, is now called *Puzzoli*, or *Puzzuolo*. It stands in the Kingdom of *Naples*.

127 The City of *Vulturnum* stood at the Mouth of a River called *Vulturnus*, between *Sinuessa* and *Liternum*, near the Place where we now see a Castle which the *Italians* call *Castello di Vulturno*.

128 *Liternum*, or as others *Linternum*, stood on the Sea-Coast of *Campania*, at the Mouth of the *Clanis*, which also had the same Name as the City. Nothing now remains of it but a Tower, which the Natives call *Torre di Patria*.

129 *Salernum*, a City belonging to the Kingdom of *Naples*, is now the Capital of *The Hither Principality*. It still retains the same Name, which it has given to the neighbouring Gulph.

130 *Buxentum* belonged to *Lucania*, a Province which is now called *The Basilicata*. It had a Port on *The Gulph of Laus*, or *Laino*. Near it, according to *Holstenius*, is the Port called *Capo Lanfresco*. As for the City, some think it the same as *Pisciota*; others, as *Cluver*, the same as *Policastro*.

131 At a little Distance from *Manfredonia*, stood the City of *Sipontum*, in *La Puglia*, now *The Capatinata*. It is now buried in Ruins, which are still called *Siponto*, near the Mouth of the *Candelaro*, below Mount *Garganus*. See what has been already said of the Antiquity and Situation of these six Cities.

132 *Tempsa*, or as some, *Temesa*, formerly stood near a Place in old *Bruttium*, in *Calabria*, now known in the Country, by the Name of *Torre Loppa*. It stood between the Mouths of the Rivers *Ocinarus* and *Lametus*; one of which is now *The Savato*, the other *The Amato*, *Fiume*.

133 We have treated of old *Croton*, a City of *Bruttium*, or *The Further Calabria*, *Vol* 2. Add to this, that each of the *Colonies* designed for the three first Cities, was to consist of three hundred Persons. The Care of conducting them to their respective Habitations was, as usual, committed to two Men venerable for their Birth and high Offices. *Livy* observes, that some Members of these new *Colonies* claimed the Title and Privileges of *Roman Citizens*. But the Senate determined that they had forfeited that Right. We have already observed, that the *Romans* who were transplanted into other Provinces ceased to enjoy the Privileges inseparably annexed to those who were enrolled in *The Tribes*. This we have incontestably proved. See our Dissertation on the Rights peculiar to *Roman Citizens*, the *Colonies*, *Municipia*, and *Latins*, *Vol.* 2.

134 The End of this Year 559, was remarkable for the Triumph granted to *Marcus Porcius Cato* after his glorious Expeditions in his Government of *Spain*. The immense Sums he brought from this rich Country, were first carried in Procession, and then put into the publick Treasury. About the same time, two Ambassadors from the Tyrant *Nabis* arrived at *Rome*. The Senate came out of the City to the Temple of *Apollo*, to hear their Business; which was, for *The Conscript Fathers* to confirm the Articles of the Treaty of Peace *Nabis* had been forced to accept. Which was done, according to the Plan *Quintius* had drawn up.

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the Eaſtern Borders of *Media*, to *Æolis*, and *Ionia*, were ſubject to his Dominion. He had very lately made himſelf Maſter of *Cælo-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Judæa*, *Samaria*, and in ſhort, all the *Aſiatick* Provinces, quite to *Egypt*. Nay, and his Pretenſions to *Thrace* in *Europe*, were well founded. His Great Grandfather, *Seleucus Nicator*, had conquered it from *Lyſimachus*, whom he defeated, and killed in a pitched Battel. Indeed, his Predeceſſors had long neglected the Sovereignty they had acquired in *Thrace*; but *Antiochus*'s Right ſtill ſubſiſted, and he had already taken Poſſeſſion of it. By his Care, *Lyſimachia*, the Capital of the *Cherſoneſus*, was juſt rebuilt, and repeopled. And certainly, ſo powerful a King, deſerved all Reſpect at the Hands of the *Romans*. His Alliance and Friendſhip were not to be rejected. But *Rome* either wanted to hinder this Conqueror from ſetting his Foot in *Europe*, or ſought a Pretence to penetrate into *Aſia*, to ſpread the Terror of her Name there. The Ambaſſadors of *Antiochus* were not received by the Senate, with that Civility and Regard, which the Dignity and Merit of their Maſter deſerved. The Propoſal they made was not unanimouſly accepted. The Senate pretended to compound with them, and ſet Bounds to their King's Pretenſions. So that before they gave their Anſwer, *The Conſcript Fathers* took indirect Means to affront the Ambaſſadors. They were referred to the ten Commiſſioners, who had formerly been ſent to *Macedon*, to conclude the Peace with *Philip*, and ſettle the Affairs of *Greece*. *Flamininus*, who was yet at *Rome*, was at the Head of the Commiſſion; and as ſoon as the three Ambaſſadors appeared before this new Court, *Menippus*, who ſpoke in the Name of *Antiochus*, expreſſed himſelf in this manner. *Why are all theſe Delays made, and indirect Methods taken, to give us a plain Anſwer? The Propoſal we make is a plain one, and has no Difficulty in it. We deſire the Alliance and Friendſhip of the* Roman *People. We don't come to treat with you as a vanquiſhed People with their Conqueror; or as Nations actually at War ſometimes do with one another, in order to ſettle their Differences in an amicable manner.* Antiochus, *and the* Roman *People, are neither upon the Foot of Enemies; or of Victors, and conquered Perſons. Why then would You give Law to Us? What Right have the* Romans *to diſpoſe of the Cities of* Europe *and* Aſia? *What Authority have they, to direct us to withdraw our Garriſons from ſome Places, and not to ſeize others. You may perhaps have treated* Philip *in this manner. But do the Laws of Nations give you a Right to aſſume the ſame Aſcendant over* Antiochus? This ſenſible, and ſomewhat haughty Diſcourſe of *Menippus*, was anſwered by *Flamininus* after the *Roman* manner, that is, with a very imperious Air. *You ſay*, ſaid he to the Ambaſſadors, *you would have a direct Anſwer, and I will give you one.* Antiochus *ſhall not be our Friend and Ally, but upon two Conditions. The firſt is, that he keep himſelf within the Bounds of* Aſia. *The ſecond, That if he will come into* Europe, *he ſhall conſent, that the* Romans *ſhall protect the* Greek *Cities in* Aſia, *and enter into Alliances with them.* At theſe Words, *Hegeſianax* aſſumed an Air of Confidence, which the Goodneſs of his Cauſe gave him, and ſaid; *What Injuſtice! Your Deſign plainly is, to diſpoſſeſs* Antiochus *of the Dominions of his Fathers. The* Cherſoneſus, *and all* Thrace, *belonged to his Great Grandfather, whoſe Right has deſcended entire to him. The Poſſeſſion he has lately taken of his Inheritance, was no more than reſcuing it out of the Hands of Uſurpers.* Romans, *have you ſo good a Right as this, to the* Greek *Cities, in* Europe, *and* Aſia? *By what Title do you pretend to juſtify your Conqueſt of them, or your depriving the King of* Syria *of the Poſſeſſion of them? He deſires your Friendſhip indeed; but in an honourable way; and not to buy it in a baſe manner.* Theſe were ſolid Reaſons: which *Flamininus* only anſwered in a rambling manner; by ſaying, that *Rome* was determined to purſue the Reſolution ſhe had made, to procure all the *Greeks* their Liberty. *Æolis and* 135 Ionia, ſaid he, *are inhabited by* Greek Colonies, *who*

App. in Syriacis.

Livy, B. 34. c. 58.

135 Indeed, ſeveral Swarms of *Greeks*, either driven out of their own Country, or drawn by the Deliciouſneſs of the Climate, had lately ſettled in the fineſt Parts of *Aſia Minor*. Among theſe ſeveral *Colonies*, the Ancients, particularly *Strabo*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Apollodorus*, and *Pauſanias*, mention ſome *Æolians*, and *Ionians*. The former were thought to have inhabited from Time immemorial, the Provinces of *Theſſaly*, which were under the Dominion of one *Æolus*, the Son of *Hellen*, from whom they took their Name. Hence the Term *Æolis* is uſed by *Apolladorus*, to ſignify *Theſſaly*. Afterwards they ſpread themſelves in *Peloponneſus*, and beyond the *Iſthmus*, in *Acarnania*, *Phocis*, *Bœotia*, *Ætolia*, and *Locris*. The *Achaians* themſelves were originally *Ætolians*, according to *Strabo*. Several of theſe Nations

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who went into Aſia, *to people the Country. We have formed a Deſign to ſet all the* Greeks *free. Thoſe of* Europe *are already ſecured againſt the Tyranny of* Philip; *and it is our Buſineſs to go on to preſerve thoſe of* Aſia, *from the Power and Dominion of* Antiochus. *What can be more humane!* Nevertheleſs, if we may credit *Livy**, this Reaſon confounded *Hegeſianax*; *Who,* ſays the *Latin* Hiſtorian, *ſhewed his Confuſion by his Silence.* But in reality, nothing could be weaker or more trifling, than this Principle, upon which the *Roman* argued. It tended to a total Subverſion of the Law of Nations. If *Thrace*, *Æolis*, and *Ionia*, belonged to the *Syrian*, by an ancient Conqueſt, how could the Pretence of reſtoring theſe People their Liberty, be a juſt Reaſon for withdrawing them from their Obedience to their lawful Sovereign? Is the Deſign of ſetting a Prince's Subjects at Liberty, a ſufficient Reaſon for others to declare War with him? Such Maxims tend to the Ruin of all Societies, and the Subverſion of the moſt ſacred Conventions. At that rate, no Maſter can be ſecure of his Right over his Slaves; nor any Republick, over the Cities belonging to it; nor any King, over his Subjects. It muſt therefore be confeſſed, that the War the *Romans* made with *Antiochus*, was founded more in Ambition, than in Juſtice. The laſt Anſwer the ten Commiſſioners gave the Ambaſſadors, was this. *Take your choice*; *either refrain from ever ſetting your Foot in* Europe; *or elſe, don't be ſurprized, if we ſend ſome of our Troops into* Aſia. It is eaſy to imagine, that the *Syrians* would not acquieſce in the Orders of the imperious Republick. They preferred a War, to the Loſs of their ancient Right to vaſt Countries, in *Europe*, and *Aſia*. And it is not improbable, that *Antiochus* had made theſe firſt Advances, in asking the Friendſhip of the *Romans*, purely to throw all the Blame of a War upon them. For at Bottom, he was exceeding deſirous of coming to a Conteſt with them. *Hannibal*, with whom he adviſed, inſpired the *Syrian* with an Hatred to *Rome*, and heightened his Confidence.

* *B.* 34. *c.* 59.

§. XXXV. THE *Carthaginian* General had been long taking Meaſures for ſtirring up his own Nation againſt *Rome*, in favour of *Antiochus*. Though abſent, and a Fugitive from his Country, he ſtill had Friends there. All the Faction of his Family were abſolutely devoted to him. He therefore made an Attempt to bring *Carthage* into a Revolt from *Rome*, and engage her in the new Party he had embraced. Nevertheleſs, he did not think it proper to negotiate the Affair with his Countrymen by Letter. That would not have been ſafe. He pitched upon a foreign Merchant, who had come to trade at *Epheſus*, where *Hannibal* was then reſiding, with *Antiochus*. *Ariſto* was the Name of this Trader; who ſeemed to have all the Qualities neceſſary to gain him Succeſs in a difficult Negotiation. He was born at *Tyre*, and underſtood the Language which was ſpoken at *Carthage*. The *Tyrians* and *Carthaginians* were, if I may ſo ſpeak, but one People. Beſides, *Ariſto* was a Man of Addreſs, Reſolution, and Intrepidity. *Hannibal* had experienced his Skill in Buſineſs, in the execution of ſeveral Commiſſions which he had entruſted him with; and the *Carthaginian* neither ſpared Preſents, nor Promiſes to him on this Occaſion. He gave his Agent proper Inſtructions; told him the Names of thoſe he muſt ſee, and of thoſe whom he ought to ſuſpect; and without giving him any thing in writing, taught him ſeveral Signs, by which he might ſatisfy his Friends, that he acted by Commiſſion from him. *Ariſto* came to *Carthage*, and was taken for a *Carthaginian*. He did not make himſelf known to any but *Hannibal*'s Friends; and ſollicited them to take up Arms once more, againſt a Republick, which was going to be overpowered by the Number of her Enemies. In ſhort, he diſcovered to them the Deſign *Antiochus* had formed, of ſending *Hannibal* to revive the War in *Italy*. But as ſecret as the Negotiations of the *Tyrian* were, his frequent Viſits to the Heads of the *Hannibal* Faction, betrayed him. Nay, he himſelf dropped ſomething of his Deſigns. Nothing was talked of, in publick or private, but *Hannibal*'s Envoy. Till at length, one of the Enemies of his Faction ventured to ſay

Nations united, under the Conduct of *Penthilus*, the Son of *Oreſtes*, in order to go over into *Aſia*, and ſettle in the Country next to the *Ægean* Sea, which they called *Æolis*, to perpetuate the Memory of their Origin. As to the *Ionians*, they were ſo called from their firſt King *Ion*. The Writers we have juſt quoted, make them ſome of the moſt ancient Inhabitants of *Attica*, and of a part of *Peloponneſus*. Being forced by the *Achæans* to leave their own Country, they croſſed the Sea, under the Conduct of *Nileus*, and ſome other *Athenians* of the Race of *Codrus*; and took Poſſeſſion of that Province of *Aſia Minor*, which borders upon *Caria* and *Æolis*.

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in the publick Senate, That it ſignified nothing that *Hannibal* was baniſhed, if he was ſtill ſuffered to carry on Intrigues, by his Emiſſaries. He alſo declared, That one *Ariſto*, whom he knew not, was carrying on a Negotiation at *Carthage*, in favour of *Antiochus*; and That a Storm would ſoon break out, which would utterly deſtroy the *Carthaginian* Republick. Upon this, the Senators all cried out, as if by Concert, That the *Tyrian* ought to be ſeized; and That Ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to *Rome*, to carry him thither. *The raſh* Hannibal, ſaid they, *has brought Misfortunes enough upon us already. If private Perſons offend, it is only at their own Perils. But the Caſe is otherwiſe as to Communities. The Republick ought not only to keep free from Guilt, but from the very Imputation of it.* *Ariſto* was therefore cited to appear: and he inſiſted, that he had brought no Letter from *Hannibal*; and defied the Senate to produce any. But he could not give a very good Account of his Buſineſs at *Carthage*. What made him ſuſpected, was his frequent and private Viſits to thoſe of the *Hannibal* Faction. He converſed with none but them. Some were therefore for impriſoning him, for a Spy. Others pleaded for the *Syrian*, and contended, that if they arreſted him upon bare Suſpicions, ſuch an Act would ſet Foreigners againſt them. *Carthage* was a trading City, from whence People were continually going to all the Ports in the *Mediterranean*, and to which Merchant Ships were continually coming, in great Numbers, from all Parts. The *Carthaginians* were therefore afraid of Reprizals, eſpecially from the *Tyrians*. And theſe Conſiderations, ſuſpended, at leaſt for ſome Days, the Arreſt of the Criminal; and *Ariſto* took this Opportunity to eſcape. He kept his Ship in a Readineſs to ſail; but before he went off, made uſe of a Stratagem, which was ſufficient to cauſe the *Romans* to ſuſpect the Judges, who had ſuſpected him. In the Dusk of the Evening, he went privately into the Hall, where publick Audiences were given, and over the Preſident's Seat, affixed up a Writing, which contained theſe Words: Ariſto *had no Orders to treat with private Perſons, but with the Senate of* Carthage. His Deſign was, thereby to extricate *Hannibal*'s Friends out of the Affair, to confound the Senators, and to create Troubles in the City. Accordingly, the Sight of this Writing put the People in a Ferment. They were divided between *Antiochus* and the *Romans*. Nevertheleſs, the Fear of a Republick, whoſe Superiority ſhe had experienced, and whoſe Vengeance ſhe dreaded, kept *Carthage* in her Duty. She thought it neceſſary to ſend an Embaſſy to *Rome*, to inform the *Conſuls* and Senate of what had paſſed; and at the ſame time, to complain of ſome Uſurpations of *Maſiniſſa*, on the Lands of *Carthage*. As for *Ariſto*, he ſet ſail the next Night, and had the ill-natured Pleaſure of knowing, that he had ſowed Diviſions among the *Carthaginians*, and rendered their Senate ſuſpected, both by their own People, and by the *Romans*.

§. XXXVI. In the mean time, *Maſiniſſa* thought he might turn to his Advantage the Diſcontents between *Rome* and *Carthage*, and the Miſunderſtandings between the *Carthaginian* Senate and People. Between his Dominions, and thoſe of the Republick, there was a maritime Country, which was the richeſt and moſt fruitful of any in *Africa*. It was called [136] *Emporia*; and though there was then no City in it but that of [137] *Leptis*, it payed *Carthage* a [138] *Talent* * a Day for Tribute. *Maſiniſſa* thought this a favourable Occaſion, to ſeize one part of this fine Country, and plunder the other. But he was afraid, that the *Carthaginians* would take this Opportunity of ſending an Embaſſy to *Rome*, to complain likewiſe of his

* 193 *l.* 15 *s. Arbuthnot.*

136 The Name of *Emporia* was formerly given to a little Country in *Africa*; which reached, according to *Livy*, and *Polybius*, almoſt to *The Little Syrtis*, in *The Byſacene Province*, which is now a part of the Kingdom of *Tunis*. The Fruitfulneſs of this maritime Country, and its advantageous Situation, brought a great many Merchants to it, from all Parts. And from thence it was called *Emporia*; a Term uſed by the *Greeks*, to ſignify either a trading City, or the Trade of ſuch a City. *Pliny* ſays, that the Lands in this little Diſtrict produced above an hundred-fold.

137 There were two Cities in *Africa* called *Leptis*; and diſtinguiſhed by the Names of *Leptis Magna*, or *Great Leptis*, and *Leptis parva*, or *Little Leptis*. The latter is here meant by *Livy*. It ſtood between *Thapſus* and *Adrumetum*, to the Weſt of *The Little Syrtis*. No Footſteps of it are now left. The Place where it ſtood is called *Lepi* by ſome, and *Mahometa* by others. As for *Great Leptis*, it was near *The Great Syrtis*, in the Territory of *Tripoly*, ſome Miles from the Mouth of the *Cinyphus*, a River which riſes in the Deſerts of *Lybia*, and diſcharges itſelf into *The Great Syrtis*, and not *The Little*, as ſome Moderns have thought, from ſome miſunderſtood Paſſages of the Ancients. This River, according to *Marmol*, is the ſame as the *Magra*.

138 A *Talent* was worth about three thouſand *French Livres*.

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unjuſt Proceedings. He therefore reſolved to anticipate them by an Embaſſy of his own; and charged his Ambaſſadors to increaſe the Suſpicions of the *Romans*, with regard to *Hannibal* and *Ariſto*. This was a previous Step which he took to defend his Invaſion of *Emporia*, againſt his Accuſers. The *Roman* Senate heard both Parties, but with a ſecret Inclination to favour *Maſiniſſa*. The *Numidian* King's Ambaſſadors had heightened the Suſpicions entertained at *Rome*, of the Unfaithfulneſs of the *Carthaginians*; and the Negotiations of *Ariſto* made her fear, that *Hannibal* had drawn *Carthage* into *Antiochus*'s Meaſures. *Why*, ſaid the *Romans*, *did not the* Carthaginian *Senate ſeize the* Tyrian *Ship? Why did they not ſend* Ariſto *himſelf to* Rome *to be examined here? This Connivance conceals ſome Myſtery of Iniquity*. Theſe Suſpicions prejudiced the People in favour of *Maſiniſſa*. Nevertheleſs, the *Carthaginians* had really Juſtice on their ſide, in the Affair of *Emporia*. They contended, that when *Scipio* had ſettled the Limits of the *Carthaginian* State, and the Kingdom of *Numidia*, he annexed *Emporia* to the former. And they added, that *Maſiniſſa* himſelf had owned their Right to this Country, ſince he had asked the *Carthaginians* Leave, to march his Troops through it, in time of War. As for the *Numidian* Ambaſſadors, they denied that *Scipio* had ſettled the Affair of *Emporia*: And as to any original Right *Carthage* could have had to it, they reaſoned thus. *The Territory of* Carthage *was originally confined to as much Ground, as could be encompaſſed by an Ox-hide, cut into Thongs. All therefore that ſhe now has more, is an Uſurpation on the Kings of* Numidia. *And as to* Emporia *in particular, it is a middle Country between* Carthage *and us, which has perpetually changed its Maſters, and has been poſſeſſed by the ſtrongeſt*. But though the *Roman* Senate were convinced of the Right of *Carthage*, as founded upon long Poſſeſſion, they left the Affair undetermined. They only promiſed to ſend three Commiſſioners to the Place, with the Title of Ambaſſadors, to examine into, and determine, the Diſpute there. *Scipio Africanus* was at the Head of this Commiſſion; and probably, had private Inſtructions from his Republick, not to inſiſt on the Surrendry of *Emporia*. Indeed, nothing could have been more eaſy, than for this great Man, to have put an end to this Diſpute, by his own Authority. But the *Romans* thought it Policy, to leave it to be Matter of perpetual Quarrels between the two Parties. The Dominion of *Rome* over *Africa* was ſtrengthened by it. The more the *Numidians* and *Carthaginians* were embroiled, the more eaſy it was for her to continue Miſtreſs of both States. In a Word, *Carthage* could not ſtir in Favour of *Antiochus*, without having *Maſiniſſa* upon her. *Scipio* and his two Collegues therefore left the Affair undetermined, and returned to *Rome*.

§. XXXVII. The News from *Spain*, was neither altogether good, nor altogether bad. In *Hither Spain*, the *Prætor Digitius*, had very ill ſupported the Advantages *Cato* had gained there, in his *Conſulſhip*. *Cato* had left his Province almoſt pacified at his Departure; but upon the Arrival of *Digitius*, the Nations had taken up Arms again. The *Prætor* had fought ſeveral Battels with them, but always with Loſs. Till at length his Year ended, and he was obliged to deliver up his Troops into the Hands of the Perſon the Republick ſhould ſend to ſucceed him. This was one *C. Flaminius*, who was yet at *Rome*, and making Preparations for his Departure. Upon the Reports which were ſpread of the Weakneſs of the *Prætorian* Army, in *Hither Spain*, *Flaminius* offered a Petition to the Senate, deſiring Leave to carry into his Province, a *Legion* which was left in the City. *Without this Reinforcement*, ſaid he, *it will be impoſſible for me to repair the Loſſes*, Digitius *has received*. But the Senate would not grant his Requeſt. They did not think proper to engage the Republick in ſo great an Expence, upon uncertain Rumours. All that *Flaminius* could obtain, was Leave to raiſe Troops in *Spain*, when he ſhould come thither. The new *Prætor* propoſed to raiſe himſelf a great Army; and therefore took the Road to *Sicily*, and made Levies there. Then being thrown by a Tempeſt on the Coaſts of *Afric*, he there got together a good Number of thoſe Soldiers, who had formerly ſerved under *Scipio*, and whoſe Love of Licentiouſneſs had kept them in *Africa*, where they led a rambling Life. Thus out of an Aſſembly of *Sicilians*, *Africans*, and the *Spaniards* he raiſed upon the Spot, *Flaminius* got Troops enough, to keep the Rebels to their Duty. Beſides, the Affairs of *Rome* in *Spain* were not ſo bad as had been repreſented.

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P. Cornelius Scipio, ſurnamed *Naſica*, had kept up the Glory of the *Roman* Name in his Province. He had been nominated *Prætor* for *Further Spain*; and had ſignalized himſelf by his Victories there. The Reader may remember in what Reputation *Naſica* was at *Rome*, for his Probity. When the Goddeſs of *Peſſinus* was to be received, he had been judged the moſt virtuous Man in the Republick; and in *Spain*, he ſhewed himſelf to be likewiſe a good General. As ſoon as any Rebels ſtirred in his Province, he fought them, and with Advantage. There were reckoned up above fifty Places, which he had brought back to the *Romans*. But the Battel which did him moſt Honour, was that which he fought with the [139] *Luſitanians*, near [140] *Ilipa*. An Army of theſe People, whoſe Country lay on the moſt Weſtern Coaſt of *Spain*, had paſſed the *Ebro*, and committed great Ravages in *Hither Spain*. *Naſica* waited for them at their return, and gave them Battel. Indeed, the *Roman* Army was inferior to the *Luſitanian* in Number; but it had many other Advantages over the Enemy. The *Luſitanians* were fatigued with a long March, and had had a great deal of Trouble, in driving a vaſt Quantity of Cattle, which they had brought out of the Fields. Beſides, the *Romans* attacked them unexpectedly. Nevertheleſs, upon the firſt Onſet, the *Luſitanians* ſhewed great Courage, and made a vigorous Reſiſtance. Though the Action begun at nine in the Morning, yet at two in the Afternoon, the Victory had not declared itſelf, on either ſide. Nay, the *Romans* ſeem to have been ready to give way. But after this, the Battel became equal. And at laſt, the Boldneſs and Perſeverance of *Naſica*, got the better of the Reſiſtance of the Enemy. He made a Vow to celebrate *The Great Games*, in honour to *Jupiter*, if he gained the Victory. The Superſtition of the *Romans*, and their Perſuaſion that their General would be heard, increaſed their Courage. They fell upon the Enemy with more Fury than ever. The *Luſitanian* Troops retired, and being purſued by the *Romans* with freſh Vigour, were at length overpowered; and then a general Rout enſued. The Enemy loſt in their Flight twelve thouſand Men, and a hundred and thirty four Standards; beſides five hundred and forty Horſemen, who were made Priſoners of War. As for the *Romans*, they are ſaid not to have loſt above ſeventy three Soldiers in the Action. A memorable Battel, which ſignally diſplayed both the Valour of the *Romans*, and the Prudence of their General! *Naſica* led back his Troops to *Ilipa*, reſtored the Booty he had taken from the Enemy to the proper Owners that could be found, ordered his *Quæſtor* to ſell the reſt, and diſtributed the Money among his Soldiers. After this he left *Spain*, and ſurrendered up his Army to *Fulvius*, his Succeſſor; who gained a famous Victory near [141] *Toledo*, over three *Spaniſh* Nations together. The [142] *Vaccæi*, [143] *Vectones*, and *Celtiberians*, ventured to come to a Battel with him, in the open Country; their Army was routed; and *Hilermus*, one of their Kings, was taken Priſoner. As for *Flaminius*, he had loſt much time in aſſembling his Troops together; and it being very late when he came into his Province of *Hither Spain*, he performed no great Exploits there. Nevertheleſs, the City of [144] *Ilucia* ſubmitted to him; and when his Troops were in Winter-quarters, he cleared the Country of ſome *Banditti*, who infeſted it. Thus the two *Prætors* had gained a Superiority in *Spain*, but had not extinguiſhed the Sedition.

139 See what we have ſaid, *Vol.* 3. of the Bounds of old *Luſitania*, which contained the Country we now call the Kingdom of *Portugal*.

140 There were ſeveral Cities in *Spain* called *Ilipa*. *Ambroſe Morales* places that here ſpoken of, in *Eſtramadura*, which was then in *Luſitania*. *Ptolomy* ſpeaks of a City of *Ilipula*, which belonged to the *Turdetani*. Some have thought that the *Ilipa Livy* mentions, was the ſame Place that *Pliny* calls *Lepia*; which is now called *Niebla*, according to *Sanſon*'s Conjecture. Others don't diſtinguiſh it from *Lepe*, a little City at a little Diſtance from the Mouth of the *Anas*, or *Guadiana*; at one of the Extremities of old *Luſitania*.

141 *Toledo* became afterwards one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in the Country of the *Carpetani*: And long after that, it became the Capital of all *Spain*, under the *Gothic* Kings. It is ſtill the chief City in *New Caſtille*.

142 The *Vaccæi* poſſeſſed part of the Kingdom of *Leon*, and of *Old Caſtille*, on both ſides the River *Duero*. See *Vol.* 3.

143 The *Vectones* or *Vettones*, anciently inhabited thoſe parts of *Luſitania*, which are now Parts of the Province called *Tra-los Montes*, and of the Kingdom of *Leon*, on this ſide the *Duero*. The Cities of *Ciudad Rodrigo*, *Ledeſma*, *Salamanca*, and *Bejar*, take up the greateſt part of this Canton, of which ſome Authors have thought that *Merida* was the Capital. Some of the *Spaniſh* Geographers ſay, there were two ſorts of People called *Vectones*. One ſort, which are thoſe here ſpoken of, inhabited a part of *Portugal*; the other ſettled near the Head of the *Duero*.

144 *Livy* places the City of *Ilucia* in the Country of the *Oretani*, which was formerly a part of the two Cantons, which the *Spaniards* now call, *La Mancha*, and *La Sierra*.

§. XXXVIII. THE

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§. XXXVIII. The two *Conſuls* for the Year had much the ſame Succeſs againſt the *Gallic* Rebels in *Italy*, as the *Prætors* had, againſt the Revolters in *Spain*. They gained great Advantages over them; but did not put an end to the Rebellion. In the beginning of the Campaign, the *Conſuls Merula*, and *Thermus*, expected to have continued quiet, in *Rome*. They did not think the *Gauls* in a Condition to take up Arms again, after their late Loſſes. But all on a ſudden, *Cincius*, the Governor of *Piſa*, ſent Advice to the Senate, that twenty thouſand *Ligures*, had laid waſte the Territory of *Luna*, and were entered into that of *Piſa*. The *Conſuls* had already drawn Lots for their Provinces, at all Events; and *Liguria* had fallen to *Thermus*, *Gaul* to *Merula*. *Thermus*, therefore marched to the Place, where the Affairs of his Province called him; but before he ſet out, he gave an Order, which met with Oppoſition. Two *Legions* had been raiſed the laſt Year in the City of *Rome*; and the *Conſul* ordered them to repair in ten Days to *Aretium*, the general *Rendezvous* for his Troops. But theſe *Citizens*, though enrolled, had no mind to leave their Houſes, and follow the *Conſul*. Great Numbers of them made their Excuſes to the *Tribunes* of their *Legion*. Some pretended to have ſerved their whole time; others feigned Sickneſs; and the Affair was therefore brought before the Senate. The letter was read in the Houſe, which *Sempronius*, the *Conſul* for the laſt Year, and now *Pro-Conſul* in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, had written to the Republick: and by that it appeared, That fifteen thouſand *Ligures* were gathered together round *Placentia*, and That the Banks of the *Po* were ravaged by them; and That the *Boii* were inclined to take up Arms again. This Expedition of the Enemy, was therefore thought one of thoſe, which the *Romans* called *Tumultus*, that is, a ſudden Inſurrection of all the *Gallic* Nation; and on theſe Occaſions, no *Citizen* was exempted from taking the Field. So that no Excuſes were admitted. The *Tribunes* were ordered to ſpare no Body. All the *Legionaries* therefore came to the Place appointed. The Soldiers alſo that *Scipio* had disbanded the Year before, and the Auxiliaries of his Army, had Orders to aſſemble together to ſerve under *Merula*. This *Conſul* was then preparing to ſet out for *Gaul*. The *Rendezvous* of his Troops was in *Hetruria*; and Leave was alſo given him, to inliſt all the Youth in the Fields, and Towns, which were fit to ſerve. Theſe Precautions, and this Severity of the *Romans*, plainly ſhew how formidable the *Gauls* were to them. No Excuſe, no Conſideration whatever, had any weight; when the Buſineſs was, to ſuppreſs a *Tumultus* raiſed by the *Gauls*. When all things were ready for the Departure of the *Conſuls*, each took the Road to his Province. *Thermus* came to *Aretium* on the Day he had fixed; and from thence he advanced towards *Piſa*, where he found the *Ligures* aſſembled from all Parts. Above forty thouſand of them were drawn together in the Fields about that City, in hopes of Plunder.

The *Conſul* marched towards *Piſa*, with the Precaution of an able General. His Army, drawn up in a Square, marched on in good Order. At length he entered *Piſa*, and delivered it. Upon the Arrival of the *Conſul* the Enemy retired, and encamped three Miles from it, on the other ſide the River. Then *Thermus* left *Piſa*; poſted himſelf about a Mile from the *Ligurian* Camp; and ſome of his Troops marched out, by Intervals only, to skirmiſh. The *Conſul* durſt not yet hazard a general Action. His *Legions* conſiſted of raw young Men, neither diſciplined, nor experienced in War. As for the *Ligures*, they often bad the *Roman* General Defiance; and their Army being numerous, they ſent out Detachments to ravage the neighbouring Country. The Cattle, and other Booty which they got in the *Roman* Territories, were always ſent into their own Country, under ſtrong Guards; and this kind of War, in which the *Conſul* only acted upon the defenſive, laſted a great while.

§. XXXIX. But his Collegue *Merula* was more active, and employed his Army in a very different manner. He paſſed on through *Inſubria*, to the Country of the *Boii*, and there often provoked the Enemy to come to a Battel. The *Boii* on the other hand, kept cloſe in their Trenches, and gave up their Fields to be plundered. Accordingly, the whole Country was laid waſte. Till at length Neceſſity alone forced *Merula* to leave it. He drew near to [145] *Mutina*, a City belonging to the *Romans*; and being in a Friend's Country, he marched with little Precaution.

145 *Mutina*, was the old Name which the *Latins* gave to the preſent City of *Modena*.

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This the *Boii* obſerved, and made it their whole Buſineſs to draw him into an Ambuſcade. Firſt, they kept along by the ſide of his Army, continually marching through Foreſts, which were impaſſable to any but themſelves. Then they got before him, and lay in ambuſh in a Wood, by which the *Roman* Army muſt neceſſarily paſs. This was a good Scheme; but they were not ſecret enough in the execution. *Merula* ſuſpected it, and would no more continue his March in the Night, as he had hitherto done. He waited till Sun-riſing before he would decamp. *The braveſt Men*, ſaid he, *ought always to be afraid of the Dangers of a dark Night.* Nor was this all. Whilſt the *Conſul* was proceeding in his March, he ſent out ſome Bodies of Horſe to make Diſcoveries. When his Scouts had informed him, where the Enemy were, how numerous, and what Appearance they made, he immediately ordered his Soldiers to throw all their Baggage in an Heap, in the Center of the Army, and commanded the *Triarii* to ſurround it, with a Circle of Palliſades, and guard it. This was done in a Moment; and then, without farther Delay, the reſt of the Army marched on towards the Enemy. The *Gauls* did the ſame, and accepted the Challenge. Their Ambuſcade was diſcovered; and their Artifice failing, they had now no Reſource but in their Valour. It was about eight in the Morning when the Action began. The Cavalry, which the *Conſul* had poſted in his left Wing, and the Auxiliaries, of which his Horſe-guards conſiſted, began the Onſet. They were commanded by *M. Marcellus*, and *Tib. Sempronius Merula*, two Lieutenant Generals, who had both been *Conſuls*. The preſent *Conſul* poſted himſelf in the Center, to reſtrain the Ardour of his *Legionaries*, and prevent their engaging too ſoon. As for the Cavalry which flanked his *Legions*, he ordered the *Tribune* who commanded them, to advance with them into the Plain. Whilſt the *Conſul* was giving his Orders, an Account came from *Sempronius*, that his Guards ſuffered much, and that he was in danger of being ſurrounded by the Multitude of the *Gauls*, and overpowered by them. And the *Conſul* was deſired to ſend one of his *Legions* to ſupport theſe brave Men, who were expoſed to ſo much Danger. At length therefore he commanded the ſecend *Legion* to go and ſupply the Place of thoſe Guards, which had been forced to retire into the open Spaces in the Army; and then the Battel became more furious. The Cavalry on the left, who had already ſuffered very much, were alſo ordered to retreat; and thoſe in the right to enter upon Action. About Noon, the Sun ſhined with ſuch Strength, that the *Gauls* could ſcarce bear the Heat of it; but ſtill kept their Ground. They reſted upon their Bucklers, ſupported one another by keeping in the cloſeſt Order, and ſtill ſuſtained the Impetuoſity of the *Romans*. Their Strength failed them before their Courage did; and the *Conſul* perceived how difficult it was to break them. Nevertheleſs, he ordered his Horſe to ride full Speed upon them. Accordingly, they fell like a ſudden Tempeſt on the *Gauls*, and beat them down; but ſtill not one of them turned his Back. Though they loſt Ground, they did not fly. The General of the *Gauls* took care to guard againſt it. As ſoon as a Soldier left his Rank, he felt an Halbert very ſeverely on his Shoulders, till he returned to his Place. In ſhort, never was Fight more obſtinate, or Reſiſtance more vigorous. But at length, the *Legionary* Cavalry got the better; broke into the Ranks of ſome *Gallic* Battalions, and put them into Confuſion.

Nevertheless, the greateſt part of the *Gallick* Army ſtill faced the Enemy, and ſeemed impenetrable. However, the *Conſul* ran from File to File, and told his Soldiers, that if they would make but one Effort more, it would be eaſy to defeat an Army, which began already to give way. Then he ordered the Enſigns to draw as near the Enemy as poſſible, and to fight Man to Man: And this laſt Attack, made by all the *Legionaries* together, was deciſive. The *Gauls* fled, and their Rout was general. Though the *Roman* Cavalry were ſent out a little too late, to purſue the Fugitives, a conſiderable Slaughter was made of them. Fourteen thouſand *Gauls* were killed on the Spot, and near twelve hundred of them were taken Priſoners; excluſive of ſeven hundred and twenty one of their Horſe, who were ſurrounded, with three of their Generals. The *Romans* alſo took from the *Gauls* two hundred and twelve Colours, and ſixty three *Gallic* Carts full of Baggage. But it muſt be owned, that a Victory ſo diſputed, coſt the Victors dear. The *Romans* loſt five thouſand Men, *Legionaries*, and Auxiliaries; twenty three

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three *Centurions*, four Officers of the Auxiliaries, and two *Tribunes* of the ſecond *Legion.*

§. XL. *MERULA*'s firſt care was to give the Senate Advice of the Advantage he had juſt gained over the *Boii*; and his Letter came to *Rome*, almoſt at the ſame time that a Courier arrived from his Collegue *Thermus*. The latter ſent Word, that he was ſo much engaged before *Piſa*, with keeping the *Ligures* in Awe, that he could not poſſibly leave his Poſt, to come and preſide in the *Comitia*. This Preſidentſhip had fallen to him by Lot; and he ſaid, that he was forced, though with Reluctance, to give up this honourable Privilege. And therefore he deſired, That either this Commiſſion ſhould be given to his Collegue; or, if he ſhould decline it, becauſe it had not fallen to him by Lot, That then an *Interregnum* ſhould rather be appointed, than he be forced to leave his Expedition againſt the *Ligures*. And this Requeſt of *Thermus* was deemed reaſonable. Two Senators were deputed to *Merula*'s Camp, to carry him *Thermus*'s Letter, and to let him know, that if he refuſed to come to *Rome* to preſide at the great Elections, the Senate was reſolved that there ſhould be an *Interregnum*. Upon this Advice, *Merula* choſe to return to *Rome*, and accept of the Commiſſion offered him. He was elated with his late Victory, and depended on obtaining a Triumph. But to his great Misfortune, the General Officers of his Army had done him Diſſervice. *Marcellus*, among others, had prejudiced the Senate againſt *Merula*'s Conduct. His preſent Rank of Lieutenant-General, and his having been honoured with the *Conſulſhip*, gave weight to his Accuſation, which ran thus. *The Republick owes a great deal to the Valour of her Soldiers. After many Loſſes, they have at laſt conquered. But the* Conſul *has been very indulgent to the Enemy. He let ſlip an Opportunity of putting it out of their Power, ever to fight another Battel; and if he had ſent timely Succours to the brave Men in his Army, he would have ſaved us much Blood. It was his Fault, That the* Legionary *Cavalry engaged no ſooner; and That they were ſent too late to cut off the Fugitives.*

§. XLI. This Letter ſuſpended the Determination of *The Fathers*, with regard to *Merula*'s Triumph. Beſides, the Senate were upon a Regulation, which required more haſte than a publick Show. The Republick had long ſince reſtrained the Exceſs to which Uſury had been carried in her Dominions. The Intereſt of Money [146] had been reduced to one *per Cent.* at moſt; and the Cities, which were governed by *Roman* Laws, were obliged to obſerve this Order. But Avarice ſoon found means to render it ineffectual. Almoſt all the Money that was lent at *Rome*, was lent under borrowed Names. The Inhabitants of the Cities of the Allies, and eſpecially of the *Municipia*, where the *Roman* Laws were not in full force, lent the *Roman Citizens* their Names. So that theſe Foreigners were ſuppoſed to be the Borrowers; and in that caſe, the *Roman* who lent the Sum, was at Liberty to take what Intereſt he pleaſed. This was become a common piece of Knavery; and it was neceſſary to put a Stop to it. The Difficulty was, how to diſtinguiſh the true Creditors from the fictitious ones; and the Senate took this Method for it. They ordered, that all the Allies, not governed by the *Roman* Laws, who had entered into any Contracts with any *Citizens* of *Rome*, ſince the Feaſt of the Infernal Gods, that is, ſince *The* [147] *Ninth of the Calends of March* laſt, ſhould bring them before

146 See what we have ſaid of the *Roman* Laws, that related to the Intereſt of Money, and the Power of Creditors, *Vol.* 1.

147 *The ninth of the Calends of March* anſwered to our twenty firſt Day of *February*. The ancient *Roman* Calendar fixed on this Day, the Feſtival the Pagans celebrated, to appeaſe the *Manes* of the Dead. Nevertheleſs, *Ovid Faſt. B.* 2. ſeems to place it on *The thirteenth of the Calends of March*, that is, our ſeventeenth Day of *February*. And according to this Poet, *Æneas* brought this religious Cuſtom into *Italy*.

But *Macrobius* aſcribes the Origin and Inſtitution of it to *Numa*; perhaps becauſe he revived it. *Ovid* tells us, that in the Hurry of the continual Wars which employed the Republick, the *Romans* omitted, for ſeveral Years, to pay to the Souls of their Anceſtors, the annual Duties, which the fundamental Laws of Religion demanded of every Father of a Family. In the mean time, *Rome* was afflicted with a Plague: which was ſo violent, that it ſpread into the neighbouring Countries. Then the Inhabitants, as ſick in Mind as Body, reproached themſelves with their Neglect of the Worſhip of the *Dii Manes*. Immediately all Hell was thought in a Conſpiracy to ruin their Country. The terrified People fancied they ſaw threatening Shades, and Spectres walking about the Fields. The Souls of the Dead, were ſaid to come out of their Tombs, and make hideous Howlings in all parts of the City. The Fears, and diſtempered Imaginations of moſt of the Citizens, realized and multiplied theſe Objects of Terror. And in the Terrors which theſe Panicks ſpread, every one was eager to renew the Ceremonies

before the Judges. And then, they left the Debtors at Liberty, to pay Intereſt for the Sums they had borrowed, either according to the *Roman* Laws, or according to the Agreements they had made with the Foreigners. By this means, the Artifice invented to palliate Uſury, was exterminated out of *Rome*. The *Romans* did not hinder thoſe, who were only Allies to them, from borrowing Money, on what Conditions they pleaſed; but they would not ſuffer their own *Citizens*, to pay any other Intereſt, than what the *Roman* Laws allowed. A wiſe Regulation, which prevented the Ruin of many Families! The *Latins* themſelves, and the other Allies of *Rome*, found it ſo reaſonable, that they conformed themſelves to it, in their own Countries.

Year of *ROME* DLX. L. CORNELIUS MERULA, Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS, Conſuls.

§. XLII. AFTER this, the Senate heard the *Conſul Merula's* Requeſt. He firſt complained of the neglect of *The Conſcript Fathers*, in not appointing a Day of publick Prayers, after the complete Victory he had gained; and then he demanded a Triumph. But he met with ſome Oppoſition. *Metellus*, a Man of Authority, who had been *Dictator*, ſpoke thus. *You know*, ſaid he to *Merula, that* Marcellus, *one of your Lieutenant-Generals, has written hither againſt you. You have found means to confine him to the Camp near* Mutina. *You have entruſted him with the Command of your Army, excluſive of* Sempronius, *to whom that Command belonged. Is it not then probable, that you were afraid of meeting* Marcellus *here? We would have confronted you, and he would have ſupported before your Face, what he wrote*

remonies, which had been too long neglected; and the Practice of them was eſtabliſhed.

On *The ninth of the Calends of March*, that is, the twenty firſt of *February*, the *Romans* came at Night to the Sepulchre of their deceaſed Anceſtors, lighted by Funeral Torches. The Darkneſs was ſuitable to this mournful Ceremony. The *Roman Ladies* laid aſide their Ornaments, and appeared in Mourning. All carried on their Heads, Crowns and Garlands, with which they adorned the Tombs. They kiſſed the cinerary Urns with Earneſtneſs, and waſhed them with their Tears. Great Bowls of Wine and Milk, were poured into the burial Vaults. Nor was the Blood of Victims ſpared; it being a prevailing Opinion, that the Dead came out of their Tombs to refreſh themſelves with the Smoke and Smell of the Meat. Fleſh and Herbs, eſpecially Beans, were ſet before them. According to the Viſions of *Pythagoras*, which we will not pretend to explain, the Bean contained the Souls of the Dead, and its Lobes repreſented in little, the Gates of Hell. *Feſtus* alſo pretends, that upon the Flowers of this Pulſe, there was thought to be the Figure of a mournful Letter. *Faba parentalibus adhibetur Sacrificis, & in flore ejus Luctus Litteræ apparere videtur.* He probably means the Letter *Theta* Θ. It was thought a mournful Letter, becauſe it was that which was marked on the little Balls, which the Judges put into the Urn, when they voted for Death. This Cuſtom of ſpreading Tables in the Sepulchres of the Dead, and offering ſeveral ſorts of Meats to the *Manes*, was adopted by the *Chriſtians*. They practiſed theſe Remains of Paganiſm at the Tombs of the Martyrs, where ſome of them, were not aſhamed to eat and drink to exceſs. This Abuſe prevailed in St. *Auſtin's* time; and an Iniquity ſo crying, and ſo contrary to the Holineſs of the Goſpel, enflamed the Zeal of this Father of the Church. He expreſſes himſelf, in his Work entituled, *De moribus Eccleſiæ Catholicæ*, in this manner. *Nolite conſectari turbas imperitorum, qui in ipſa vera religione ſuperſtitioſi ſunt. Novi multos eſſe ſepulchrorum & picturarum adoratores. Novi multos, qui cum luxurioſe ſuper mortuos bibant, & Epulas cadaveribus exhibentes, ſuper ſepulchra ſeipſos ſepeliunt.*

None were ſuffered to marry during the time allotted for this Feaſt. Both Men and Women were obliged to Continence. And at this time, which was wholly employed in honouring the *Dii Manes*, the Gods of Heaven had no Share in the Sacrifices or Prayers of the Dead. Their Temples were ſhut up, their Statues veiled, and the Worſhip of

the infernal Gods wholly engaged the *Romans*

The Feſtival was cloſed with a Sacrifice, accompanied with ſome magical Superſtitions, in honour to a Goddeſs, whom the *Romans* called DEA MUTA, or DEA TACITA, *The Goddeſs of Silence. Ovid* ſays, that *Jupiter* cut out her Tongue for telling Tales. She told *Juno* of this God's Intrigues with the Nymph *Juturna*. See *Ovid's Faſti, B.* 2. The Poet there ſuppoſes, that the indiſcreet Nymph was condemned to live for ever in the Manſions of Oblivion and Silence. The care of the Ceremony of this laſt Sacrifice was committed to an old Enchantreſs. She practiſed, in the middle of a Company of Girls, all the Secrets of her Art, with a Deſign, to avert the Strokes of Envy, and the Malice of backſliding Tongues, which delighted in diſturbing the Aſhes of the Dead, by reflecting on their Memory. After theſe Mummeries, the old Woman made Libations of Wine, ſome of which ſhe diſtributed among her Companions, after ſhe had kept the beſt part for her ſelf.

Vina quoque inſtillat. Vini quodcunque relictum eſt
Aut ipſa, aut Comites, plus tamen ipſa bibit.
Hoſtiles Linguas, inimicaque vincimus Ora,
Dicit diſcedens; ebriaque exit Anus.

The next Day after the Feſtival was ſpent in Feaſtings, in every Family. And theſe Entertainments *Ovid* calls *Chariſtia*.

Proxima Cognati dixêre Chariſtia Chari.

Then the Relations met together, excluding every Body elſe, and entertained one another in a very friendly manner. And amidſt the Joy, that Wine and good Chear inſpires, the Gueſts interpoſed their good Offices, to accommodate all Differences and Quarrels that had happened between particular Perſons. According to *Valerius Maximus*, the only End the *Roman* Lawgivers propoſed by this Inſtitution, was to maintain Concord, and Peace between Relations. To which *Ovid* adds, that in the midſt of the Entertainment, thoſe of the Family who had died within the Year, were mentioned; and the Number of the Children, which had been born in that time to ſupply their Places. In a Word, thoſe Funeral Ceremonies, which the Pagans perverted to a bad Uſe, ariſe from the pureſt Dictates of right Reaſon, and from an internal *Senſation*, which is continually putting us in mind of our Immortality; as *Tertullian* has obſerved in his Book *Of the Soul*, and in that *Of the Reſurrection*.

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to us, of your Behaviour in the Battel. This Regard which you affect to ſhew him, makes your Conduct ſuſpected.

But theſe Words did not diſcourage *Merula*. He made freſh Application, both for the Day of publick Prayers, and a Triumph; and the Senate ſeemed inclined to grant them. But two *Tribunes of the People* proteſted againſt any Decree, which ſhould be made in favour of the *Conſul*. So that *Merula* failed in his Attempts; and turned his Thoughts wholly to the Buſineſs of preſiding in the *Comitia* at the Election of *Conſuls*.

There never was a ſtronger or more juſt Competition between the Candidates, than now. It was, if I may ſo ſpeak, a Trial of Intereſt, between ſome of the moſt illuſtrious Families in *Rome*. Three *Patricians* of high Birth, and great perſonal Merit, offered their Service to the Republick. One was *Scipio Naſica*, who, during his *Prætorſhip*, had ſignalized himſelf in *Spain*, by conſiderable Exploits. His Virtue had been recognized by a ſolemn Act of Judgment; and he had ſignally diſplayed his Valour the laſt Year. Beſides, he was ſupported by the *Cornelian* Family, from which he was deſcended. *Scipio Africanus* preſented him to *The Tribes*, as his Couſin-German; and *Cornelius Merula*, who preſided in the *Comitia*, was as near a Relation to him, though of a different Branch of the Family. But it was *Scipio*'s Misfortune, to have a Competitor of as great Reputation, and as well born, as himſelf. Except in Probity, *L. Quinctius* was in nothing inferior to his Rival. Being Brother to the Great *Flamininus*, he had commanded the *Roman* Fleet in *Greece*; and Fame made little Difference between the maritime Expedition of the one, and the Victories gained at Land by the other. It was therefore not doubted, but that the Election would fall, either on young *Quinctius*, or *Naſica*. As for *Cn. Manlius*, who was the third *Patrician* Candidate, his Intereſt was inferior to that of his two Competitors. Four other illuſtrious Citizens contended for the *Plebeian Conſulſhip*; the two chief of which were, 1. *C. Lælius*, that faithful Friend of *Scipio Africanus*, and his inſeparable Companion, in all his Expeditions and Victories: And 2*dly*, one *Domitius Ænobarbus*, who ſeems not to have been very conſiderable as a Soldier. So that the Great *Scipio*, ſupported his Couſin *Naſica*, and his Friend *Lælius*, at the ſame time; and it was natural to ſuppoſe, that the greateſt Man in the Republick would gain all the Suffrages. But as ſtrange as it may appear, *Flamininus*, though inferior to him in Merit, had a better Intereſt than *Scipio*. Time had a little effaced Mens Zeal and Veneration for the Conqueror of *Hannibal*. He had long been Reſident at *Rome*; and his continual Appearance there, had ſunk the Admiration of the Publick to bare Eſteem. His laſt *Conſulſhip* had not been very illuſtrious; and the Preference he had cauſed to be given the Senators, before the People, in the publick *Games*, had alienated the Commons from him. Whereas, on the contrary, *Flamininus* had not been ſeen in the Capital, for a great while. Beſides, he obſerved to the People, that he was not contending for a Couſin only, but for a Brother; and his Glory was freſh in every one's Mind. He had very lately entertained them with his magnificent Triumph, for three Days together. Add to this, that he had not asked, or obtained, any Favour, ſince his return from *Greece*. All theſe Reaſons put together, inclined the *Comitia* to favour *Flamininus*'s Brother; aud he was declared *Conſul*, with *Domitius Ænobarbus*. So that the Great *Scipio*, had the double Mortification, to ſee that he could not ſucceed, either for his Relation, or his Friend [148].

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§. XLIII. The new Magiſtrates were ſcarce entered upon their Office, when News came of the Defeat of the *Ligures*, by *Thermus*. He, from *Conſul*, now become *Pro-Conſul*, had long continued in his Camp near *Piſa*, without daring to hazard a Battel. Till at length the *Ligurian* Army had the Boldneſs to attack him in his Trenches. *Thermus* had much ado to defend himſelf in them, and was forced to march out of them. And then, the Enemy endeavoured to intercept him in his

148 In this Year 560, the *Ædiles*, *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus*, and *Lucius Æmilius Paulus*, ſignalized their Zeal, by embelliſhing the *Capitol*. With the Fines they had levied, they made gilt Bucklers, which were erected, like Trophies, on the Top of the Temple conſecrated to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. And by their Direction, a Portico was built, without *The Gate Trigemina*. They alſo made a new Market-place near the *Tyber*, for the Sale of all Sorts of Proviſions: And they built another Portico from *The Gate Fontinalis*, to an Altar dedicated to *Mars*.

Retreat. Whilſt he was leading his *Legion* through a Wood, they cut it down, ſeized a narrow Paſs, and thereby ſtopped up the Way. He was therefore under a Neceſſity of turning back; but the *Ligures* had already ſeized the Skirts of the Wood, and ſtopped up the Way behind, as well as before them. Then the *Pro-Conſul* called to Remembrance *The Caudian Forks*, and his Soldiers were ſeized with as much Terror, as their Forefathers had been, in the Defiles in *Samnium*. But *Thermus* found a Remedy in the *Numidian* Cavalry, then in the Service of *Rome*. Theſe brave Men were but eighteen hundred in Number, and made a diſtinct *Corps* among the Auxiliaries. They voluntarily offered the *Pro-Conſul* their Service; and promiſed to extricate the *Roman* Army out of this Difficulty. *Nothing can get you out of this Place,* ſaid the Commander of the *Numidians* to *Thermus, but the making a ſeaſonable Diverſion, at one or other of the Sides, where the* Ligures *ſhut us in. Some of us muſt force our Way through the Enemy, and ſet Fire to the neighbouring Villages. Then the* Ligures *will run to the Defence of their Granaries, and Houſes, and leave the Paſſes open.* This was a well judged Expedient, and it anſwered its end. The *Numidians* advanced towards the Poſts the *Ligures* had ſeized; and without fighting with them, patrolled round them, and were rather an agreeable Sight, than Matter of Terror, to them. Nothing could be more contemptible in Appearance, than the *Numidian* Squadron. Both the Men and their Horſes were ſmall and lean; and they had no Arms but one Dart each. Their Horſes had no Bridles, and their Motion was very ridiculous. They thruſt out their Necks, and hung down their Heads, as they galloped; and the *Numidians* added to the Ridiculouſneſs of their March, out of Deſign. They often affected to fall off their Horſes, and raiſe the Laugh and Shouts of the Enemy. This Scene was ſo agreeable to the *Ligures*, that moſt of them quitted their Ranks and Arms, and ſate down on the Graſs, to entertain themſelves with ſo pleaſant a Sight. On the other hand, the *Numidians* advanced nearer and nearer to the Opening, as if without Deſign, and as if they could not govern their Horſes. Till at length, after they had long conſidered which was the propereſt Place to break out at, they ſpurred their Horſes ſo hard, that they flew through the *Ligurian* Battalions, with incredible Swiftneſs, and entered the Plain. Then the Flame and Smoke ſoon ſhewed the *Ligures*, that their Fields and Houſes were ſet on Fire. The Body that guarded the Paſs, was probably only a Body of Men tumultuouſly aſſembled in the Neighbourhood, and they all quitted their Poſts, and ran to defend their Goods. The *Roman* Army immediately ſeized this Opportunity, and got out of the Wood. In the mean time, *Rome* guarded againſt the Dangers to which *Thermus* had been expoſed, during his Campaign. His Army was too ſmall to reſiſt ſuch prodigious Multitudes of *Ligures*, as continually ſurrounded him: And ſhe therefore ſent him a Reinforcement of four thouſand Foot, and a hundred and fifty Horſe, raiſed in *Rome*; together with five thouſand Foot, and two hundred and fifty Horſe, raiſed in *Latium*. Then he appeared in the open Field, bid his Enemies Defiance, forced them at length to come to a Battel, and the Valour of the *Romans* determined it in their Favour. Nine thouſand of the Enemy were killed on the Spot, their Army diſperſed, their Camp beſieged, and valiantly defended till Night. But in the Night, when it was dark, the *Ligures* quitted it, and left it to be plundered by the *Romans*.

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Livy, B. 35. *c.* 21.

§. XLIV. But theſe Advantages in *Italy* againſt the rebellious *Gauls*, did not leſſen the Attention of the *Romans*, to the Affairs in the *Levant*. The *Ætolians* were dangerous Enemies. They had ſignally ſhewn their Rage againſt the *Romans*, from the time that *Flamininus* commanded the *Roman* Armies in *Greece*. Ever ſince the Departure of thoſe victorious Troops, which had ſubdued *Philip*, and the Tyrant *Nabis*, the *Ætolians* had been wholly bent on ſtirring up new Enemies againſt the Republick. And now, it was natural enough for them to preſume, that *Macedon* and *Lacedæmon* would readily enter into a League againſt the *Romans*; and as for *Antiochus*, his Intereſt, his Honour, his late Steps, and the Advice he received from *Hannibal*, all inclined them to believe, that he would not delay declaring War with the imperious Republick. Nor did they deſpair of ſeeing *Carthage* alſo join with ſo many confederate Nations, and make ſome Efforts to ſhake off the Subjection to which *Rome* had reduced her. Beſides, it was

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well known, that *Hannibal* earneſtly preſſed *Antiochus* to put him at the Head of ten thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe, and ſuffer him to tranſport himſelf with them into *Italy*, there to renew the War, even in the Boſom of the Republick.

All theſe Hopes therefore encouraged the *Ætolians*; and they broke out at once. They had choſen for their Head a factious Man, and ſworn Enemy to the *Romans*, named *Thoas*. He aſſembled a general Diet of the Nation at *Naupactus*; there ſtirred up all the Deputies; and conveyed his own Hatred to *Rome*, into all their Breaſts. *We have*, ſaid he, *a new Sort of Tyrants come to us from the Weſtern Countries, who are more to be dreaded than thoſe whoſe Barbarity we have hitherto experienced. The* Romans, *the more effectually to deſtroy us, join Artifice with their Cruelty. How much* Grecian *Blood have they ſpilt in* Theſſaly *and* Peloponneſus? *And yet they cheat us with the ſpecious Words of Liberty and Freedom. They would even put Fetters on our Minds; and under Appearances of Friendſhip, really aim at nothing but getting the Dominion over us. As for* Ætolia *in particular,* Flamininus *did what he could to debaſe her. She ought to have held the firſt Rank, among the* Greek *Nations. But* Rome *has both leſſened our Limits, and ſunk our Intereſt. Are theſe the Rewards we were to expect, for the many Battels in which we bore the greateſt Part? Let us then ſhake off the Alliance with the* Romans, *and form a new Confederacy againſt them. When* Philip, Nabis, *and eſpecially* Antiochus, *are joined with us, the Confederates will be ſtrong enough, to bring down the proud Republick to nothing.*

All the Aſſembly imbibed *Thoas*'s Prejudices; and they ordered, that Deputies ſhould be ſent to all the Princes, who were diſſatisfied with the *Romans*, to ſtir them up to War. *Damocritus* ſet out for *Lacedæmon*, *Nicander* for *Macedon*, and *Dicæarchus* for *Syria*. The firſt was ordered to make *Nabis* ſenſible of the Contempt into which he was ſunk, ſince the Departure of the *Romans*. His State was reduced to nothing, and *Achaia* was ſole Miſtreſs in *Peloponneſus*. By being deprived of his Ports, *Nabis* was deprived of the Riches he formerly got by Commerce; and being ſhut up within the Walls of *Lacedæmon*, he was become a King only in Name. The ſecond was inſtructed to tell *Philip*, that he never would have a finer Opportunity to recover himſelf out of the low Condition to which the *Romans* had reduced him. The Conqueſts of *Alexander the Great*, and his victorious Progreſs quite to the *Indies*, were alſo deemed proper Topicks, to awaken the Jealouſy of the *Macedonian*. The Compariſon of his preſent State, with the Condition in which he was before the Arrival of the *Romans*, was enough of itſelf, to put him in Motion. But *Nicander* was alſo ordered to aſſure him, That the Propoſal of the *Ætolians* was not chimerical; That *Antiochus* was preparing to come into *Europe* with invincible Troops; That *Hannibal*, whoſe Name ſtruck ſuch Terror into the *Romans*, aſſiſted him with his Advice and perſonal Service; That the courageous *Ætolians* would join with him; and laſtly, That it was not poſſible for *Rome* to reſiſt ſo many Enemies. The third Envoy had Inſtructions to encourage *Antiochus* to deſpiſe the inſolent Orders of the *Romans*, to engage him to come into *Europe*, and to magnify to him the Forces of *Ætolia*. They were to aſſure him, *That without the* Ætolians, *the* Romans *could never have come into* Greece; *That when they were there, they never could have conquered* Philip *without their Aſſiſtance*: *That the Troops they would join with his, would be numerous, and well-diſciplined*; *and That* Ætolia *would amply furniſh him, both with Proviſions for his Soldiers, and Ports for his Fleets*. Nay, *Dicæarchus* was alſo charged to deceive the King of *Syria*, with a Lye. He was commanded to tell him, That *Philip* and *Nabis* had already ſigned the Confederacy. In this manner did the *Ætolian* Diet ſow the Seeds of War, as much as they could, in all the Countries of the Eaſt.

Liv. B. 35. c. 12.

§. XLV. But nevertheleſs, *Philip* and *Antiochus* were not haſty in coming to a Determination. *Nabis* alone was in a Hurry, to exceed the Limits *Rome* had ſet him. He cauſed Inſurrections to be raiſed in the maritime Cities, which he had been obliged to give up, by the Treaty of Peace. The *Achaians* had Garriſons in them, and he endeavoured to drive them out. Nay, the Tyrant even beſieged *Gythium*, an important maritime City, which *Flamininus* had taken from him. The Siege was long; and *Nabis* conducted it in Perſon. So that theſe

Hoſtilities of the *Lacedæmonian* obliged the *Achæans* to have recourſe to *Rome*; and they ſent an Embaſſy thither, to complain of the unexpected Commotions raiſed by a petty King, who troubled the general Peace of *Greece*. *Nabis* had alſo endeavoured to perſuade the principal Lords of *Lacedæmon* to join in his Revolt againſt *Rome*; and all thoſe who oppoſed him in it, were cruelly maſſacred. Complaints, which made the Senate ſenſible that a War would ſoon break out in the Eaſt.

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As for *Antiochus*, he, without declaring himſelf openly, made Preparations privately for the War he was reſolved to proclaim with the *Romans*. But his Deſigns were not unknown in *Rome*. *The Conſcript Fathers* therefore, in order to ſuſpend the Effects of a Conſpiracy, into which all *Greece* ſeemed to be entered; and in order to enquire into the State of Affairs upon the Spot; thought it neceſſary to ſend Ambaſſadors to the King of *Syria*, with Orders likewiſe to viſit all the Coaſts of *Aſia*, and *Greece*, and ſee the Kings and Republicks which ſeemed wavering. Three Men, who had already been employed in Negotiations in the Eaſt, were pitched upon for this Embaſſy. Theſe were *P. Sulpicius*, *P. Villius*, and *P. Ælius*, three of the Council of ten, who had formerly ſettled the Peace in *Greece*, and *Macedon*. As for *Scipio Africanus*, he ſeems to have joined himſelf to them, of his own Accord, without any Commiſſion for it. *Rome* ſeldom ſent more than three Ambaſſadors together. Perhaps *Scipio*, uneaſy at the Preference which had been given to *Flamininus*, in the laſt *Comitia*, was glad to get out of *Rome*. Or perhaps, he might have a Deſire to confer with *Hannibal*, in order to draw him off from *Antiochus*. Or laſtly, he might be willing to abſent himſelf for ſome time from a City, where his Preſence had leſſened his Intereſt. But be that as it will, it is certain *Scipio* ſet out for the *Levant*. *Antiochus* in the mean time, after he had ſpent the Winter at [149] *Raphia* in *Phœnicia*, began his march; but before he left that Place, he ſent young [150] *Antiochus*, one of his Sons, to the fartheſt Part of his Dominions, to govern there, and preſerve them againſt the moſt diſtant Enemies. As for himſelf, he led his Forces towards *Pamphylia*; and as he paſſed, reduced the *Piſidians* [151], and made himſelf Maſter of all the Country round about *Selga* [152], a City on the Banks of the River [153] *Ceſtrius*. And about this time, *Antiochus the Great* made it his Buſineſs to marry the three Princeſſes his Daughters. *Cleopatra* had been ſome time ſince promiſed to *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, King of *Egypt*; and the Nuptials had been ſolemnized, during *Antiochus*'s ſtay in *Phœnicia*. The Princeſs's Portion was *Cœlo-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Judæa*, and *Samaria*; but upon this hard Condition, That the Revenues of theſe four Regions ſhould be equally divided between the Father-in-Law, and the Son-in-Law. Indeed, *Antiochus* had given *Cleopatra* to *Ptolomy*, only in order to dethrone him. But the virtuous Queen preferred the Regard ſhe owed her Husband, to the ambitious Deſigns of her Father. The ſecond Daughter of King *Antiochus*, named *Antiochis*, was ſent to [154] *Cappadocia*, where ſhe married *Ariarathes*, the King of that fine Country: And the third was deſigned for *Eumenes*, King of *Pergamus*. All theſe Alliances

App. in Syriacis. Livy B. 35. c. 13.

Joſephus B. 12. c. 3. Appian in Syriacis. N. 88.

149 *Strabo* and *Livy* place *Raphia* in *Phœnicia*. But ſtrictly ſpeaking it belonged to *Paleſtine*, and was near *Gaza*. *Ptolomy* makes it a City of *Samaria*; and *Pliny* of *Idumea*.

150 *Antiochus the Great* had, beſides *Seleucus*, two other Sons, who were both named *Antiochus*. The firſt who is here ſpoken of, had married his own Siſter *Laodice*, with his Father's Conſent. The other was the famous *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *Epiphanes*, whom we ſhall ſee reign, after his Brother *Seleucus*.

151 The *Piſidians* inhabited that Country of *Aſia Minor*, which is bounded to the North, by *Galatia* and *Phrygia Major*, which are divided by Mount *Taurus*; to the Eaſt, by *Lycaonia*; and to the South, by *Pamphylia*. *Leunclavius* ſays, the *Turks* call it *Verſagheli*.

152 The Name of *Selga* is corrupted in moſt Copies of *Livy*. *Gelenius* gueſſes the Hiſtorian meant the City of *Selga*, which ſtood on a Mountain near the Confines of *Pamphylia*. For this Reaſon ſome Geographers make it to belong to that Province. It is called *Philadelphia*, by *Niger*. *Glarean* has corrected the Words *Sicam* and *Sitam*, which we find in the Text, and put *Sidam* inſtead of it. *Sida* was a City of *Pamphylia* near *Piſidia*, and not far from the Mouth of the River *Eurymedon*. It is now only a little City, which ſtands on an Eminence. *Thevet* calls it *Candalor*.

153 The River *Ceſtrius*, or *Ceſtrus*, riſes in Mount *Taurus*, towards the extreme Parts of *Iſauria*. It runs through *Piſidia* and *Pamphylia*, and diſcharges itſelf into *The Attalic Gulph*, or *The Gulph of Sattalia*.

154 *Cappadocia* formerly contained all that great Region, which was bounded to the North, by the *Euxine* Sea; to the Weſt, by *Galatia* and *Paphlagonia*; to the Eaſt, by *Armenia*, and *Colchis*; and was divided from *Cilicia*, to the South, by Mount *Taurus*. According to *Strabo* it was formerly divided into two *Satrapiæ*. The moſt conſiderable was called *Great Cappadocia*, and the other *Ponto-Cappadocia*, or *Bridge-Cappadocia*.

were

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were making by the *Syrian*, only in order to facilitate his carrying on the War with the *Romans*. By marrying his eldeſt Daughter to the King of *Egypt*, he expected to have made *Ptolomy* ſtand neuter; and his View, in deſigning the youngeſt for *Eumenes*, was to draw off this brave Prince from his old Alliance with *Rome*. To this end he cauſed the Affair to be propoſed to the King of *Pergamus*; and his two Brothers, *Phileteres*, and *Attalus*, thought this an honourable and an advantageous Match. But the young King himſelf judged otherwiſe of it. He preferred the Alliance of the *Romans* before that of *Antiochus*. *Sooner or later*, ſaid he to his Brothers, *the Republick will overcome the* Syrian. *I know the Conſtancy and Valour of the* Romans. *The firſt Expeditions may turn to the Advantage of* Antiochus, *but in the long run*, Rome *will prevail. And then I ſhall continue Maſter of my Dominions; and it will be my Glory, to have ſhared that of the* Romans. *On the contrary, if* Antiochus *ſhould happen to get the better, my being his Son-in-Law, will not prevent his ſwallowing up my Kingdom. He will perhaps, out of Pity, leave me upon the Throne; but he will require ſuch Subjection and Tribute from me, as will take away all the Pleaſure of reigning.*

THESE wiſe Reflections made *Eumenes* reject the Offers, and refuſe the Daughter, of the King of *Syria*. He ſtill continued attached to the *Romans*; and his Dominions continued to be an Inlet for the Republick into *Aſia*. Accordingly, the *Roman* Ambaſſadors, and *Scipio Africanus*, landed at *Elea* [155], in the Kingdom of *Pergamus*; and there found King *Eumenes* determined to take up Arms againſt *Antiochus*.

Livy B. 35. c. 13.

§. XLVI. THE King of *Pergamus* was well ſatisfied, that he ſhould have a bad Neighbour in the King of *Syria*, if there ſhould be a Peace; and that in caſe of War, it would be as diſadvantageous to the *Syrian*, as it had been to the King of *Macedon*. He took it for granted, that when *Antiochus* ſhould come to ſink under the *Roman* Arms, he ſhould ſhare the Spoils; and have his State ſufficiently augmented, to ſecure it for ever againſt the Enterprizes of his Neighbours. With theſe Views he preſſed the Ambaſſadors as much as poſſible, not to give themſelves any further Trouble about *Antiochus*. He was ſtill at *Piſidia*; and *Hannibal* was waiting for him at *Epheſus*. Thither therefore *Villius* and *Scipio* came to [156] viſit this famous *Carthaginian* General. During the Peace, they were allowed to pay each other reciprocal Civilities. Beſides, the Senate of *Rome* had ordered their Ambaſſadors to gain over *Hannibal* by Careſſes; or at leaſt, to make *Antiochus* ſuſpect him, on account of the good Intelligence that there ſhould appear to be between the *Romans* and him. And in the laſt of theſe Deſigns they ſucceeded. *Scipio* and *Villius* were continually with the *Carthaginian*: And they firſt reproached him tenderly, with his flight from *Carthage*. *Rome*, ſaid they, *would have ſupported you againſt the Plots of the Faction, that are your Enemies. In brave Minds, Enmities die with War; but Eſteem ſurvives it. You devoted your ſelf entirely to the Defence of your Country. What have you not done for her?* Italy *therefore will for ever remember your Exploits; and* Rome *to this Day never ſpeaks of you, but with Commendation. The Terror which you ſtruck into her, is changed into Admiration. Return then,* Hannibal, *Return to your tutelary and domeſtick Gods. Go rule at* Carthage, *and depend on the Protection of the* Romans, *who are your ſincere Friends.* Theſe Praiſes and Proteſtations ſoothed the Hero's Vanity. *Hannibal* was pleaſed with them; but he was not caught by them. He loved to ſee the greateſt Men in the *Roman* Republick pay Court to him. *Scipio* and the *Carthaginian* converſed very frequently together; and always with great Civility on both ſides. *Hannibal* often went out, and appeared in publick with him. One Day it happened, that they went together to a *Gymnaſium*, where a great Number of *Epheſians* were aſſembled. This was a publick Place for walking; and the People came in Crowds round theſe two Heroes, whoſe Fame was ſpread all over the World.

Liv. ibid.

Liv. ibid.

App. in Syriacis. N. 91. Zonaras, B. 9. c. 18. Juſtin, B. 1. and others.

155 *Elea* bordered upon *Great Myſia*, about twenty thouſand geometrical * Paces from *Pergamus*. It ſtood on the Shore of the *Ægean* Sea, near the Mouth of the River *Caicus*, over againſt *Metelina*, and had a pretty convenient Port. It is now only a ſmall Town, which *Molet* calls *Alea*. The Sea which divided this ancient City from *Lesbos*, was called *The Gulph of Elea*.

* *About nine teen* Engliſh *Miles*, Arbuthnot.

156 *Livy* quotes *Claudius Quadrigarius* in proof of the Interview between *Scipio* and *Hannibal*; and he built it upon the Authority of *Acilius*, the Author of *The Greek Annals*, mentioned by *Plutarch* in his *Life of Romulus*. *Claudius* had tranſlated them from *Greek* into *Latin*, according to *Plutarch*.

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C. Livius ap. Liv. B. 35. c. 14.

They were delighted to hear their Converſation; which *Scipio* then turned on the Merit of Great Commanders; and asked, whom *Hannibal* thought the greateſt. The *Carthaginian*, without Heſitation, declared for *Alexander the Great*; and this Determination did not at all pleaſe *Scipio*, whoſe Countenance began to change. Neverthelefs, he replied, *And who do you think deſerves the ſecond Place?* Pyrrhus; replied *Hannibal. No Man ever better underſtood how to encamp, and how to form an Army; and he was remarkable for Boldneſs, above any General in the World.* This was another Mortification to *Scipio*; but ſtill he went on, *And who do you place next to theſe two Heroes?* The *Roman* doubtleſs hoped, that *Hannibal* would at leaſt do him the Juſtice to name him third. But, to his great Surprize, the *Carthaginian* named himſelf; and gave his Reaſon for it. However, the *Roman* diſcovered his Surprize no otherwiſe than by a Sneer; and with great Compoſure ſaid, *In what Place then would you have put yourſelf, if you had overcome me?* To which the *Carthaginian* readily replied, *Above Alexander.* And this Anſwer, equivocal as it was, ſatisfied *Scipio.* He took it in good Part; and interpreted it in his own Favour. He flattered himſelf, that *Hannibal's* Meaning was, that he would have put him above all; and raiſed his own Conqueror above the Conqueror of *Darius* and of *Aſia.* The Perſons preſent thought this ingenious Flattery. *Hannibal*, without leſſening himſelf, kept the Place which he had given himſelf; and at the ſame time appeaſed the Reſentment of a Rival, who, till then, thought himſelf affronted. From that time, *Scipio* and *Villius* lodged in the ſame Houſe with *Hannibal*; and their Civilities were improved into a Familiarity.

BUT as ſagacious as the *Carthaginian* was, he may be juſtly charged with a Want of Foreſight in one Particular, which was of great Importance to him. He did not foreſee the ill Conſequences of his converſing ſo publickly with the Envoys of *Rome. Antiochus* was informed of it in *Piſidia*, where he yet reſided; and from that time, ſuſpected him. The King fancied that the *Carthaginian* had reconciled himſelf to *Rome*, and no longer confided in him. He was no more entruſted as uſual, with the Care of preparing all things for the War. Neverthelefs, *Antiochus* did not lay aſide his Deſign. He underſtood that *Villius* and his Collegues had left *Epheſus*, and were gone to *Apamea* [157] in *Phrygia*, there to wait for him; and upon this Intelligence the King came thither, and did not decline an Interview which might turn to his Advantage.

§. XLVII. As for the *Romans*, they were too proud to be willing to abate any thing of their firſt Pretenſions. They ſtill inſiſted on the *Syrian's* confining himſelf to *Aſia*, giving up ſome Cities which he was in Poſſeſſion of, and renouncing all his Rights in *Europe*, particularly to *The Cherſoneſus*, and *Thrace*. So that the Conference between the King and the *Roman* Ambaſſadors was a warm, but not a long one. A melancholy Piece of News which the *Syrian* received put an End to it. He heard that young *Antiochus* his Son was dead. He was a very promiſing Prince, and had ſignalized himſelf by a Conduct worthy of an Hero. The Grief of *Antiochus* at the Loſs of him, was alſo the more heavy, becauſe the Reports ſpread abroad of the Death of the Son, were very much to the Diſhonour of the Father. It was affirmed, that young *Antiochus* had been poiſoned by the Eunuchs of his Court, by his Father's Order. It was ſaid that the King, now in the Decline of Life, could not ſee a young Prince attract the Eyes, and merit the Eſteem of all Nations, without Jealouſy. The very Thought of a Succeſſor, is ſaid to have wounded him to the Heart. Beſides, it was affirmed, that the King had ſurrendered up *Lyſimachia* to *Seleucus* his other Son, and had given him the reſt of his Dominions in *Europe*; and that he was afraid young *Antiochus* would ſeize the Provinces in *Aſia.* But the Calumny anſwered it ſelf. The *Syrian* had Countries enough left to have given one, in his Life-time, to young *Antiochus.* Neverthelefs, the Suſpicions prevailed, in ſpight of Evidence, and it was neceſſary to remove them by Demonſtrations of an extraordinary Grief. The Ambaſſadors of *Rome* were therefore diſmiſſed without concluding any thing, and returned to *Pergamus.*

[157] There were ſeveral Cities in *Aſia* called *Apamea*, all ſaid to be founded by *Seleucus Nicator.* That which *Livy* mentions here had the Surname of *Cibotos*, and was before called *Celæna.* It ſtood in *Great Phrygia*, on the Banks of the *Marſias*, which runs into the *Meander*. It is now called *Apamis.*

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THE King of *Syria* continued his Rout, and came to *Epheſus*. And there *Hannibal* was ſenſible how far he was from being the ſame Favourite as formerly. Under Pretence of Solitude, *Antiochus* ſhut himſelf up in his Palace, and refuſed the *Carthaginian* General Admittance to him. The King continued there, with only *Minio*, his ſole Confident; and ſpent his whole time there, in ſecret Councils. *Minio* was a Courtier, who knew little of foreign Affairs, and judged of the future War with the *Romans*, only by the Victories of his Maſter in the Eaſt. The Defeats of [158] *Achæus*, *Molon* and *Alexander*, one at *Sardis*, the other two in [159] *Media*, beyond the [160] *Tigris*; and the Conqueſt of the Provinces taken from the King of *Egypt*; gave *Minio* Hopes that he ſhould ſee the *Romans* humbled. And laſtly, the Name of *The Great*, which *Antiochus* had acquired by his Conqueſts in the two *Aſia's*, made him expect a conſtant and uninterrupted Proſperity. Being therefore big with theſe Expectations, *Minio* deſired his Maſter to bring the *Roman* Ambaſſadors from *Pergamus* to *Epheſus*; and he undertook to anſwer them. The King was indeed tired with ſo many uſeleſs Conferences; and his Mourning was a juſt Excuſe for his treating with *Rome*, for the future, only by his Favourite. *Villius* and his Collegues therefore came to *Epheſus*; and there the proud *Minio* accoſted them with more Haughtineſs than *Antiochus* himſelf would have done. *Hear me*, Romans, ſaid he, *and confeſs, that Equity at leaſt, and Reaſon, are on our Side. And we will leave the reſt to the Gods. Is it not true, that your only Pretence for declaring War with us, is the pretended Liberty you would procure for the* Greek *Cities, both in* Europe, *and* Aſia? *On this account, you ſet Bounds to the King of* Syria; *forbid him returning to his Provinces in* Europe; *and pretend to make him evacuate ſome Places of which he is Maſter.* Aſia, Ionia, *and* Æolis *are, ſay you, full of* Colonies *founded by the* Greeks; *and they likewiſe have a Right to the* GENERAL LIBERTY *of* Greece. *But does not* Rome *herſelf act directly contrary to this pretty Speculation? Are there not Cities in your Continent of* Italy, *which are as much* Grecian, *as thoſe in* Aſia? *Were not* Rhegium, Naples, *and* Tarentum, *built by* Greeks? *And yet, have you included them in this general Enfranchiſement? Don't you keep them under Subjection to you? Nay, is not all* Sicily *inhabited by* Greeks, *and at the ſame time governed by your Laws? You govern it by* Prætors *ſent thither annually, and ſtrike Terror into the People with your* Lictors, *armed with* Axes *and* Faſces. *What? can you keep the Eaſtern Part of* Italy, *and the fineſt Iſland in the Sea in Slavery, without any Infringement on the general Liberty of* Greece; *and cannot* Antiochus *keep* Ionia, Æolis, *and* Thrace *under his Juriſdiction? What is the Difference between the Slavery of* Smyrna *and* Lampſacus, *on one Part, and that of* Tarentum *and* Syracuſe *on the other? The Right* Antiochus *has to* Ionia, Æolis, *and* Thrace, *was derived to him from his Anceſtors. Whereas* Rome *owes her Poſſeſſion of* Great Greece *in* Italy, *and of all* Sicily, *only to her Conqueſts. The Caſe then is at leaſt equal. Don't chicane with us; but give me a direct Anſwer to this Queſtion. Why don't you preſerve the Liberty of the Weſtern* Greeks, *ſince you are ſo zealous for that of the Eaſtern?* At theſe Words *Sulpicius*, one of the Ambaſſadors, aſſumed the Diſcourſe, and ſaid, *If* Antiochus *has no better Reaſons to urge againſt us, he has done wiſely to treat with us only by his Miniſter. How wide is the Difference between the Right the* Romans *have to* Rhegium, Tarentum, Naples *and* Sicily, *and that of* Antiochus *to* Ionia, Æolis, *and* Thrace! Rome *has conſtantly had Poſſeſſion of the* Greek *Cities ſhe ſtill retains without any Interruption.* Tarentum *and* Syracuſe, *for inſtance, have never gone into other Hands ſince we firſt conquered them. But is this the Caſe of the* Greek *Regions which* Antiochus *poſſeſſes, or aſpires at? His Anceſtors did conquer them, I grant it; but how many Changes have they undergone ſince that time? Some have become ſubject to* Philip, *or* Ptolomy. *Others have recovered their firſt Liberty; which ſome would now rob them of. Can then any thing be more juſt than to reſtore it to them? Shall we have come ſo far, and have ſpent*

Liv. B. 35 c. 16.

158 *Achæus*, *Alexander*, and *Molon*, had ſeized the fineſt Provinces in *Aſia*, (of which *Seleucus* had made them Governours;) and thereby robbed their Sovereign *Antiochus* of his Right. But the entire Defeat, and tragical End, of the three Uſurpers, reſtored Peace to *Syria*. See *Polybius*.

159 *Media* was that vaſt Country which lay between the Country of the *Parthians*, *Hircania*, *Great Armenia*, *Aſſyria*, and *The Caſpian* Sea.

160 The *Tigris*, ſo famous for its Rapidity, riſes in the Mountains of *Armenia Major*, and runs into the *Euphrates*, after it has loſt itſelf for a conſiderable Length under Ground. It divides *Meſopotamia* from *Aſſyria*.

ſuch immenſe Sums in conquering Philip; *to ſit down tamely at laſt, and ſee a Part of* Greece *enſlaved a-new, by King* Antiochus?

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BUT after all, it muſt be owned, that the Reaſoning of the *Roman* was more ſpecious, than ſolid. If the Anceſtors of the King of *Syria* conquered *Ionia*, *Æolis*, and *Thrace*, juſtly; the unjuſt Poſſeſſors who uſurped them afterwards could not deſtroy his Right to them. An unjuſt Detention does not prejudice an ancient and legal Poſſeſſion. So that, all things conſidered, the War *Rome* made with *Syria*, was not ſo much founded in Juſtice, as in Ambition.

NEVERTHELESS *Minio*, by his Maſter's Order, was willing to give up to the *Romans*, his Juriſdiction over ſome *Greek* Cities in *Aſia*. He offered to reſtore Liberty to the Iſland of *Rhodes*, to *Biſantium*, and to [161] *Cyzicus*. He alſo conſented that theſe Nations ſhould be admitted into the *Roman* Confederacy. Which was more than *Rome* had Reaſon to expect. Yet ſtill the Ambaſſadors were not ſatisfied. They abſolutely inſiſted, That *Ionia* and *Æolis* ſhould partake of the Liberty *Rome* had procured *Greece*; and this being oppoſed by *Antiochus*, they departed, and returned to *Italy* in as great Uncertainty as they came, with reſpect to the Event.

App. in Syriac. N. 92.

Liv. B. 35. *c.* 17.

§. XLVIII. AFTER this, *Minio* gave Audience to the Deputies of ſome *Greek* Cities, which again demanded their Liberty; and of which *Smyrna* and *Lampſacus* were the chief. King *Eumenes* had long ſince inſtructed theſe Envoys to inſiſt abſolutely on their Deliverance. The *Pergamenian* was for War. Accordingly, the Deputies contended for their Rights with Warmth and Animoſity; and at length the Conference ended in Clamours. So that all theſe reciprocal Diſcontents ſeemed to forebode an approaching War between *Rome* and *Syria*.

Livy, ibid.

And indeed, *Antiochus* delayed not to call a Council of War of the chief Officers in his Armies, as well Foreigners as *Syrian*. *Hannibal* only was excluded from it. His too familiar Conferences with *Scipio* and *Villius* had made him ſuſpected. The Queſtion *Antiochus* had to propoſe to the Council was, Whether it was proper to make War with the *Romans*. And they all were of the King's Opinion. They knew, that to inveigh againſt *Rome*, and to cry out, *To Arms*, was an effectual Way to make their Court. Some therefore inſiſted on the Injuſtice of the *Roman* Ambaſſadors; and charged them with inſupportable Pride. *This*, ſaid theſe Courtiers, *is treating the King of* Syria *with as little Regard as the Tyrant of* Lacedæmon. *Whereas* Antiochus *is a powerful and victorious Monarch*; Nabis *a petty vanquiſhed Prince, who is deprived of his Dominions*. Others lay little Streſs on the Loſs of *Smyrna*, and *Lampſacus*; but thought it ſhameful to give them up, and dangerous to open a Way for more conſiderable Demands, by ſurrendering them. *Alexander of Acarnania* was then in the Council. He had formerly joined with *Philip* againſt the *Romans*; and ſince the Defeat of the *Macedonian* King, had followed the King of *Syria*. He underſtood the State of *Greece*, and was not ignorant of the Affairs of *Rome*; and had thereby ſo far gained the Friendſhip of *Antiochus*, as to be admitted into his ſecret Councils. And as this Head of the *Acarnanians* now looked on the War with *Rome* as a thing determined; his Advice wholly related to the proper Meaſures to be taken, in order to it, and the proper Place to begin Hoſtilities. Europe, *and* Greece *in particular*, ſaid he, *ought to be the Seat of the War. If you make it ſo, the Victory is not to be doubted. There you will find the* Ætolians, *who are ſituated in the Middle of* Greece, *already in Arms. And as to the Ends of it*; Nabis *is in one, making Efforts to recover his maritime Towns, and again get Poſſeſſion of* Argi; *and* Philip *will take up Arms in the other, the Moment you arrive. I know him. He is like a Lion in Chains, and will fall furiouſly on the Tyrants who oppreſs him, the Moment he is ſet at Liberty. How often have I heard him lament your being at ſo great a Diſtance! Draw near to him, my Lord, and you will ſee him inſtantly rebell. As for* Hannibal, *it is moſt adviſable to ſend him back to his own Country. His Preſence alone will keep the* Romans *there in Awe, and increaſe their Suſpicions*. Perhaps, indeed, the Hopes of being Commander in Chief of the Armies of

Liv. B. 35. *c.* 18.

Livy, ibid.

[161] *Cyzicus* was one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in *Myſia*, towards the Mouth of the *Hellſpont*, upon the Coaſt of *The Propontis*. *Corradus* calls it *Spiga*. The Mariners call it *Spinga*, and the neighbouring Promontory *The Cape of Spinga*. *Lennclavius* thinks its Situation agrees better with that of *Palormo*.

Antiochus,

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Antiochus, were *Alexander*'s Motive to ſay theſe laſt Words. But be that as it will, the King of *Syria*, from that time, reſolved to declare War with the *Romans*.

§. XLIX. In the mean time, *Hannibal* plainly ſaw, by the King's Behaviour to him, that he had taken Umbrage at his Conduct; and it was neceſſary to undeceive him. To this End, the *Carthaginian*, in a private Audience, which he obtained with Difficulty, gave him the following Account of his Life, from his Infancy. *I was ſcarce nine Years old*, ſaid he, *when I began to be an irreconcileable Enemy to the* Romans. Hamilcar *my Father made me ſwear upon the Altars, that I would never lay aſide my Hatred to* Rome, *but with my Life; and I have ever acted ſuitably to thoſe Oaths. I have made War with theſe Republicans for thirty Years together; and had not now left my native Country, but to keep up the more ſtrictly to thoſe Engagements. It was the earneſt Deſire of fighting with the* Romans, *that brought me to you. If you diſdain my Aſſiſtance, I will go and offer my ſelf to any King upon Earth, that will but employ me againſt the Republick I deteſt. I will be gone from you, my Lord, and leave the Place I ought to have near you, to Courtiers, who ſeek my Ruin, only to aggrandize themſelves. But at the ſame time, I ſwear by the Gods, and by the* Manes *of* Hamilcar *my Father, that I moſt ſincerely hate the* Romans, *and they me. If you want a Flatterer, who will adviſe you to Peace, you muſt not conſult me. I ſeek for nothing but War; and if I cannot find it here, I will be gone.* Theſe Words in a great meaſure reconciled *Antiochus* to *Hannibal*; but not to ſuch a Degree as to make him implicit to him. And then the *Carthaginian* told the King, that he did not approve of the Advice that *Alexander of Acarnania* had given. *No, my Lord*, ſaid he, *the Place where they adviſe you to make War, is not a proper one. It is not in* Greece, *but in* Italy *itſelf, that you ought to make yourſelf formidable. The* Romans *are invincible every where, but in the Continent where they live. You muſt employ the Forces of the* Italians, *againſt the Maſters of* Italy. *Indeed, any other Nation but the* Roman *would find it difficult to tranſport their Troops into the Eaſt. But this Republick will tire you out, even here, with her Conſtancy. The* Romans *will come hither in Crowds, and over-run theſe Countries, like a Torrent, in a few Months. This* Philip *knows too well, by Experience. You will at firſt take Cities, and lay Countries waſte. But this tranſient Succeſs will, in the End, coſt you dear. It ſignifies little to begin well, unleſs you end with Glory. It is in* Italy *only, that you can fight* Rome *with her own Forces. The Inundation of a River is moſt eaſily ſtopped at the Spring-head. I have already taken the Liberty, my Lord, to demonſtrate this to you in private; and now I am not afraid to repeat the ſame things in publick, in the Face of your Court. Have I not ſome Right to teach your Generals how they ought to make War with the* Romans? *They are invincible out of their own Country; but they may be overcome in their own Continent. Witneſs the* Gauls, *who made themſelves Maſters of their City, and to this Day harraſs them with perpetual Hoſtilities. And perhaps it may be pardonable in me, if I mention myſelf, as an Inſtance of it. The* Romans *could never reduce me, as long as I kept my Footing in their Territories. But* Carthage *recalled me; and I met with a Conqueror in* Africa, *who would not have been able to have done me ſo much Miſchief in* Italy.

THIS Diſcourſe would have made a laſting Impreſſion on *Antiochus*, if the many Flatterers about him had not ſtifled it. Not that *Hannibal*'s Enemies themſelves could deny his Scheme to be better than theirs. But theſe ſelfiſh Courtiers were afraid of ſeeing the *Carthaginian* at the Head of a *Syrian* Army. This Diſtinction and Superiority would have made them uneaſy. Beſides, the King had long harboured in his Breaſt, a Diſlike to *Hannibal*. Thro' ſome ſtrange Fit of ſecret Jealouſy, he was afraid his Glory would be leſſened, by the Succeſs of a Foreigner. And well was it for the *Romans*, that this ridiculous Fear of *Antiochus*, or any thing elſe, could overturn *Hannibal*'s Deſign of carrying the War into *Italy*. He would there have found ſome *Bruttii*, *Salentini*, *Lucani*, and *Samnites*, very ready to join him. The greateſt Part of the Eaſt of *Italy* would have followed his Standards; whilſt the *Gauls* in the Weſt would, by continual Attacks, have obliged the *Romans* to divide their Forces. So that the Republick would have relapſed into the ſame Dangers from which *Scipio* had delivered her. And who knows, whether *Carthage* would not have recovered from her low State? It is very probable *Syria*

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Syria would have ſupplied *Hannibal* with Succours more ſeaſonably, and conſtantly, than *Africa* had formerly done. But Providence averted the Storm that threatened *Rome*. Tho' the *Romans* were a little degenerated from their ancient Probity, yet, all things conſidered, they were ſtill the moſt virtuous People in the Gentile World.

§. L. It was reſolved in the Eaſt, to declare War with the *Romans*; but it was not yet known at *Rome*, what Part *Antiochus* would take. And this Uncertainty made the *Romans* ſecure. They made no Preparations for the War in the *Levant*; till at length *Scipio* and the three Ambaſſadors returned, and made them take ſome Meaſures to prevent the Evils that threatened *Rome*, on the Side of *Greece*. The two *Prætors* lately ordered for *Spain*, were [162] countermanded. Theſe were *M. Bæbius Tamphilus*, and *A. Attilius Serranus*. By an Order of the Senate and People; the former was put at the Head of two *Legions* [163], which he led towards the Country of the *Bruttii*, to guard the Eaſtern Parts of *Italy*. And the ſecond was made Admiral [164] of a Fleet which was ordered to guard the Coaſts of *Greece*, againſt the Hoſtilities of the Tyrant *Nabis*. This King of *Lacedæmon* was then buſy in re-taking *Gythium*, a City formerly ſubject to him, but taken from him by *Flamininus*. Beſides, Rumours were ſpread, that *Antiochus* would perhaps begin the War in *Sicily*. All theſe Conſiderations put the Republick in Motion. She ordered that *Attilius* ſhould immediately cauſe thirty *Quinqueremes* to be built, equip thoſe old Galleys which were fit for Service, and furniſh them with Rowers. At the ſame time, Orders were ſent to *Bæbius*, to march towards *Tarentum* and *Bruſium*, there to be in a Readineſs to embark his Troops for the *Levant*, if there ſhould be Occaſion. Thirty Ships were ſent to *Valerius*, the *Prætor* in *Sicily*, to defend his [165] Iſland; and with them, Orders to raiſe twelve thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe, with all Expedition, to guard the Coaſts of *Sicily*. And laſtly, the Great *Flamininus*, who had pacified *Greece*, ſet out for that Country. Three Collegues [166] embarked with him, with no other Quality but that of Envoys of the Republick. And *Rome* was ſoon ſenſible of what Advantage it was to her to have made theſe prudent Regulations ſo early. During theſe Tranſactions, *Attalus*, the Brother of the King of *Pergamus*, came thither; confirmed the publick Reports; and brought the News, That *Antiochus* had paſſed the *Helleſpont* with an Army, That the *Ætolians* were waiting for him under Arms, and That the War was juſt going to begin. The *Romans* thought themſelves obliged to *Eumenes* for his Intelligence, and received his Brother with Honour. *Rome* furniſhed him with Lodgings, and a Table, during his Stay, at her own Expence; and made him very fine Preſents [167].

When *Flamininus* arrived in *Greece*, he found *Nabis* yet engaged in the Siege of *Gythium*. And not content with endeavouring to recover his ancient Dominions, he made continual War with the *Achæans*. The Tyrant could not forgive them the Injury they had done him, in putting *Achæan* Garriſons into the Places which he had been forced to deliver up. He ravaged their Lands, and plundered the Country. The *Achæans* therefore, in a general Diet held at *Sicyon*, judged it neceſſary to have Recourſe to *Flamininus*, and deſire his Advice. The Diet was for taking up Arms immediately, and repulſing the *Lacedæmonians* by Force. But *Flamininus* adviſed them to tarry till the *Roman* Fleet arrived, and the Troops were landed, which the *Prætor Bæbius* was ordered to bring to their Aſſiſtance. Nevertheleſs, the Diet was ſtill in Suſpence what Part to act. *Philopœmenes* preſided in it; and the *Achaian* Lords were of different Opinions. Some

162 So that the Command of the Troops in *Hither* and *Further Spain*, were again given, by an extraordinary Commiſſion, to *Caius Flaminius Nepos*, and *Marcus Fulvius Nobilior*, for this Year 561.

163 Beſides theſe two *Legions*, *Bæbius Tamphilus* obtained of the Senate and People fifteen thouſand auxiliary Foot, and five hundred Horſe.

164 The Republick aſſigned *Serranus* only one thouſand *Roman* Soldiers; and the *Latin* Confederates were obliged to furniſh him with two thouſand Foot, for their Contingent.

165 The Care of aſſembling the Fleet which was to guard the Coaſt of *Sicily*, was committed to *Marcus Fulvius Centumalus*, then *Prætor Urbanus* at *Rome*: And *Lucius Oppius Salinator*, who had been *Ædile* the laſt Year, was ordered to conduct this new Armament to the *Prætor Valerius*.

166 *Caius Octavius*, *Cneius Servilius*, and *Publius Villius*, were the three Deputies which were joined with *Titus Quinctius Flamininus*.

167 Among theſe Preſents, *Livy* reckons up two Horſes, with their Furniture, Arms, and all Sorts of Neceſſaries for equipping two Horſemen; ſeveral Vaſes of Silver, which all together weighed an hundred Pounds; and ſeveral Cups of Gold, which weighed in all twenty Pounds.

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were for following *Flamininus*'s Advice; others, for falling on thoſe perfidious Aggreſſors, the *Lacedæmonians*, without Loſs of time: And they waited for the Deciſion of *Philopœmenes*. But this prudent General was not in Haſte to give his Opinion. *It is a wiſe Inſtitution of ours*, ſaid he, *that our* Prætors *ſhall not declare their Opinions, when the Aſſemblies are deliberating about a War. It is your Buſineſs to determine what to do; mine, to execute your Orders. And I will take all poſſible Care that you ſhall not repent of your Choice, whether it be for War, or Peace.* However, theſe Words more powerfully inclined the Diet to a War, than if the Preſident had openly declared for it; and they made a Decree, ordering Troops to be immediately raiſed, and leaving the Care and Conduct of the Armies to *Philopœmenes*.

Plut. Life of *Philopœm.* *Liv. B.* 35. *c.* 15

§. LI. AND now, the Brave *Achæan* made it his whole Buſineſs to oppoſe the Inſults of *Nabis*. On one hand, he thought it would be of Advantage to tarry for the Arrival of the *Roman* Fleet, according to the Advice of *Flamininus*: And on the other, he judged it might be dangerous to tarry too long, and expoſe the *Achæan* Garriſon in *Gythium* to the Rage of the Tyrant. He therefore took the middle Way, which was to aſſemble together the *Achæan* Ships, and keep them in a Readineſs for Action. With theſe, he hoped to have given the Beſieged ſome Relief, and ſuſpended the Attacks on *Gythium*, at leaſt towards the Sea. But this Deſign, tho' well concerted, required a Man better experienced in maritime Affairs than the *Achæan* General was, to put it in Execution. *Nabis* alſo had his Fleet. An inconſiderable one indeed; but ſtrong enough to keep off the Convoys which were to be ſent into *Gythium*. The few Ships he had were of a moderate Size, and well filled with Rowers, and Soldiers uſed to Sea-fights. Whereas *Philopœmenes*, tho' an incomparable Land-Officer, had had no Experience at Sea. Having been born in an Inland-Country, he had never been on board a Ship, but in order to go over to *Crete*, as a Paſſenger. He remembered, that there was in the Port of *Corinth*, an [168] old Ship, formerly ſaid to have been excellently well built, and the beſt in the Naval Armaments. And tho' ſhe was quite rotten, he ordered her to be re-fitted, and put her at the Head of the *Achæan* Galleys. *Tiro* the Admiral went on board her. But *Philopœmenes* himſelf had the Caution to embark only in a light *Felucca*. Then they ſailed for *Gythium*; and a Battel was fought in Sight of the City. One of the ſtrongeſt Ships in *Nabis*'s Fleet came firſt, and fell on the *Achæan* Admiral; and upon the firſt Attack, the old Galley was ſhattered, and leeked in many Places. It was therefore neceſſary to ſtrike to the Enemy, and prefer Captivity to Death; and after the Loſs of the moſt ſightly Ship in the *Achæan* Fleet, the reſt diſperſed. *Philopœmenes* himſelf fled, and did not ſtop till he reached the Port of [169] *Patræ*. An uſeful Leſſon for great Land-Officers! It is often a Raſhneſs in them, to deſire an equal Command at Sea, when they have had no Experience in Sea-Affairs.

Livy, B. 35. *c.* 27.

HOWEVER, the Shame of an ill-concerted Expedition did not diſcourage, but animate, the Brave *Philopœmenes*. In order to wipe off the Stain of this ill Succeſs, he longed to have his Revenge. Whilſt *Nabis*, flushed with his late Advantage, thought that no more Attempts would be made to throw any Succours into *Gythium*; and therefore he turned the Siege into a Blockade, and left only one third of his Army round the Place. With the reſt he ſeized the Places through which Succours might be moſt eaſily brought to the beſieged City; and particularly a Port called [170] *Pleiæ*, very near the Sea.

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168 This old Ship was a *Quadriremis*, which, according to *Plutarch*, had not been of any Uſe for forty Years. *Livy* ſays, ſhe had been at Sea eighty Years. She then ſailed from *Naupactus* to *Corinth*, and carried thither *Nicæa*, the Wife of *Craterus*. If this *Craterus* was the ſame who was the Son of *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, and the Brother of *Antigonus*, King of *Macedon*, ſurnamed *Gonatas*, it would be eaſy to account for the eighty Years mentioned by *Livy*. *Antigonus* reigned about the Year of *Rome* 480; and from that time to this Year 561, is eighty Years.

169 *Patræ*, an ancient City of *Achaia*, in *Peloponneſus*, was called *Aroe*, immediately after its Foundation. But it retained that of *Patræ*, which the *Greeks* gave it afterwards. According to *Leunclavius*, the *Turks*, who conquered it, now call it *Badera*, and *Balubatra*. It ſtands on a Hill, on which the People of the Canton had formerly erected a Temple to *Diana*, according to *Pauſanias*. It is near the Gulph and Promontory of *Lepanto*, which was therefore called likewiſe, *The Gulph of Patræ*, and lays about ninety thouſand geometrical Paces, Weſt of *Corinth*. This City is but a thouſand Paces from the Sea-coaſt. The *Italians* call it *Neopatria*, and under the *Greek* Princes it had the Title of a Dutchy. The Ancients alſo mention another City of *Patræ*, which ſtood at the Foot of the Mountains of *Locris*, pretty near *Thermopylæ*.

170 *Polybius* gives the Name of *Bœa* to the Port called

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But the Tyrant's Soldiers were not ſufficiently furniſhed with Tents. Moſt of them made Barracks of Branches of Trees, to cover them. And it was in this new Camp, that *Philopœmenes* reſolved to attack the *Lacedæmonians*. In order to ſucceed in it, he gathered together ſome Boats and Sloops, which he filled with *Achæans*, armed with Darts and Slings to throw burning Matter; and theſe advanced, by Sea, towards *Pleiæ*. *Philopœmenes* himſelf, with his Troops, kept along the Shore, and in the dead of the Night, came and attacked the Enemy by Land. They were faſt aſleep; and thinking themſelves in a ſecure Place, they kept no Watch. Upon the firſt Signal, Firebrands were thrown from the Sea; and the *Achæan* General drew up his Troops round the *Lacedæmonian* Camp, to fall on thoſe who endeavoured to eſcape. So that the Fire deſtroyed ſome of them, the Sword others, and ſome retreated with Difficulty to the Camp before *Gythium*. From thence, *Philopœmenes* marched into *Laconia*, laid the Fields round *Tripolis* [171] waſte, and carried off Men and Cattel, before *Nabis* had time to purſue him. And then *Philopœmenes*, having recovered his Glory, which was a little leſſened by his maritime Expedition, aſſembled the Diet of his Nation. The *Acarnanians* alſo aſſembled with them; and it was there reſolved to advance near to [172] *Lacedæmon*, as if with Deſign to lay Siege to it. This was thought the only Means to make a powerful Diverſion, and force *Nabis* to raiſe the Siege of *Gythium*. But in the mean time, the Place was hard preſſed, and was taken the Day the *Achæan* Army appeared before *Lacedæmon*. *Nabis* [173] therefore, without Loſs of time, turned towards the Enemy; and he found the *Achæans* marching in a Line, in a narrow Paſs, and at a pretty great Diſtance from one another. *Philopœmenes* had poſted his Cavalry in the Rear of his Army, to prevent his Auxiliaries from disbanding themſelves. And he thought that if *Nabis* came upon him, he would begin his Attack in the Rear. But, to his great Surprize, he ſaw the *Lacedæmonians* ready to attack him in Front; and the Narrowneſs of the Place increaſed his Danger. Nevertheleſs, he, by his Addreſs alone, extricated himſelf out of this Difficulty. *Philopœmenes* had from his Infancy ſtudied all Caſes that could happen, in the Command of Armies, and was prepared for them. Wherever he came, he examined the Nature of the Ground. If he was in Company, he asked the Advice of his Companions; and if alone, he always conſidered with himſelf, where he ſhould poſt his Troops, in caſe he was to meet an Enemy there. And then he took his Meaſures as if he had been forced to give Battel. By theſe continual Reflections, it was become habitual to him to draw up his Army ſo artfully in all Places, that he was in no Fear of being very ſuddenly ſurprized; and he was never more ſenſible how neceſſary this kind of Study was for him, than at this time. He all at once, without ſhewing any Confuſion at the Sight of *Nabis*, drew up his Men in the moſt artful Manner poſſible. He poſted his *Achæans* in the firſt Line. Behind them he placed his *Cretan* Auxiliaries, and thoſe which were called *Tarentines*, becauſe they had come from *Tarentum*, during the Wars in *Italy*. As for his Cavalry, he drew them up by the Side of a Brook, for the Convenience of watering their Horſes. And laſtly, he put all his Baggage on the Top of a Rock, with a Detachment to guard it. In this Diſpoſition, he waited for the Beginning of the Battel, without fearing the Conſequences of it. The Enemy was but five hundred Paces from him. Both Parties drew Water out of the ſame Brook. But in the mean time Night drew on, and it was too late to begin an Action. Early the next Morning the Affair began, between the Horſemen who were leading their Horſes to Water.

Plut. Life of *Philopœm.* *Livy*, B. 35. c. 28.

In the Night-time, *Philopœmenes* had hid as many of his beſt Troops as he could in a Valley; and his Horſe had Orders to retire, till they drew the Enemy

called *Pleiæ*, which *Livy* ſays was near to *Acræ*, and *Leucæ*. *Sigonius* thinks, without any Reaſon, that the *Latin* Hiſtorian meant *Elia*, another City in the Territory of *Lacedæmon*.

171 *Tripolis* was a little Diſtrict in *Laconia*, which probably contained *three Cities*, or Towns; whence it had its Name. It was the Weſtern-part of this Province, between the Rivers *Eurotas* and *Alpheus*, towards the Confines of the Territory of *Megalopolis* in *Arcadia*.

172 *Philopœmenes* encamped in ſight of *Cariæ*, a City belonging to *Lacedæmon*, of which we have already ſpoken. From thence this General advanced to a Mountain, which *Livy* calls *Barboſthenes*. It was but about ten thouſand geometrical Paces diſtant from the Capital of *Laconia*.

173 *Nabis*, to prevent the Deſigns of the Enemy, made himſelf Maſter of an advantageous Poſt which was then called *Pyrrhus's Camp*: Probably becauſe this Prince had formerly encamped there.

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into the Ambuſcade he had prepared for them. This firſt Attack was commanded by two Officers of Horſe, one of which was [174] *Lycortas*, the Father of *Polybius* the Hiſtorian. At firſt the Diſpute was warm, and the Advantage equal. Afterwards the Mercenaries of *Nabis* gained Ground, according to the Orders the *Achæan* General had given his Troops; and they croſſed the Brook and purſued them. In the Plain the Loſs of the *Lacedæmonians* was conſiderable; but when *Nabis*'s Cavalry were got between the Infantry which lay in Ambuſh, theſe freſh Troops fell with Fury on the *Lacedæmonians*, who were fatigued, and covered with Wounds; and then the Victory was no longer doubtful. The Troops of *Nabis* fled, and there would have been a great Slaughter made of them, if the *Achæan* General had not ſounded a Retreat. He feared the narrow Roads more than he did the Enemy. And he added Artifice to his Valour. He ſuborned one of his Soldiers to go as a Deſerter to *Nabis*'s Camp, and there ſpread a Report, That the *Achæans* would go the next Day and ſeize the Paſſes of the *Eurotas*, to hinder the *Lacedæmonians* from returning to their City, and to raiſe a Sedition there, if poſſible. Upon this News, *Nabis* took the Road to *Lacedæmon*, with Part of his Troops, and left his Son-in-law *Pythagoras* to guard his Camp.

PHILOPOEMENES watched the Steps of the Enemy; ſaw *Nabis* file off with his Detachment, and *Pythagoras* enter the Plain with his Squadrons; and came and fell upon the latter. *Pythagoras* firſt thought of recovering his Camp; but he was afraid it would be forced by *Philopœmenes*'s Army, which all advanced in good Order. The ſafeſt Way was to follow *Nabis*, and leave the Camp to be plundered. And then the *Achæans* divided themſelves into two Bodies, One went to ſeize the Camp, while the other purſued the *Lacedæmonians*. The latter were already entered into a narrow Paſs, and *Philopœmenes* attacked their Rear-Guard, and made a great Slaughter of them. The Noiſe of the Combatants was heard from far, and the whole *Lacedæmonian* Army was terrified at it. The Soldiers threw down their Arms, in order to gain the Woods; ſo that all the Road was full of long Pikes, which lay croſs it. But the light-armed *Achæans* eaſily broke thro' this Sort of Barricade; and *Philopœmenes* led his main Body, who had heavy Arms, thro' a wider Road to the Banks of the *Eurotas*. There he waited for thoſe of his Troops which were yet purſuing the Fugitives. The Sun was near ſetting; and about ſix in the Evening theſe Troops joined him. They reported that *Nabis* was entered into *Lacedæmon*, with a ſmall Guard; but that the reſt of his Army was yet rambling in the Woods, and could not recover the Road to the City, till the Middle of the Night. *Philopœmenes* therefore inſtantly detached a freſh Troop, with Orders to hide themſelves in the Roads that led to the Gates of *Lacedæmon*; and the Deſign ſucceeded. Towards the Cloſe of the Day, the Fugitives came out of the Woods, when they ſaw Fires lighted in the *Achæan* Camp; and took the great Roads to the City. But before they got thither, they were intercepted, and cut in Pieces by the Enemy in Ambuſh. Never was Action better conducted. The *Lacedæmonians* loſt a fourth Part of their Troops. So that *Philopœmenes* acquired exceeding great Glory among his Countrymen. They were ſo greatly prejudiced in his Favour, that they even preferred him before *Flamininus*. But we, who judge only by Facts, and at ſo great a Diſtance, have Reaſon to doubt whether the *Achæan* would have commanded great Armies with as much Skill as the *Roman*. Nevertheleſs, it muſt be granted, that for the Conduct of ſmall Bodies of Men, ſuch as the Cantons of *Greece* were then able to furniſh, *Philopœmenes* was an incomparable Officer.

§. LII. Whilst the *Achæans* were carrying on the War at *Lacedæmon*, the Envoys of the *Roman* Republick were buſy in viſiting the chief Cities of *Greece*. It was neceſſary to keep them ſteady in the Confederacy, and hinder them from entering into Engagements with *Antiochus*. *Rome* particularly depended on *Achaia*; this Canton having declared againſt *Nabis*. The Ambaſſadors came firſt to *Athens*;

174 *Lycortas*, the Father of *Polybius*, was as conſiderable for his Probity, Valour, and Skill in the Management of Affairs, as for the firſt Employments which he filled with Dignity, in the Republick of the *Achæans*. Theſe People honoured him with the *Prætorſhip*; and ſent him in Quality of Ambaſſador, to *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*. If *Polybius* has not flattered his Father, he was in nothing inferior to *Philopœmenes*, whom the Hiſtorian acknowledges to have been the moſt accompliſhed *Greek* of his Age.

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from thence to *Chalcis*; then to *Theſſaly*; and laſt of all to *Demetrias*. And all theſe Provinces, except the laſt ſeemed well affected to *Rome*. But *Demetrias* ſeemed ready to deſert her. Two pieces of News were ſpread in the Country, which made her waver. The firſt was, That the *Romans* were going to ſurrender up to the King of *Macedon*, his Son *Demetrius*, whom they kept as an Hoſtage. The ſecond, That they would likewiſe reſtore to him the City of *Demetrias*, where this King had long reſided, and of which he was very fond, it being a moſt delightful Place. And indeed, in order to prevent *Philip*'s entering into a League with *Antiochus*, *Rome* had Thoughts of delivering up his Son to him, and had given him hopes of recovering *Demetrias*. But the Inhabitants of this great City thought themſelves happier in that State of Liberty which *Rome* had procured them, than they ſhould be under the Dominion of a foreign Prince. Hence their Diſtruſts of the *Romans*, and their Inclinations towards *Antiochus*. This was an Affair of a very nice Nature. It was equally dangerous, either to own that *Rome* had Thoughts of delivering up *Demetrias* to *Philip*, or to deſtroy the Hopes *Philip* had conceived of becoming Maſter of it again. And it was therefore with all poſſible Dexterity, that *Flamininus* managed the People of *Demetrias*. He aſſembled the Council of the Lords of the Country. *Eurylochus*, a Man of Power and Intereſt in the City, was Preſident; and he was already determined. He choſe rather to fall in with the Suggeſtions of the *Ætolians*, and go over to *Antiochus*, than to ſee his Country in the Hands of the *Macedonian*. *Flamininus* therefore well conſidered every thing he ſaid, in his Harangue in the Council. *You have experienced*, ſaid he, Philip's *Government. Some of the Monuments of his Magnificence are yet remaining here. He built a ſtately Palace in this City. Will you then ſuffer* Antiochus *to come and take that Place in* Demetrias, *which* Philip *has ſo long poſſeſſed? This will be only exchanging one Maſter for another; and ought not the* Macedonian *then to be more acceptable to you than the* Syrian? By this Speech, he neither affirmed that *Philip* was to have Poſſeſſion of *Demetrias* again, nor abſolutely removed the Fear of it. *Eurylochus* heard it, and ſaw through the Diſguiſe. And he cried out, with great Indignation, *When then ſhall we be delivered from Slavery! There is a Report ſpread, that* Philip *will ſoon come and impoſe his Yoke upon us. And are we now free? Are we not kept in Slavery by the* Romans? Theſe laſt Words raiſed different Paſſions in the Aſſembly. The Friends of *Rome* were enraged at them; and thoſe of *Antiochus* applauded them. As for *Flamininus*, he lifted up his Hands to Heaven, and called the Gods to witneſs the Ingratitude of the *Demetrians*. The Concern that appeared in his Countenance, made the whole Aſſembly tremble; and *Zeno*, a Lord of great Might in the Aſſembly, and who was well known to have always favoured *Rome*, endeavoured to appeaſe the Anger of the *Roman*. *What, my Lord*, ſaid he, *ſhall the Words of a Madman, be imputed to the whole Body of a faithful People?* Demetrias *bears no part in his mad Actions. She owes to you her all; Life, Liberty, and Eſtate. And her Attachment to* Rome, *will laſt as long as the Walls that ſurround her.* Thus ſpake *Zeno*, with Tears in his Eyes, and all the Aſſembly applauded him. As for *Eurylochus*, he eſcaped out of the City, and fled for Refuge to the *Ætolians*.

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Liv. B. 35. c. 31.

All *Ætolia* had already declared openly for *Antiochus*. The Ambaſſador [175] ſhe had ſent to *Epheſus*, to draw the *Syrian* into *Europe*, was returned; and he had brought with him an Ambaſſador from the King of *Syria*, to the *Ætolian* Diet. Nothing was now talked of, but the prodigious Army *Antiochus* was bringing with him. The People exaggerated, after the *Grecian* manner, the Number of Foot, Horſe, and Elephants, which would come into *Ætolia*. And above all, it was reported, that the *Syrian* would bring with him Gold and Silver enough to purchaſe all the Lands belonging to the *Roman* Republick. The Minds of the *Ætolians* were full of theſe Prejudices, when they aſſembled their Diet on pur-

[175] *Livy* had ſaid a little before, that *Dicearchus*, the Brother of *Thoas*, then *Prætor* of *Ætolia*, had been ſent Ambaſſador to *Antiochus the Great*. But here he ſays, that *Thoas*, and not *Dicearchus*, was the Man ſent. And in this he agrees with *Appian*, though he contradicts himſelf. We can no otherwiſe ſolve the Contradiction, than by ſaying, that the *Prætor* went with his Brother to give the greater Weight to the Embaſſy.

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poſe, to give Audience to the King's Ambaſſador. Nevertheleſs, the Envoys of *Rome* got Intelligence of theſe Proceedings; and they ſuborned ſome of their own Party, to thwart as much as poſſible the Deſigns of the factious *Thoas*, the chief Inſtrument of the *Ætolian* Revolt. *Flamininus* alſo engaged the *Athenians* to ſend Deputies to the Aſſembly of *Ætolia*, and there to undertake to maintain the Intereſts of his Republick. *Thoas* introduced *Antiochus*'s Ambaſſador into the Diet. His Name was *Menippus*. He firſt gave the *Ætolians* to underſtand, that if his Maſter could have joined his Troops with thoſe of King *Philip*, during the late War, *Greece* would not have ſuffered ſo much by the Tyranny of *Rome*. Then he added, that let her Slavery now be what it would, her Caſe was not incurable; and he promiſed her a Deliverer, in *Antiochus*. The *Ætolians* were ready to have accepted the Offer. But the *Athenian*, ſuborned by *Flamininus*, ſupported the Intereſts of *Rome*, with Zeal; and by the Dignity of the City he repreſented, and his Eloquence, obtained a Reſolution, that nothing ſhould be determined, till after the *Romans* had been heard.

FLAMININUS therefore was introduced into the Diet; there repreſented to them the Changes of the *Ætolians*, ſince their firſt Alliance with the *Romans*; exhorted them rather to carry their Complaints to the Senate of *Rome*, than fill *Aſia* with them; and concluded in this manner. Ætolians, *will you be ſome of thoſe Incendiaries, who will bring a Fire into all theſe Countries, which it is much eaſier to kindle, than extinguiſh? Will you arm the Eaſtern Nations for their mutual Ruin? What a Tempeſt are you bringing upon your ſelves! You are the firſt upon whom it will break.*

But in ſpight of all *Flamininus*'s Addreſs, in captivating People's Minds, the angry Diſcourſes of *Thoas* prevailed over the Reaſons of the *Roman*. A very bold Decree was immediately paſſed, and in *Flamininus*'s Preſence. It was this; *Let* Antiochus *be invited to come into* Europe, *and recover the Liberty of* Greece, *which is oppreſſed by the* Romans. *Flamininus* demanded a Copy of the Decree; but the *Prætor* of the *Ætolians* refuſed it him, with Pride and Inſolence. *We will communicate it to you*, ſaid he, *on the Banks of the* Tyber, *with all the Forces of* Syria. So expreſs a Declaration therefore made the War unqueſtionable. *Flamininus* returned to *Corinth*. In the mean time the Diet took proper Meaſures for beginning Hoſtilities. The *Ætolians* thought three Cities the Bulwarks of *Greece*; and that to ſeize them, before *Antiochus* arrived, would be to open the Way for a rapid Conqueſt. They therefore caſt their Eyes on *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, *Demetrias* in *Theſſaly*, and *Lacedæmon* in the Heart of *Peloponneſus*; and the Deſign of making themſelves Maſters of theſe, was the greater, in Proportion to the Difficulty of putting it in execution. Generally ſpeaking, the Nobility there were well affected to the *Romans*, and the common People only inclined to change. Nevertheleſs, a Reſolution was taken to ſurpriſe theſe three Cities all at once, and almoſt on the ſame Day. The Diet gave Commiſſions for it to three Men, of known Valour and Ability in War. *Thoas* was ordered to take *Chalcis*; *Alexamenes* to make the Attempt on *Lacedæmon*; and *Diocles* to invade *Demetrias*. With the latter was joined that *Eurylochus*, who had voluntarily baniſhed himſelf from *Demetrias*, and kept up a Correſpondence there. The three *Ætolians* ſet out without Delay for their reſpective Places. Every one took a different Method to execute his Commiſſion; and their Succeſs was not equal.

§. LIII. *DIOCLES* pretended to have no other Deſign upon *Demetrias*, but to carry *Eurylochus* back thither, and reſtore him to his Country. It was neceſſary however to prepare the *Demetrians* to receive their old Head, who had voluntarily baniſhed himſelf. *Eurylochus* therefore wrote to his Wife to go and preſent herſelf to the Aſſembly of the People, in Mourning; and in a ſuppliant manner, to offer a Petition, deſiring her Husband's Return. Accordingly ſhe executed his Orders, and appeared in the publick Market-place, accompanied by her Children, and guarded by her Relations; and when ſhe offered her Petition, the People were moved with Compaſſion for a Woman of her Rank. Beſides, many were but too well inclined, to receive into their City a factious Man, who was attached to the *Ætolians*. In ſhort, the *Demetrians* conſented to recall *Eurylochus*. Nothing therefore now remained, but to introduce him into his native City, with Honour; and this *Diocles* undertook to do. He put himſelf at the Head

Head of almoſt all the *Ætolian* Cavalry that he commanded; and advanced without Noiſe, but with great Marches, towards *Demetrias*.

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AT break of Day, *Eurylochus* and his *Ætolian* General appeared at the Gate of the City, conducted in all Appearance by a weak Guard. The reſt of the *Ætolian* Cavalry followed ſlowly. To prevent giving Umbrage to the *Demetrians*, *Diocles* ordered his Horſe to diſmount; and they entered the City without Difficulty, leading their Horſes by the Bridles. There was left only a Brigade at the Gate, to receive the reſt of the Squadrons that followed; and whilſt *Diocles* was leading *Eurolychus* by the Hand, to his Houſe, the whole Body of the *Ætolian* Cavalry arrived. Then he inſtantly made himſelf Maſter of ſome Poſts in the City; detached ſeveral of his Men to kill the Heads of the *Roman* Party, who had declared againſt *Eurylochus*: And thus the whole City became entirely *Ætolian*.

§. LIV. BUT *Lacedæmon* was not to be ſo eaſily ſurprized. The Tyrant *Nabis*, was a ſuſpicious and cautious Prince. It was difficult to ſurprize him, and more ſo to attack him openly. *Alexamenes* therefore made uſe of Treachery to invade his Capital. *Nabis* had long demanded of the *Ætolians* a Reinforcement of their Troops, to increaſe his Army againſt the *Achaians*. *Alexamenes* was the Leader of thoſe *Ætolian* Auxiliaries; and his cruel Deſign was to aſſaſſinate him, whom he pretended to aſſiſt. The ſecret Council of *Ætolia* had laid the Plan for this monſtrous Perfidiouſneſs. *Alexamenes* ſet out with a thouſand Foot, and ſome young Horſemen, who were determined blindly to follow the Will of their Commander. *Nabis* graciouſly received the *Ætolian* Succours, and deſigned to incorporate them in his Armies. The Tyrant alſo heard with Joy the falſe News, That *Antiochus* had already paſſed the *Helleſpont*; That he was in *Europe*; and That he would ſoon penetrate into the Weſt of *Greece*. *Ætolia*, ſaid *Alexamenes* to him, *would have ſent you all her Troops, if ſhe had not thought herſelf obliged to ſhew the King of* Syria *her Power, at his Arrival. And it will be for your Honour, my Lord, and for our common Intereſt, if you ſhew him your* Phalanxes *finely equipped, and well diſciplined.*

THE *Lacedæmonian* placed too much Confidence in *Alexamenes*'s Diſcourſe. He exerciſed his Soldiers every Day in a Plain near the Capital; and the *Ætolian* Auxiliaries alſo appeared under Arms, at the *Rendezvous*, and their Commander with them. And whilſt *Nabis*, finely mounted, was riding through the Files of his Army, to order their Motions, *Alexamenes* always kept cloſe by his ſide; but not ſo much out of Reſpect to him, as to find out the moſt proper Opportunity to give the Blow he deſigned. He had obſerved, that *Nabis* was guarded by only three or four Perſons at theſe Reviews; and this was enough to make him form a Deſign of aſſaſſinating him, in ſight of his Troops, when under Arms. It was a bold Reſolution; and *Alexamenes* put it in execution, with more Succeſs than Prudence. In the Day which he deſigned ſhould be the Tyrant's laſt, he told his Horſemen, that he ſhould ſtand in need both of their Courage and Addreſs. *Keep always cloſe to me*, ſaid he, *at the Review; keep your Eyes fixed upon me, and whatever I do, do you the ſame.* He ſaid no more; but attended the King as uſual. As if he had been only an *Aid-de-camp* to the commanding Officer, he fled ſometimes from the left to the right, and ſometimes from the right to the left, pretending to carry the King's Orders, to all the Troops. His own Troop of Horſe kept always with him; and at length, finding *Nabis* with few about him, he ſeized the deſired Opportunity. He, with a Stroke of his Lance, wounded the King's Horſe, and the King fell to the Ground. Then the *Ætolian* Troop rode up, and diſpatched the Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, before any one could come to his Aſſiſtance. His Guards themſelves were ſo ſurprized, that inſtead of ſeizing the Murderer, they ſtood gazing on the King's Body, which lay dead on the Sand. As for *Alexamenes*, he came to his *Ætolian Phalanx*, which was poſted in the left Wing of the Army, haſtened their Pace, entered *Lacedæmon* with them, and went to plunder the Tyrant's Palace. In all probability, if he had harangued the *Lacedæmonian* Troops, the Moment he had killed the Tyrant, he would have found them approve of this barbarous Murder. The Tyrant was equally hated by his Citizens, and Soldiers. But a love of Plunder prevailed in the *Ætolian*'s Breaſt. Contrary to all Rules of Prudence, he ſpent the whole Night, in ſearching for the Treaſures

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of the murdered King; till at length, the *Lacedæmonians* recovered themſelves from their firſt Surprize. They thought it unworthy of them, to ſuffer a perfidious Foreigner to plunder the Palace of their ancient Kings, as if their City had been taken by Aſſault; and therefore aſſembled together, and put a young Child at their Head, whom they acknowledged to be of the Blood Royal. Then they maſſacred all the *Ætolians* they met; and entering the Palace, killed the unfortunate *Alexamenes* there. The reſt of the *Ætolians* either fled, or were condemned to Slavery. Upon this, the prudent *Philopœmenes* knew how to make his Advantage of the Death of the Tyrant, and his Aſſaſſin. He came immediately to *Lacedæmon*, aſſembled the People, and exhorted them to recover their Liberty. They followed the Advice he gave them; *Lacedæmon*, from being a Monarchy, was turned into a Republick; and became one of the Cantons of the *Achaian* Body.

Plut. Life of *Philopœm.*

§. LV. As for *Thoas*, he failed in his Attempt upon *Chalcis*. He joined with him in the Work, two Men, whom he thought able to promote his Deſign. One was a Lord of the Country, named *Euthymidas*, a great Enemy of the *Romans*, who had been driven out of *Chalcis* for Sedition; and the other was only a Merchant of [176] *Cium*; but his immenſe Riches had gained him a great Intereſt in *Chalcis*. His Name was *Herodorus*. *Euthymidas* was perſonally to aſſiſt in the Enterpriſe, and employ his Faction, which continued in the City. *Herodorus* was to raiſe Troops, and hire Ships, at his own Expence. And laſtly, *Thoas* had for his part, the Conduct of the Affair. He had a Guard of two hundred *Ætolian* Horſe, and had reſerved thirty Tranſports for his Expedition. In the firſt Place, *Euthymidas* came from *Athens*, the Place of his Retreat, to *Thebes*; from thence to *Salganea* [177], on the Banks of the *Euripus*; and there he waited for the Arrival of *Thoas*, and *Herodorus*. The latter advanced as far as to the Iſland of [178] *Atalanta*, with ſix hundred Foot; and left two hundred more at [179] *Thronium*, near *The* [180] *Maliac Gulph*. And as ſoon as the latter were got to the *Euripus*, *Herodorus* was to appear before *Chalcis*.

Livy, *B.* 35. *c.* 37.

But all theſe Preparations were not ſo ſecretly made, as to be kept from the Knowledge of *Miſtio* [181] and *Xenoclides*, two of the Chiefs of *Eubœa*. However, they at firſt deſpaired of being able to deliver *Chalcis* from this Invaſion. But afterwards, the Remembrance of the Fidelity they owed the *Romans*, encouraged them; and in order to raiſe the Militia in their Iſland, they took the Opportunity of a Feaſt of *Diana* [182], to which the *Ætolians* came in Crowds. Then theſe Troops were divided; and ſome were employed in guarding the Walls of *Chalcis*, whilſt others paſſed the *Euripus*, and encamped at *Salganea*, in *Bœotia*. From thence they ſent a Deputation to the Chief of the *Ætolians*, to know the Reaſon of the Hoſtilities, he was going to commit againſt *Chalcis*; and *Thoas* anſwered, That his only Deſign was to deliver *Eubœa* from the *Roman* Yoke, which was heavier than that of *Philip* had formerly been. But the Deputy remonſtrated, that the Iſland did now enjoy perfect Liberty, and needed not an Avenger or Deliverer; and this diſconcerted the Meaſures of the *Ætolian*. He had wholly depended on making his Attack unexpectedly; whereas he now found,

176 *Livy*, to ſhew *Herodorus*'s Country, calls him *Cianus*. *Herodorum Cianum Monatorum*. A Term, which may either ſignify an Inhabitant of the Iſland of *Cia*, or of the City of *Cium*. But be that as it will, the Ancients gave the Name of *Cia* to a little Iſland near *Crete*, and to one of the *Cyclades*. The latter is now called *Zea*. *Pliny* aſſures us, that it was formerly ſixty Miles in Circumference; but the Sea having ſince ſwallowed up a great part of the Land, it was now reckoned to be but forty. As for the Name of *Cium*, there were two Cities ſo called in *Aſia Minor*; one belonging to *Phrygia*, the other to *Bithynia*.

177 *Salganea*, now *Salganico*, was the uſual *Rendezvous* of thoſe who deſigned to go into the Iſland of *Eubœa*. The Paſſage over the *Euripus* was ſhorteſt, and moſt convenient, over againſt that City. It ſtood on the Confines of *Bœotia*, between *Anthedon*, and the Mouth of the *Iſmenus*.

178 The Iſland of *Atalanta* is now known by the Name of *Talanta*, or *Taland*. It lay very cloſe to *Eubœa*, over againſt *Locris*.

179 *Thronium* was a City of *Locris*, towards *The Maliac Gulph*. We have ſpoken of it already.

180 We have already obſerved ſeveral times, that *The Maliac Gulph* is now called *The Gulph of Zeiton*. It divided *Theſſaly*, from the Iſland of *Negropont*.

181 Inſtead of *Miſtio*, others, upon the Credit of ſome MSS. read *Micithio*.

182 The Inhabitants of *Eretria*, a City of *Eubœa*, were then celebrating a Feaſt, according to *Livy*, in honour to *Diana Amarynthis*. The Goddeſs was ſo called, according to *Strabo*, from a Quarter of the City, which the *Eretrians* called *Amarynthe*. There was a Temple in it, where the People aſſembled to pay their Homages to the Goddeſs. The People of *Caryſtus*, another City of *Eubœa*, joined in the Solemnity.

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that proper Preparations were made for his Reception. *Thoas* therefore retired, much diſſatisfied, at his having failed of taking a City, which would have made him Maſter of the whole Iſland, and opened a Way for *Antiochus* to enter into *Attica* 183.

And whilſt *Ætolia* was giving theſe violent Shocks to *Greece*, the *Romans* began to appear again in the Eaſt, to ſupport their Dominion there. The *Prætor* *Attilius* had already appeared with his Fleet, and landed before *Gythium*. This City, which had been retaken by *Nabis*, had changed Sides ſince the Tyrant's Death. It now choſe to act the ſame part as *Lacedæmon*, which being become a Member of *Achaia*, was conſequently attached to the Intereſt of *Rome*. So that *Attilius* was favourably received at *Gythium*; and the Preſence of a *Roman Prætor*, and the Sight of his Fleet, a little revived the Courage of thoſe *Greeks*, which held out for the *Roman* Republick.

§. LVI. In the mean time nothing kept *Antiochus* in *Aſia*, but an Expedition begun againſt the Cities of *Smyrna*, *Lampſacus*, and 184 *Alexandria* in *Troas*. The *Syrian* thought it dangerous to leave theſe Cities unſubdued behind him; but when *Thoas* had joined him after his fruitleſs Attempt upon *Chalcis*, *Antiochus* followed his Advice. The *Ætolian* perſuaded him to drop the Deſign of reducing theſe Places, and not to delay going into *Europe*, one Moment. So that the only remaining Queſtion was, where the War ſhould be begun; and this was ſeveral times debated. *Hannibal* revived this Diſpute. He again preſſed the King to furniſh him with a Fleet, and a Body of Troops, which he boaſted, that he would ſoon lead, into the very Heart of *Italy*. And this was doubtleſs, the beſt Method *Antiochus* could have taken. But *Hannibal*, ſays an ancient Hiſtorian, was the *Caſſandra* of his time. He gave the wiſeſt Advice, and yet it was always rejected.

183 In the mean time *Euthymidas* was ſoon informed, that the *Chalcidians* had ſent a Body of Troops to *Salganea*, to defend it againſt the Invaſion of the *Ætolians*. And having likewiſe heard of the ill Succeſs of *Thoas*'s Enterpriſe, he reſolved to return to *Athens*. On the other hand, *Herodorus* in vain waited for the Signals agreed on between him and the *Ætolian* Commander. And being impatient at ſo long a Delay, ſent out a Sloop to make Diſcoveries. Then he was ſoon told, that the Inhabitants of *Chalcis* had prevented *Thoas*'s Deſigns. He therefore returned to *Thronium*, with his little Army. *Quinctius Flamininus* being informed of the Steps the *Ætolians* had taken to corrupt the Cities in Alliance, and draw them off from the Republick, ſet out with all Diligence from *Corinth*, where he then was, in order to go over to *Eubœa*. In his Paſſage he met the King of *Pergamus*'s Fleet, which was cruiſing along the *Euripus*; and *Quinctius* drew out of it five hundred Men, with whom he reinforced the Garriſon of *Chalcis*. As for King *Eumenes*, it was reſolved that he ſhould march to *Athens* without Delay, in order to keep that City in Awe, and watch the Steps of the Citizens. And then *Quinctius* took it upon himſelf to recover *Demetrias* to the *Roman* Party. He firſt wrote to *Eunomus*, *Prætor* of *Theſſaly*, to deſire him, to put all the young Men in the Country, under Arms. Then he charged *Villius* to go to *Demetrias*, and inform himſelf upon the Spot, of the preſent Diſpoſition of the Inhabitants. Accordingly, the latter went on board a *Quinqueremis*, and came in ſight of *Demetrias*. The Report of his Arrival raiſed a great Commotion among the People; and they ran in Crouds to the Port. But *Villius*, without any Concern at ſeeing ſuch Crouds about him, applied himſelf to *Eurylochus*, then *Prætor* or *Magnetarches*, in this manner. *Can the* Romans *yet reckon the People of* Demetrias *and* Magneſia, *among their Allies, or no? Am I received here as a Friend, or not?* To which the Magiſtrate, with ſome Confuſion, anſwered only in general Terms, That his fellow-Citizens were attached to the Republick. But at the ſame time, he gave him to underſtand, that his Preſence would diſturb the Repoſe of a Nation jealous of their Liberty. Which was in effect declaring to him, that he did not care to admit him into *Demetrias*. And indeed, the *Prætor* had already entered into Meaſures with *Antiochus*; and the Inhabitants, ſeduced by his Councils, had juſt then made a League with the *Ætolian* Confederates, againſt *Rome*. *Villius* underſtood by *Eurylochus*'s Diſcourſe, that he could not, without Danger, appear among a People, who were Enemies to the *Roman* Name; and the Converſation ended with ſevere Reproaches. The Deputy called the Gods to witneſs the Ingratitude of a City, which wholly owed her Liberty to the Republick; and foretelling the future Deſolation of the Province, ſaid, *I plainly ſee the Storm that will fall upon your Heads. Your Misfortunes will convince you, when it is too late, that none who provoke the* Romans, *eſcape with Impunity*. The aſſembled People only anſwered theſe Reproaches and Menaces, with angry Shouts, and bitter Complaints, as well of the Injuſtice of the *Roman* Senate, as the ill Proceedings of *Flamininus*. *Villius* therefore was obliged to put to Sea again, and return to give an Account of his Succeſs; and *Quinctius*, upon his Report, deſpaired of bringing the *Demetrians* back to their old Alliance. So that he ſent an Expreſs to the *Prætor* *Eunomus*, requiring him to disband the new Troops he had raiſed to guard *Demetrias*, againſt any Attempts of the *Ætolians*; and *Quinctius* returned himſelf to *Corinth*.

184 The City of *Alexandria* in *Troas*, is called by the Ancients *Alexandria Troy*, to diſtinguiſh it from many other Cities of that Name. It gloried in having been founded by *Alexander the Great*. *Quintus Curtius* tells us, that this Conqueror built it, on the Coaſts of the *Ægean* Sea, at a little Diſtance from the Ruins of *Troy*, and almoſt in the middle, between *Abydos*, and *Antandros*. From thence to *The Sigæan Promontory*, was ſeventeen thouſand geometrical Paces. The Remains of this City are now known by the Name of *Sancta Maria*. The *Turks* call this Place *Caraſia*, according to *Leunclavius*.

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App. in Syriac.

Nevertheleſs, it ſeems probable, that the King of *Syria*, had been prevailed on by the *Carthaginian*, and had conſented to ſend him into *Italy*. But when *Thoas* arrived, he oppoſed *Hannibal*'s Scheme; and the Ships which were to tranſport him were not equipped in time. *Is it poſſible*, ſaid he to *Antiochus*, *that any Man could have the Preſumption to perſuade you to divide your Forces between* Greece, *and* Italy? *Who can give Advice ſo pernicious to the common Cauſe, and to your Glory? It is ſaid to be* Hannibal; *that is, a* Carthaginian, *an Exile, and a Man ready to ſacrifice, even his own Country, to any ridiculous Scheme for aggrandizing himſelf. To what Dangers will you expoſe us, my Lord, if you put him at the Head of an Army? He will aſſume to himſelf all the Benefit, and all the Reputation of the Enterprize. What Share will the World give you in it? If he ſhould become the Conqueror of the* Romans, *will he deign to pay you Homage for his own Conqueſts? He has long been carrying on ambitious Projects in ſeveral Places. His Aim is to find a Country, of which he may make himſelf Sovereign. But what am I ſaying? The whole World is ſcarce ſufficient to ſatisfy his Deſires. Keep him always near you, my Lord, to aſſiſt you with his Arms. Let him follow you, and always attend you. But never ſuffer him to be ſo far from you, as may enable him to act independently of you.* *Antiochus* was of a ſuſpicious Temper, and jealous of his Glory. He was ſenſible of *Hannibal*'s Superiority to him, and dreaded it. So that the Deſign of ſending the *Carthaginian* into *Italy*, was entirely dropped.

§. LVII. *GREECE* became the only Seat of the War, *Antiochus* begun againſt the *Romans*; and he pitched on *Demetrias* for the Place where he would firſt land. This City had lately withdrawn from the *Roman* Confederacy; and it would, in all probability, prove faithful to the new Enemies to *Rome*. *Antiochus* therefore prepared every thing for his Departure. His Army then conſiſted of only ten thouſand Foot, five hundred Horſe, and ſix Elephants. He therefore ſent *Polixenidas*, one of his Officers into *Aſia*, to fetch the reſt of his Troops from thence, and to lead them into *Europe*. *Antiochus* himſelf, with a Body of Men, very unſuitable to the Majeſty of a great King, croſſed over into *Europe*, with forty Gallies [185] with Decks, and attended with a great Number of Frigates, and two hundred Tranſports. Firſt he ſailed to [186] *Imbros*, thence to [187] *Scyathos*, and at length landed at [188] *Pteleum*, a City in *Phthiotis*. Thither *Eurylochus* came to receive him, and invited him to *Demetrias*. As for the *Ætolians*, they reſolved in Council, to bring the King among them; and *Antiochus* therefore left *Demetrias*, and came to *Lamia*, one of their Cities. At his Entrance into it, the *Greeks* ſhewed all thoſe Demonſtrations of Joy, which were common among a People, whoſe Expectations always made them very profuſe of their Flatteries. In order to receive him, an *Ætolian* Diet was called; the *Syrian* was admitted into it; and there ſpoke thus. *My Earneſtneſs to ſatisfy your Deſires, has made me leave* Aſia, *before I had made the neceſſary Preparations for the War, to which you invite me. If I have been more negligent than I ought to have been of my own Dignity, it is to be imputed to my Zeal in haſtening to your Deliverance. The next Spring will anſwer all your Expectations from me. As ſoon as the Sea is paſſable, you will ſee your Continent covered with* Syrians, *and your Ports filled with my Fleets. I will ſpare neither Expences, nor Fatigues, nor Dangers, to re-eſtabliſh you in perfect Liberty.* Rome *has enſlaved you.* Syria *offers you an Avenger. Let us then ſhare the Trouble between us. Do you furniſh Magazines of Proviſions; I will find Men, and Arms.*

Livy B. 35. c. 44.

THIS Speech was received with Applauſe; and when the King was withdrawn, the only Queſtion was, what Title they ſhould give the *Syrian*, and under what Character he ſhould act in *Ætolia*. *Phæneas*, a leading Man, was for having *Antiochus* act only as a Mediator between *Rome* and *Ætolia*. But the ſeditious *Thoas* contended, that he ought to be nominated Generaliſſimo of the *Grecian*

185 *Antiochus*, ſays *Livy*, had put in at *Ilium*, a City of *Troas*, or *Little Phrygia*, ſituated between Mount *Ida*, and the Coaſts of the *Ægean* Sea; and there offered Sacrifices to *Minerva*, and uſed all Means to ſecure the Protection of the Goddeſs.

186 *Imbros*, an Iſland in the *Ægean* Sea, of which we have already ſpoken, is now called *Lembro*.

187 See what we have already ſaid of *Scyathos*, now *Sciato*, an Iſland in the *Ægean* Sea.

188 The Place where *Pteleum* formerly ſtood, is now called *Fitleo*.

Armies againſt *Rome*; and his Opinion prevailed. Then a Council of thirty Perſons was appointed, to whom the King might have Recourſe, when he pleaſed, and as Occaſion required; and this Council judged it neceſſary to begin with a Negotiation with *Chalcis*, a City which obſtinately adhered to the *Roman* Faction. Nothing was ſaid of attacking it openly, or leading a great Army before it; it was thought that the King's Preſence would be ſufficient to reduce this important Place. *Antiochus* therefore took with him only a thouſand of the *Syrian* Troops, which he had landed, marched towards *Phocis*, and came to [189] *Chæronea*. There a ſmall Body of *Ætolians*, brought thither in ten Veſſels, joined him; and they all encamped at *Salganea*, on the ſide oppoſite to *Eubœa*. Then they invited the *Chalcidians* to a friendly Conference on the Confines of *Eubœa*, and *Miſtio*, came thither, with a Guard. The King paſſed the *Euripus*, and continued on board his Galley, during the Conference; and the *Ætolians* made great Efforts to perſuade the *Chalcidians* to enter into the Confederacy. *We don't inſiſt*, ſaid they to *Miſtio, that you ſhould renounce the Friendſhip of the* Romans. *But can you withſtand the Advances which a powerful Monarch makes to you? He is come purely to relieve* Greece, *and deliver us from Slavery; not in Word only, as the* Romans *did, but in Fact. He is not come to bring War, but Peace. Receive then the Deliverer of* Greece *as a Friend at leaſt, if you do no more.* To which *Miſtio* replied, with an Air of Aſtoniſhment; *What Slavery do you ſpeak of, and what are the Evils, from which you promiſe us Deliverance?* Eubœa *enjoys the Benefit of her own Laws, in Tranquillity, and is under no foreign Yoke. We look on the* Roman *Republick, the King of* Syria, *and the* Ætolians, *as ſo many powerful Friends, with whom we keep up a faithful Correſpondence. The* Romans *have delivered us from the Slavery to which* Philip *had reduced us; and we ſhall ever retain a grateful Remembrance of ſo great an Obligation.* Theſe Words were brought to the King on board his Ship; and he was then ſenſible, that the firſt Step they had made him take, was a fruitleſs and inglorious Attempt.

§. LVIII. But *Thoas* appeaſed *Antiochus*, with the Hopes of bringing *Amynander*, the King of the *Athamanes*, into his Intereſt, as well as *Bœotia*, and *Achaia*. And certainly, if that Scheme had taken Place, the *Roman* Intereſt would have been ruined in *Greece*. The King of *Syria* was informed, That the *Bœotians* were much troubled at the Death of *Brachyllas*, and That time had not worn out their Reſentments againſt *Rome*. To which it was added, That *Philopœmenes*, that formidable Chief of the *Achaians*, ſtill harboured in his Breaſt a ſecret Jealouſy of *Flaminius*. And laſtly, with Reſpect to the King of the *Athamanes*, *Antiochus* was made to believe, That a private Intrigue was on Foot, for drawing him off from the *Roman* Party. So that the *Ætolians* began their Negociations with theſe three Cantons. In the firſt Place, they ſent an Embaſſy to *Achaia*. The *Achaian* Diet, which was held at *Ægium* [190], where *Flamininus* then was, gave Audience to the Envoys from *Antiochus*, and the *Ætolians*. The *Syrian* Ambaſſador, who ſpoke firſt, greatly extolled the irreſiſtible Power of his Maſter. He ſpoke of nothing but *Cuiraſſiers*, in impenetrable Armour; and Horſemen, who threw their Darts with as much Skill, when they turned their Backs, as when they faced the Enemy. He talked of a prodigious Aſſembly of warlike Nations, whoſe Names had ſcarce been ever heard of in *Greece*. He repreſented the Fleets of *Antiochus* as ſo numerous, that all the Ports of *Greece* could not contain them. He amplified the Riches of the King of *Syria*, and ſaid, That it was needleſs to mention his Wealth, ſince they knew how much *Aſia* abounded with Gold. *The* Romans, ſaid he, *will not now have to do with* Hannibal, *and* Antiochus *only. All* Aſia, *that is, the richeſt and moſt populous part of the World, will declare againſt them. Not that we inſiſt*, Achaians, *on your taking up Arms againſt* Rome *your Ally. If you ſtand neuter only, that ſhall be ſufficient to ſcreen your Regions from the Inundation of the* Aſiaticks, *which threaten you.* As for the *Ætolian* Envoy, whoſe Name was *Archidamus*, he ſcarce did any thing more, than repeat

Livy, B. 35. c. 48.

Livy, ibid.

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189 *Chæronea* was formerly a famous City of *Bœotia*, after *Philip* of *Macedon* had gained a ſignal Victory over the *Greeks*, in the adjoining Fields; but it now ſcarce retains any Traces of what it formerly was.

190 *Ægium*, a City of *Achaia*, ſtood on the South-Coaſt of *The Gulph of Corinth*, between *Patræ* and *Sicyon*. It is now almoſt buried in Ruins. The few Remains of it that are left, are called *Voſtiza*, according to *Niger*.

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Livy, ibid.

the emphatick Terms and moderate Demands of the *Syrian*. *Be ye*, said he, *the Spectators of a War, which must swallow up* Rome, *and avenge the Cheat* Flaminus *has put upon you. Unfortunate* Achaia! *How many Calamities has this* Roman *brought upon thee! But could the pretended Conqueror of* Philip *have subdued him without us? What great Action has he done during the War? His whole time has been spent in Victims and Sacrifices. He was offering up his Vows at the Altars, when I was exposing myself to the Darts of the Enemy for his sake.* *Flamininus* heard all these Reproaches with Patience, and answered them with Pleasantry, in this manner. *Attempts have now been made,* Achaians, *to dazzle your Eyes, with an Enumeration of these Nations of* Asia, *which are to pour in, like a Torrent, upon* Greece. *Which is much the same Case that happened to me, when I was visiting a* Chalcidian, *my Friend. He had invited me to an Entertainment, in a Season, when Game was most scarce; and yet there seemed to be a vast Plenty of it at his Table. But my Friend desired me not to be guilty of a Mistake; I have nothing,* said he, *sent up to my Table, but common Bacon; though my Cook has indeed disguised it several Ways, and given it different Tastes, and different Names. Such is this pompous Enumeration of all the Nations that are said to be arming against you. In one Word, they are all* Asiaticks. *Whatever Disguises may be put upon it, they are all but one sort of Men. Let the Sauce be what it will, the Meat is the same. And as for the* Ætolians, *they are brave only in Words. Could any one have thought it possible, that they should have the Insolence to impute solely to themselves, the War we made with them against* Philip? *What,* Ætolians, *do you pretend to impose upon* Achaia, *which knows you? These Discourses are fit only to amuse* Syrians. *You may flatter them, and they you; that is, you may mutually use one another ill. The* Asiaticks *speak with great Ostentation of that Deluge of Soldiers, which it is said will soon fall upon these Countries. The* Ætolians *magnify their late Feats of Valour, beyond Probability. The former feed upon Hopes; the latter upon Smoke. You may judge of it, by the Figure this powerful King of the* Syrians *is come to make in these Parts. All his Army is scarce equal to two of the smallest of our* Legions. *And where are the Riches which he promises you? He is forced himself to live upon Credit, to borrow Money to buy Provisions for his Army, and to pay a great Interest for it. What a Figure did he make in* Euboea, *on the Banks of the* Euripus? *What a shameful Refusal was he forced to receive from the* Chalcidians! *But he only demands of* Ætolia *a Neutrality. That is, he invites you to become a Prey to both Parties; and to suffer all the Evils of War, without sharing the Advantages of Victory.*

This Discourse, though spoken with a familiar Air, had a better Effect, than a studied Harangue. The *Achaians* discovered a Fund of good Sense in it, which convinced them. They, without Hesitation, declared for the *Romans*, and adhered to their first Confederacy. Nor was this all. By *Flamininus*'s Advice, they immediately sent five hundred Men to strengthen the Garrison of *Chalcis*; and five hundred more to the Port of *Pyræus*, to encourage the *Athænians*, who began to [191] waver.

§. LIX. Thus the Embassy of *Antiochus*, and the *Ætolians*, had succeeded ill in *Achaia*; and that which they sent to *Bœotia*, was scarce any better received. In a national Council, the *Bœotians* coldly answered, That they would come to no Resolution, till *Antiochus*'s Army was on the Frontiers of *Bœotia*. This Answer did not please the *Syrian*, or his Friends, the *Ætolians*. However, they might still engage *Amynander* in the League. This King of the *Athamanes* had married at *Megalopolis*, a Woman named *Apamia*, a Native of *Macedon*, who was said to be descended from *Alexander the Great*. The Father of *Apamia*, who also bore the Name of *Alexander*, gave out among the *Megalopolitans*, with whom he chose to live, that he was the true Heir of the Kingdom of *Macedon*. The Brother of *Apamia*, whose Name was *Philip*, governed the Kingdom of *Athamania*, under *Amynander*, who was a weak Prince, and very unfit for Business: And *Antiochus*

App. in Syriac. N. 93. Livy B. 35. n. 47.

[191] Several of the Citizens of *Athens*, being seduced by *Antiochus*'s Promises, declared openly in favour of that Prince; and *Quinctius* being informed of the secret Cabals, and ill Designs, of a few factious Men, came immediately to *Athens*. *Apollodorus* was cited to appear; was accused by *Leon*, as the chief Author of the Revolt; and was banished with Ignominy.

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gained over *Philip*, to the *Syrian*'s Intereſt. They told him, that by the Help of the King of *Syria* he might aſcend the Throne of his Anceſtors. This glimmering Hope brought him over to the *Ætolians*; and then it was eaſy for *Antiochus* to have ſubdued all *Theſſaly* by his means. But the *Syrian* deliberated, whether he ſhould preſently ſeize it, or tarry till Spring. Upon which, *Hannibal* ſpoke to the King, with all the Freedom of a Soldier, and all the Penetration of an old Commander. *You have been impoſed on, my Lord*, ſaid he to *Antiochus*. *In order to draw you into* Europe, *you was made to believe, that the King of* Macedon, *and the* Lacedæmonians, *would join their Forces to yours. But neither one, nor the other, appear more ready to follow your Standards, than* Achaia, *and* Bœotia. *The King of the* Athamanes, *is but a weak Support to you*; *and as to* Theſſaly, *it is an open Country, and was ruined in the late Wars. You may readily ſubdue it, when you pleaſe*; *and will perhaps as readily loſe it again, upon the firſt Approach of the* Romans. *The* Ætolians *alone, and the few Troops you have brought hither, are not ſufficient to ſupport your Dignity here. Continue unactive therefore till you have, with the utmoſt Expedition, brought into* Europe, *all thoſe prodigious Armies you maintain in* Aſia. *Then divide them into two Bodies. Send me into* Italy, *to make a powerful Diverſion there with one*; *and wait with the other for the firſt Opportunity that offers to ſignalize yourſelf. The firſt Man you treat with, ought to be* Philip *of* Macedon. *Gain him over to you. Or if he is untractable, ſend your Son* Seleucus *into* Macedon *through* Thrace, *and you will thereby hinder the* Macedonian's *giving any Aſſiſtance to your Enemies.* This was very ſenſible, and wiſe Advice. But it was *Hannibal*'s Fate, always to ſpeak Truth, and never to be believed.

§. LX. THE King of *Syria* purſued the more narrow Views of his Courtiers. Indeed he ſent Orders to his Officers in *Aſia*, to bring all his Troops into *Greece*. And in the mean time, he engaged in an Expedition, which ſucceeded to his Wiſh. He had received Intelligence, that the *Achaians*, King *Eumenes*, and the *Prætor Attalus*, were each to ſend to *Chalcis*, through different Roads, five hundred Men to reinforce the Garriſon. Thoſe of King *Eumenes*, and the five hundred *Achaians*, had already paſſed the *Euripus*, and were entered into the City, under the Command of *Xenoclides*; but *Antiochus* reſolved to intercept the *Romans*. With this View, he aſſembled nine thouſand of his Troops; detached three thouſand of them, under the Command of *Menippus*; and at the ſame time ordered *Polixenidas* to bring up all his Fleet towards the *Euripus*, to ſtop up the Entrance into it. A few Days after the two Generals were gone, the King began his March, at the Head of the ſix thouſand Men he had left with him, and a ſmall Number of *Ætolians*. The five hundred *Romans* were commanded by *Miſtio* the *Chalcidian*, who having been ſent by his Countrymen, on a Deputation to *Quinctius*, had obtained the Succours he was conducting. When he came near *Salganea*, with this new Reinforcement, in order to croſs the *Euripus* to go to *Chalcis*, he was immediately informed, that *Menippus*, with his three thouſand Men, was encamped within ſight of that City: And at the ſame time he ſaw the Canal covered with *Syrian* Ships. He therefore found it neceſſary to march towards a Temple of *Apollo*, about five Miles from [192] *Tanagra*; from whence it was but about four Miles over to *Eubœa*. And there the *Romans* waited for a convenient Paſſage, and amuſed themſelves, either with conſidering the Beauties of this Temple, or walking about the neighbouring Fields. But their Leiſure was interrupted, by the Detachment of the *Syrian* Army, led by *Menippus*, who fell upon them, killed many of them, and took fifty Priſoners of War. Few of them eſcaped; but *Miſtio* retired in a Skiff, and got ſafe to *Eubœa*. This was the firſt time *Antiochus* drew his Sword in theſe Parts; and by thus ſpilling *Roman* Blood, which was firſt done at *Delium* [193] (which was the Name of the Temple) the King of *Syria* made himſelf the Aggreſſor. He thereby gave the *Roman* Republick a new Right to declare War with him. However, this ſlight Advantage made him more enterprizing. He had a ſecond Conference with the Inhabitants of *Chalcis*. His Army was

Liv. B. 35. c. 50.

192 *Tanagra*, a City of *Bœotia* on the Banks of the *Aſopus*, and five Miles from the *Euripus*, is now called *Anatoria*.

193 This Temple, conſecrated to *Apollo*, was built on the Sea-Coaſt of *Bœotia*, between the City of *Aulis*, and the Mouth of the *Aſopus*, five Miles from *Tanagra*.

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ſtronger than formerly, and his Fleet threatened the City; and notwithſtanding the Oppoſitions of *Miſtio*, and *Xenoclides*, the *Chalcidians* opened their [194] Gates to him. Then the Reduction of the Capital was followed by the Surrendry of the whole Iſland; and all *Eubœa* became ſubject to the *Syrian*. This unfortunate Prince did not then foreſee, that *Chalcis* would prove a fatal Place to him. He did not foreſee, that he ſhould there ſuffer himſelf to be captivated, and unmanned by Pleaſure, as much as *Hannibal* had been at *Capua*; and thereby loſe the beſt part, both of his Succeſſes, and his Glory.

Livy B. 36. c. 5.

ANTIOCHUS from that time made *Chalcis* his Place of Reſidence. He ſpent the Winter there; and ſent from thence to ſollicite the ſeveral Cantons of *Greece* to revolt. Some Nations, of their own accord, ſent their Ambaſſadors to the King of *Syria*, whoſe Power began to be formidable. The *Elians* and *Epirots* in particular, ſent Deputations to him; the former from *Peloponneſus*, and the latter from the Coaſts of *Epirus*, which were neareſt to *Italy*. The *Elians* demanded Succours againſt the *Achaians*, who, enraged at their having embraced the *Ætolian* Party, contrary to their Advice, had carried the War into their Country. But the *Epirots* treated with more Caution. Their Deſign was to gain the Friendſhip of *Antiochus*, without coming to a Breach with the *Romans*. *We are*, ſaid they, *the neareſt Nation to* Italy, *of any in* Greece, *and the moſt expoſed to the Invaſion of the* Romans. *Their firſt Fire will fall upon us. Either therefore ſend us Land-Forces, and Ships enough to guard us againſt them, or give us Leave to keep up a good Intelligence with* Rome. The *Epirots* had two Points in view; firſt to guard themſelves againſt the Arms of the *Syrian*, if he extended his Conqueſts to them; and in the next Place, not to exaſperate the *Romans* againſt them. As for *Antiochus*, he granted the *Elians* a thouſand Men to guard their Country; and promiſed the *Epirots* to ſend Deputies to them, to examine into the Situation of their Affairs on the Spot. After this, the King ſet out for *Bœotia*. This Republick was now much degenerated from what it had formerly been. The Diſſentions among the Great Men, had even made the People deſirous of a Change in the Government; and as ſoon as *Antiochus* appeared, the *Bœotians* granted him more than he asked. They knew that the *Roman* Blood ſhed near the Temple of *Apollo*, was an open Declaration of War. But nevertheleſs, they joined with *Antiochus*, and renounced their Confederacy with *Rome*.

Polyb in Legat. N. 12. and from him *Livy.*

§. LXI. And now, the time approaching for aſſembling the Armies to take the Field, *Antiochus* came into the Territory of *Lariſſa*, and ſent from thence to ſummons his Allies, to bring their Troops near *Pheræ*, where the general *Rendezvous* was to be. And whilſt he was waiting for the Arrival of the *Ætolian* Troops, and the *Athamanes*; the *Syrian* took *Philip*, the Regent of *Athamania*, and Pretender to the Crown of *Macedon*, with him to *Cynocephalæ*. There the Bones of the *Macedonians* killed in the Battel, in which the King of *Macedon* had been vanquiſhed, ſtill remained unburied: And he thought, that if *Philip* the *Megalopolitan* procured Obſequies to be performed for them, he would thereby gain the Affection of a People, to whom he had ſome Pretentions. Whereas, this Step ſerved only to irritate the true King of *Macedon*. He immediately applied himſelf to the *Romans*, and gave them Advice of the Progreſs *Antiochus* was beginning to make, in *Greece*. *Bœbius* promiſed him, That he would ſoon take the Field; and That they would concert Meaſures together, to put a Stop to the Invaſions of *Antiochus*. This Prince having yet no Enemies to reſiſt him, beſieged

194 Thoſe of the Citizens of *Chalcis*, who perſiſted in their Attachment to the *Roman* Republick, marched out of the City, upon *Antiochus*'s Arrival; and whilſt this Prince was reducing *Eubœa*, *Menippus*, one of his Generals, beſieged *Salganea*. The Garriſon which conſiſted of ſome Soldiers of the King of *Pergamus*, and a little Body of *Achæans*, could not hold out long againſt the Power of the Beſiegers. They were forced to deliver up the Place; but obtained the honourable Terms of being ſuffered to march out of the City, with their Arms and Baggage, and retire to what Place they pleaſed. In the mean time, the *Romans* were buſy in defending a conſiderable Fort, on the Banks of the *Euripus*, near *Chalcis*. *Antiochus* could not think his Dominion ſufficiently eſtabliſhed in the Iſland, as long as this advantageous Poſt continued in other Hands, and therefore reſolved to beſiege it by Sea and Land. The Beſieged ſuſtained the Attacks of the Enemy, with an Intrepidity, that ſurprized *Antiochus*; and he had recourſe to his Machines. Upon this terrible Sight, the few Soldiers in the Caſtle thought it needleſs to make any longer Reſiſtance, and therefore ſurrendered. And this Conqueſt drew after it the Reduction of all the Cities, that yet adhered to the *Romans* in *Eubœa*.

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Pheræ [195], and forced it to ſurrender. From thence he marched four thouſand Men into the Neighbourhood of *Scotuſſa*; and this City, intimidated by the taking of *Pheræ*, opened her Gates to him. *Antiochus* entered into it, and gave the *Lariſſans*, which defended the City, their Lives, in hopes of drawing *Lariſſa* over to him. Then he appeared before *Lariſſa*; but this City ſeemed ready to ſuſtain a Siege with Conſtancy. The King of *Syria* in vain marched up his Army in Battalia, very near to the Walls. He in vain ſhewed a great Number of Elephants, of which his firſt Line conſiſted. The *Lariſſans* were indeed moved at it, but not diſcouraged. *Antiochus* therefore deliberated, whether he ſhould lay ſiege to it, or leave it; and during his [196] Irreſolution, a Body of *Romans* arrived, under the Command of *Appius Claudius*. The *Prætor Bœbius*, after he had had an Interview with King *Philip*, ſent theſe Succours through *Macedon*. They came to *Gonni*, a City about twenty Miles from *Lariſſa*, near a Paſs, which leads to the delicious *Valley of Tempe*. There *Claudius* encamped, in a much larger Camp, than was neceſſary for the Troops he commanded; and kindled ſo many Fires in it, that *Antiochus* was deceived by it. He thought all the *Prætor*'s Forces, joined with thoſe of *Macedon*, were coming to fall upon him; decamped; came to *Demetrias*; and from thence returned to *Chalcis*. There this Prince, though advanced in Years, for he was above fifty, ſuffered himſelf to be captivated by the Charms of a fair *Chalcidian*. She was the Daughter of one of the moſt conſiderable Citizens of *Chalcis*, named *Cleoptolemus*, who lent the King his Houſe to lodge in. The *Chalcidian*'s Family was regular, and his Daughter prudent. The Prince was therefore forced to divulge his Paſſion to the Father, and to deſire his Conſent to his marrying his Daughter. And *Cleoptolemus* ſeemed at firſt untractable. The Diſproportion of her Age and Condition to that of the King, made him fear, ſhe would long repent her Advancement to this glittering Station. But at laſt *Antiochus* himſelf began to exert the Authority of a Sovereign; and then there was a Neceſſity of acquieſcing. The Marriage was celebrated with regal Magnificence, and with as much Security, as in the moſt peaceable times. *Antiochus* was ſo wholly taken up with his new Wife, that he ſeemed to forget *Rome*, *Greece*, and *Syria*. Neither the Support of this important War, nor the Defence of his Allies, nor the Preſervation of his Glory, at all affected him. His Love for the new Queen engroſſed the whole Man. He ſpent the reſt of the Winter in Feaſts, and Rejoicings. This ill Example at Court ſpread itſelf among the Officers of the *Syrian* Army, and even infected the common Soldiers: They diſperſed themſelves

Appian in Syriac. N. 96. *Livy, B.* 36. *c.* 11.

[195] The Inhabitants of *Pheræ* in vain remonſtrated to *Antiochus*, by their Deputies, that he could not, without Injuſtice, turn his Arms againſt a free People, who had given him no Offence. *Pauſanias*, the Chief of the Envoys, in vain conjured him to withdraw his Troops, and grant them a Conference, wherein he might freely declare his Pretenſions. The Deputy received no Anſwer, but hard Words, and the moſt terrible Threatnings, in caſe the Inhabitants perſiſted in ſhutting the Gates of their Cities againſt the *Syrian*. And upon *Pauſanias*'s Report of the ill Succeſs of his Commiſſion, the Citizens reſolved to run all the Hazards of a Siege, rather than be wanting in the Fidelity they had promiſed the *Romans*, their old Allies. On the other hand, the King of *Syria* immediately inveſted the Place. He took it for granted, that the taking of *Pheræ*, would ſtrike Horror into all *Theſſaly*, and that the Conqueſt of the whole Province depended on the Reduction of this City; and therefore ordered a general Aſſault to be made upon it. The Beſieged ſuſtained the firſt Attack of the Aſſailants, with Conſtancy enough; but their Courage ſoon failed. They were terrified at the Sight of the Dead and Wounded, and began to give way. Nay, they would immediately have fled, if the chief Men of the Garriſon, had not had recourſe to Threatnings and Blows, to make them keep their Ground; and notwithſtanding theſe, they were ſo much overpowered by the Enemy, and reduced to ſo ſmall a Number, that they were forced to leave the Walls. They were obliged to retire within their ſecond Trenches, which were much narrower than the firſt: and then, after they had performed wonderful Exploits, in point of Valour, the braveſt of them were ſenſible, That a longer Reſiſtance, could not ſecure the City, againſt ſo numerous an Army; and That they were raſhly expoſing themſelves to certain Death, without any Hopes of Succeſs. Upon which they immediately ſurrendered. By their Surrendry, they appeaſed the Wrath of *Antiochus*, and preſerved their City from the uſual Fury of a victorious Enemy, in Cities taken by Aſſault. This is *Livy*'s Account of the Siege and Reduction of *Pheræ*.

[196] Whilſt *Antiochus* was ſubduing the fineſt Countries in *Greece*, King *Amynander*, at the Head of his *Athamanian* Troops, was reducing *Pellina*, a City of *Æſtiotis*, ſituated near the Banks of the *Peneus*. As for *Menippus*, he was making a Progreſs at the Head of three thouſand *Ætolian* Foot, and two hundred Horſe, in *Perrhæbia*; and there made himſelf Maſter of *Mallæa*, and *Cyretiæ*. From thence his Troops went, and diſperſed themſelves in the Fields of *Pelagonia*, and deſtroyed every thing with Fire and Sword. In the mean time, the King of *Syria* was ſtill purſuing his Conqueſts. He had, in ten Days time, reduced the Cities of *Crano*, *Cypæra*, *Metropolis*, and all the Places in that Neighbourhood, except *Atrax*, and *Gyrto*. All theſe Places were in *Theſſaly*, except *Gyrto*, which *Pliny* ſays, ſtood in *Magneſia*.

about

Year of *ROME* DLXI.

L. Quinctius Flamininus, Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus, Consuls.

Liv. B. 36. c. 2.

about *Bœotia.* Diſcipline was neglected, Debauchery ſupplied the Place of Duty, their Bodies were weakened, and they began to love Idleneſs.

§. LXII. Thus *Antiochus* was loſt in Pleaſure at *Chalcis*; but at *Rome*, the People were very watchful of his Steps. After the Maſſacre of the five hundred *Romans*, in the Temple of *Apollo*, the Senate and People had made a Decree, that a War ſhould be carried on with the King of *Syria*, with the utmoſt Fury. He had actually made himſelf the Aggreſſor; and *Rome* was well pleaſed to be able to throw on him the Blame of beginning a War, with which ſhe had threatened him, upon Grounds not very lawful. Every thing ſeemed quiet in *Italy*, and *Spain.* In *Italy*, the two *Conſuls* for the Year, were gone into *Ciſalpine Gaul*, through different Ways, and there laid waſte the Country of the *Boii*, and forced the Senate of that Nation, and almoſt all the Nobility of the Country, to become ſubject to the Republick. Nevertheleſs, the Fury [197] of the *Gauls* was not yet abated. In *Spain*, in *The Hither Province*, the *Pro-Prætor Flamininus* had taken from the Rebels the City of [198] *Litabrum*, and made *Corribilo*, one of the chief Kings in the Country, Priſoner of War. In *The Further Province*, *M. Fulvius* had defeated the *Spaniards*, in two pitched Battels, and made himſelf Maſter of ſeveral Cities of Importance. Among theſe Conqueſts were *Veſcelia* [199], *Holo* [200], *Noliba* [201], *Cuſibi* [202], and *Toledo* [203]; which was then only a Village, but ſtrong by Situation. All theſe Succeſſes in the Weſt, made it the more eaſy for the *Romans*, to execute their Deſign, of ſending the beſt part of their Forces to the *Levant.* The Republick had commanded the two *Prætors*, who continued at *Rome*, to build, or equip, a hundred *Quinqueremes*, to ſcour the Eaſtern Seas. And in order to haſten the Preparations for the next Year, the Election of new *Conſuls* had been anticipated. Ambition had raiſed almoſt as great Conteſts in theſe laſt *Comitia*, as in thoſe of the laſt Year. Two *Scipio's*, the one Brother, the other Couſin German to *Africanus*, and one *C. Manlius Vulſo*, had canvaſſed for the *Patrician Conſulſhip*; and the Conteſt was great between them. But the People thought it indecent to exclude the Relations of the Great *Scipio* a ſecond time. The Diſlike the Publick had conceived to this great Man, was a little worn out by time, and his Abſence from *Rome*; and upon his return, he had the Confidence to offer his Brother *Lucius Scipio*, and his near Relation *P. Scipio*, for

Livy, B. 35. c. 22.

197 *Quintus Minucius Thermus*, the *Conſul* for the laſt Year, had cut in pieces the *Ligures*, in the Fields of *Piſa.* Nevertheleſs, the Loſs of nine thouſand Men, killed on the Spot, and of their Camp, and the Devaſtation of their Cities, and Towns, were not ſufficient to reduce to their Duty, this untractable People, who were always ready to ſhake off the Yoke. It was neceſſary that *Lucius Quinctius Flamininus* ſhould go into *Liguria*, with a new Army. This rebellious Nation had lately taken up Arms again. But every thing gave way before the *Conſul.* The Rebels diſperſed themſelves. Nevertheleſs, they were puniſhed for their Revolt, by the Ravages of their Country. The *Roman* Troops deſtroyed it with Fire and Sword. Moſt of their Forts and Caſtles were razed; and the *Conſul* returned to *Rome*, loaded with the Spoils of the Enemy, and followed by a great Number of Captives. He had alſo the Glory, in this Campaign, to deliver ſeveral *Romans*, whom the *Ligures* had condemned to Slavery.

198 The City of *Litabrum* belonged to *Hither Spain*, which was fallen to *Caius Flaminius.* It is ſtrange, that *Morales* ſhould place it near *Segovia*, in the Country of the *Arevacæ.* If that had been its Situation, we muſt have concluded that it belonged to *Further Spain*, notwithſtanding what *Livy* ſays of it. It is certain, that *Toledo* belonged to the laſt mentioned Province. We have a plain Proof of it in *Livy.* *Fulvius*, ſays he, the General of the *Roman* Army in *Further Spain*, gained a famous Victory over three *Spaniſh* Nations, in ſight of *Toledo.* Nevertheleſs, it is certain, that this ancient Capital of *New Caſtille*, ſtands on this ſide the Canton which the *Arevacæ* formerly poſſeſſed, and was nearer to the Banks of the *Ebro*, than *Segovia.* And if then it is certain, that the firſt of theſe two Cities was in *The Further Spain*, we muſt conclude, that *Segovia* was ſo too, or be guilty of a manifeſt Contradiction. So that it is probable, that *Litabrum* ſtood further Eaſtwards towards the Banks of the *Ebro*, than *Segovia.* *Father Briet* conjectures, that it ſtood near *Marcotea.*

199 So far as we can judge by the Reſemblance of Names, *Veſcelia* ſeems to be the ſame Place, that *Pliny* and *Ptolomy* call *Veſcis*, or *Veſci.* Moſt modern Geographers place it in the Country of the *Turduli*, on the Eaſtern Confines of *Bœotia.* *Niger* takes it to be the ſame Place as *Velas.* Others will have it to be *Hueſca.* *Sanſon* pretends to find it near *Vergix.*

200 *Holo*, which is thought to be the ſame Place as *Alone*, ſtood, according to *Mela*, in the Country of the *Conteſtani*, a People of *Valencia*, pretty near *The Gulph of Alicant.* According to moſt Geographers, particularly *Ferrarius* and *Brietius*, it is the preſent *Alicant.* But ſome confound it with *Xixime.*

201 *Father Briet* thinks that *Noliba*, or *Nolebia*, ſtood in the Country of the *Oretani* near *Malaga.* But that Situation cannot agree with this latter City, which belonged to the *Baſtuli*, who inhabited the Sea-Coaſt of *Bætica.* Some Moderns take it for *Almodovar*; others, for *Molina.*

202 *Cuſibi*, according to *Briet*, was near *Conſuegra*, in the Country of the *Oretani.* Some place it near *Puebla de Alcocer.*

203 As to *Toledo*, which underwent the ſame Fate as the Cities juſt mentioned, *Livy* ſays it was remarkable for nothing, but its good Situation, and ſtrong Walls.

the

the *Conſulate*. The Suffrages fell on *Scipio Naſica*, the Man whoſe Virtue had been ſo publickly recognized, and Valour ſo publickly approved; and his Collegue was one [204] *M' Acilius Glabrio*, a *Plebeian*, but worthy of the *Faſces*, with which he was honoured. But though theſe two *Conſuls* were choſen before the uſual time, they did not enter upon their Office, till the preſent Year was expired [205].

Year of *ROME* DLXII.

P. Cornelius Scipio Naſica, M'Acilius Glabrio, Conſuls.

The firſt Days of the new *Conſulſhip* were ſpent in religious Offices. Before the *Conſuls* drew Lots for their Provinces, the Senate ordered the Temples in the City, where the Sacrifices were generally offered up, to be opened, and Victims of the firſt Sort to be ſacrificed in them. Their Deſign was to conſult the Gods concerning an Affair of Importance, which *The Conſcript Fathers* had not yet made publick by any Decree: And the *Aruſpices* having never found the Entrails of the Victims more ſound, the *Romans* thought this a certain Prognoſtick of an important Conqueſt. The Senate took alſo another Precaution. That they might not ſeem to ſhew any perſonal Favour or Diſlike to either of the *Conſuls*, they regulated the Number of Troops each ſhould have, before their Provinces were aſſigned them by Lot. He to whom *Greece* ſhould fall, was to carry thither the great Army which *L. Quinctius* had raiſed the laſt Year, and take upon him the Command of thoſe Troops upon the Spot, which the *Prætor Bæbius* had commanded, and were ſtill there. Leave was alſo given him to raiſe five thouſand Auxiliaries among the Allies, out of *Italy*; and *L. Quinctius*, the late *Conſul*, was nominated Lieutenant-General of the Army deſigned for *Greece*. That *Conſul* to whoſe Lot *Italy* ſhould fall, was to carry on the War in the Country of the *Boii*; and had his Choice of either of the two Armies the *Conſuls* his Predeceſſors had commanded the laſt Year; but was ordered to ſend back the other to the City, to march wherever the Republick ſhould judge it neceſſary. After theſe prudent Regulations, War was formally declared with *Antiochus*. The Senate adviſed it; and the People, to whom it belonged, reſolved upon it, and carried it by a Majority of Votes. Then the *Conſuls* drew Lots; and *Italy* fell to *Scipio Naſica*; *Greece*, to *Acilius*. After which, the latter was ordered to make a Vow to *Jupiter*, for the Proſperity of his Arms in the *Levant*. The *Pontifex Maximus* ſettled the Form of it, and *Acilius* pronounced it. It was this. *Great* Jupiter! *we promiſe thee, that if we make War with* Antiochus *with Succeſs, we will celebrate* The Great Games *to thy Honour, for ten Days together; and will make Preſents to all the Temples, of as much Money as the Senate ſhall appoint. The Magiſtrate for the time being, whoſoever he ſhall be, ſhall diſcharge this Vow.* Nor was this all. The two *Conſuls* ordered publick Prayers to be offered up before-hand, in all the Temples, for two Days. In this manner did the *Romans* prepare for great Expeditions. In the midſt of their Riches and Luxury, they did not forget the Uſages of their Anceſtors, in the Worſhip of the Gods. From the very Birth of *Rome*, her Religion had animated her *Legions* to the moſt deſperate Enterprizes; and the Prejudices of Superſtition ſtill continued to render her Arms victorious, till ſhe became Miſtreſs of the whole World.

Liv. B. 36. c. 1.

§. LXIII. Then theſe firſt Cares gave way to others, which were at preſent neceſſary. The Provinces of the *Prætors* [207] were aſſigned them by Lot. *A. Cornelius Mammula* was ſent into *Bruttium*, to guard the Coaſt as far as *Tarentum* [208], againſt the Attempts of *Hannibal*, and *Antiochus*. *M. Æmilius Lepidus* ſet out for *Sicily*,

204 All the *Roman* Hiſtorians give us Reaſon to believe, that the *Acilian* Family was *Plebeian*; and we have a convincing Proof of it in *Livy*, who mentions one *Acilius* among the *Tribunes of the People* for the Year 551. We have alſo obſerved, and it is well known, that theſe Magiſtrates could only be choſen out of the *Plebeians*.

205 This Year 561 was remarkable, ſays *Livy*, for the great Overflowings of the *Tyber*. It overflowed with ſuch Rapidity, that it beat down two Bridges, drowned ſome Parts of *Rome*, and threw down ſeveral Buildings, eſpecially near the Gate *Flumentana*. And in the neighbouring Fields it did more Damage. Many Beaſts were drowned, and Villages buried under Water. And the *Romans* were as much alarmed at the Sight of ſome Perſons who were cruſhed to Pieces by a great Piece of a Rock, which broke off from the Hill *Capitolinus*.

206 We have, in ſeveral Places of this Hiſtory, already obſerved what were the different Privileges of *The Comitia by Centuries*, *by Tribes*, and *by Curiæ*.

207 *Marcus Bæbius*, *Cornelius Mammula*'s Predeceſſor, had Orders to guard the Sea-Coaſts of *South Italy*, from *Tarentum* to *Brunduſium*, and keep himſelf in a Readineſs to go into *Macedon*, in Caſe of Need. And this General came accordingly into *Epirus*, and landed his Troops in ſight of *Apollonia*.

208 Beſides the Army that *Marcus Fulvius* had commanded in *Spain*, as *Pro-Prætor*, the Senate aſſigned *Paulus Æmilius* a Reinforcement of three

Year of ROME DLXII.

P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, M'Acilius Glabrio, Consuls.

Sicily, with Orders to detain his Predeceſſor *L. Valerius*, to ſhare the Government of that Province with him; and to give him the Command of twenty Ships, to guard the Iſland. A third *Prætor*, named *C. Livius Salinator*, was appointed Admiral of the Fleet which was to act againſt the *Syrian*, in the *Grecian* Seas. And laſtly, *Oppius Salinator* was ſent to *Sardinia*. *Further Spain* fell to *Æmilius Paulus*. The *Prætors* of *Sicily* and *Sardinia* had Orders to raiſe Corn in their Provinces, for the Subſiſtence of the *Roman* Army in the *Levant*. They were required to demand of the *Sicilians* and *Sardinians* a fifth Part of their Crops, in Kind; inſtead of only a tenth, which they uſed to pay. Agents were alſo ſent to the Coaſts of *Africa*, to *Carthage*, and to *Numidia*, to buy Proviſions. And laſtly, an Edict was paſſed, fobidding the Senators, and other Magiſtrates, to go farther than half a Day's Journey from *Rome*; and forbidding above five of *The Conſcript Fathers* to be abſent from the City at a time. The main Difficulty was, how to furniſh the Fleet with a ſufficient Number of Seamen. The maritime Colonies of *Oſtia*, *Fregenæ* [210], *Antium*, and [211] ſome other Places, pretended to be exempt from theſe Drudgeries. But a Decree of the Senate obliged them all, without Diſtinction, to furniſh Mariners for the Fleet. *Acilius* was ſcrupulous about the Manner of declaring War with *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*: and he conſulted the College of *Feciales*, whether it was ſufficient, to declare to the firſt *Ætolian* Garriſon he came at, That he was coming to begin Hoſtilities; or whether it was neceſſary to declare this to the King in Perſon, and the *Ætolians* aſſembled in a Body. The *Feciales* anſwered him, that this Queſtion had been already determined, in the War with *Philip*. *It ſignifies little*, ſaid they, *whether* Antiochus *be preſent at the Declaration, or not. And as for the* Ætolians, *they have themſelves ſufficiently renounced the Alliance they had made with the* Romans, *by their late Conduct*. However, theſe Scruples of the *Conſul* ſhew at leaſt how religiouſly the *Romans* obſerved the Cuſtoms which had been tranſmitted to them from *Numa*.

Liv. B. 36. *c.* 3.

EVERY thing was now ready, and *Acilius* appointed *Brunduſium* for the general *Rendezvous*, from whence the Troops which were to follow him were to ſet Sail for the Eaſt; and before he ſailed, he received Intelligence, that the Kings of *Macedon* and [212] *Egypt*, had offered the Senate, by their Deputies, Money, Proviſions, and Troops, for the War the Republick was going to undertake. It ought not to ſeem ſtrange, that *Ptolomy*, Son-in-law to *Antiochus*, ſhould openly declare himſelf againſt his Father-in-law. Without doubt, his Wife *Cleopatra* had informed him of the villanous Plot the King of *Syria* had laid with his Daughter, before he ſent her into *Egypt*. Some Envoys from *Carthage* and *Maſiniſſa* alſo offered the Republick to contribute towards the Expences of the new War. The former promiſed to make a Preſent of Wheat and Barley, engaged to fit out a Fleet at their own Expence, and deſired the *Romans* to accept in ready Money, the reſt of the Tribute *Carthage* was obliged to pay, in equal Portions, but in the Space of ſome Years only. The latter, beſides Wheat and Barley, offered to ſend into *Greece* five hundred *Numidian* Horſe, and twenty Elephants, to ſerve in *Acilius*'s Army. The Senate returned all thoſe Princes Thanks for their good Will, and gave them different Anſwers. They let King *Philip* and King *Ptolomy* know, That *Rome* had no Occaſion for their Money, or Troops, at preſent; but deſired them to aſſiſt the *Conſul* upon all Occaſions, if he ſhould apply to them for Succours. They anſwered the *Carthaginians*, That they would not accept of their Corn, but by way

thouſand Foot, and two hundred Horſe, two thirds of which had been raiſed among the *Latin* Confederates. The other Third conſiſted of *Roman Citizens*. The ſame Number of Troops was aſſigned *Caius Flaminius*, who was again continued in the Government of *Hither Spain*, for this Year 562.

209 *Marcus Junius Brutus*, the *Prætor*, had the Juriſdiction of determining all Cauſes in *Rome*, as well between Foreigner and *Citizen*, as between *Citizen* and *Citizen*.

210 *Fregenæ*, which ſome have, very improperly, confounded with *Fregellæ*, a City of the *Volſci*, ſtood on the Coaſt of *Hetruria*, at a little Diſtance from *Pala*; as we have Reaſon to conjecture, from the ancient *Itineraries*. This City had already the Title of a *Roman Colony*, according to *Velleius Paterculus*, and *Livy*.

211 *Livy* reckons among thoſe Cities which pleaded an Exemption, *Oſtia*, *Tarracina*, *Minturnæ*, *Sinueſſa*, *Caſtrum Novum*, and *Pyrgi*. We have ſhewn the Situation of the four firſt already. And one of the two laſt belongs to *The Patrimony of St. Peter*, and ſeems to have ſtood near the Place where *Sancta Marinella* now does; the other to *Hetruria*, and is ſaid by modern Geographers to have ſtood near *Sancta Severa*, between *Palo*, and *Sancta Marinella*.

212 *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, the King of *Egypt*, offered the Republick a thouſand Pounds Weight of Gold, and twenty thouſand of Silver.

of Payment; and That they would excuſe them from fitting out any more Ships than they were obliged to do by their Conventions; ſince the Finances of *Rome* were not ſo exhauſted, as to make it neceſſary for them to diſcharge at once, what they were only obliged to pay at different Payments. And as to *Maſiniſſa*, *Rome* bought of him all the Corn ſhe fetched from his Dominions; and probably accepted his Offer, of his *Numidians* and Elephants. And now, nothing any longer detained the *Conſul Acilius*. He ſet out for *Greece* in the Month of *May*, in the Year of *Rome* 562; and two Great Men attended him in his Expedition to the Eaſt.

Year of *ROME* DLXII. P. Cornelius Scipio Naſica, M' Acilius Glabrio, Conſuls.

The firſt was *L. Quinctius*, the Brother of the illuſtrious *Flamininus*, whom the Republick herſelf appointed to command under the *Conſul*, in Quality of Lieutenant-General. And the ſecond was the famous *Cato*. Being tired with a Life of Tranquillity in the City, after a *Conſulſhip* and Triumph, he rouzed his martial Spirit, which had gained him ſo much Glory in *Spain*. He preferred the Uſe of Arms to the wrangling Diſputes of the Bar, and the Exerciſe of his Eloquence, in which he excelled. He embarked to ſerve in the Troops in the *Levant*, in no higher a Station, than [213] that of *Legionary Tribune*; and we ſhall ſee him diſtinguiſh himſelf there by his Merit, and ſuperior Genius for War. But we ſhall afterwards ſee the *Conſul* give him the Title and Office of a Lieutenant General in his Army.

213 It is very true that *Cato* ſerved in the *Levant* in Quality of *Legionary Tribune*, under *Acilius Glabrio*, the *Conſul*. But we cannot ſay, with *Plutarch*, that he went into *Thrace*, on the Banks of the *Danube*, and there ſerved as Lieutenant-General to the *Conſul Tiberius Sempronius*, three Years before this; that is, in the Year of *Rome* 559. This is abſolutely falſe: 1*ſt*. Becauſe the *Romans* had then no Thoughts of carrying their Arms into theſe diſtant Provinces. 2*dly*. Becauſe, according to *Livy*, *Sempronius* had no Province, but that of *Italy*, and ſpent his *Conſulſhip* in reducing *Ciſalpine Gaul*. And this manifeſt Blunder leads us to rectify another, which is more remarkable. According to *Plutarch*, *Scipio Africanus* was no ſooner nominated *Conſul* a ſecond time, but he found Means, by his Intereſt and Intrigues, to get the Command of the *Roman* Armies in *Spain*; and immediately ſet out for that Province, reſolving to rob *Cato*, his declared Enemy, of the Glory of ſettling it in Peace. The latter, when informed of the Arrival of his Succeſſor, went to meet him with ſeveral Battalions, and five hundred Horſe, to eſcort him in his March. And as he was on the Road, adds *Plutarch*, *Cato* ſubdued the Country of the *Lacetani* to *Rome*, and took ſix hundred Deſerters, which he executed, all but one. *Scipio*, naturally inclined to Clemency, was grieved at the News of this bloody Execution, publickly owned his Concern, and openly condemned *Cato*'s Severity. This whole Account of *Plutarch*, and all its Circumſtances, are entirely groundleſs. It is certain, That *Scipio* deſired *Spain* for his Province, but could not get it; That he did nothing in his ſecond *Conſulſhip* but commit ſome Hoſtilities in *Liguria* and *Ciſalpine Gaul*; and That he did not then go out of *Italy*. Probably, the *Greek* Hiſtorian was deceived by the Similitude of Names, and confounded the Great *Scipio* with his Couſin *Scipio Naſica*, who ſucceeded *Cato* in his Government of *Spain*.

THE

THE

Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK XL.

Year of ROME DLXII. P. Cornelius Scipio Naſica, M'Acilius Glabrio, Conſuls. *Liv. B.* 36. *c.* 7.

§. I. WHILST the *Conſular* Fleet was croſſing the *Ionian* Sea, *Antiochus* was wholly taken up in *Chalcis*, with his new Amours. *Hannibal* attempted to rouze him out of his Lethargy, and ſaid, *Will the Nations in* Greece, *with whom you have entered into a Confederacy, be able to ſupport you againſt the formidable* Legions *a* Conſul *is bringing againſt you? The* Ætolians, Bœotians, *and* Theſſalians, *are all timorous Nations, whom your Preſence has ſurprized, and whom* Acilius *will fill with as much Terror, at his Arrival. And then, they will with as much Readineſs go over to your Enemies, whoſe Valour they have experienced, as they have now come over to you. If you would have believed me, the Eyes of the World ſhould not have been fixed on a War in the Eaſt. Their Attention ſhould have been wholly fixed on the Commotions in* Italy, *on* Liguria, *and on the Motions of* Ciſalpine Gaul; *and, in a word, on* Hannibal *at the Gates of* Rome, *and ready to rob the Robbers of the rich Spoils which they have carried from* Greece. *But Fate would not ſuffer it! Have you then no Reſource left? The King of* Macedon, *my Lord, could do you very ſubſtantial Services. Formerly, he alone was able to hold out againſt the* Roman *Forces, and keep the Victory in Suſpence. You have been already told this.* Philip *is indeed a Lion in Chains; but it is yet in his Power to break them off. The Hatred the Conquered generally have for their Conquerors, and the Dependence he has Reaſon to have on the moſt powerful King in* Aſia, *are ſufficient Motives to rouze him. Preſs* Philip *then; ſollicit him to join you. Take him off from the* Roman *Intereſt, and bring him into yours. As for the Plan of the Campaign, it ought to be this. Bring all your Sea and Land Forces from* Aſia. *Let a great Number of Boats laden with Proviſions attend your Fleet. Your Troops will be numerous in theſe Parts, and Proviſions will grow ſcarce, towards the End of the Campaign. Send one Part of your Fleet towards* Corcyra, *to oppoſe the* Romans *in their Paſſage; and the other to cruiſe between* Italy *and* Sardinia. *As for yourſelf, my Lord, go and encamp with all your Forces in the Territory of* [1] Bullis, *towards the Weſtern Parts of* Macedon. *By this Step, you will make the* Romans *believe you have Thoughts of going over into* Italy; *and may actually go thither, if Occaſion requires. This, Sir, is the Advice of a Man little verſed indeed, if you pleaſe, in the Affairs of War; but a Man long uſed to make the* Romans *tremble.* The *Syrian* Court could not but inwardly approve of *Hannibal*'s Diſcourſe, tho' they did not follow his Advice. They acted upon Motives very different from *Hannibal*'s Maxims. So that *Antiochus* propoſed to enter *Acarnania* in the Beginning of the Spring; and then he perceived how much Idleneſs and Debauchery had ſunk the Courage of his Soldiers. But he had no Reaſon to complain of it. He had deſtroyed Diſcipline by his own Example.

His firſt Endeavour was to render the Gods propitious. He offered Sacrifices at *Delphi*, in the Temple of *Apollo*; then came to [2] *Naupactus*; and from thence to *Leucas*,

1 The Territory of *Bullis*, according to *Ptolomy*, or of *Byllis*, according to *Livy*, ſometimes belonged to *Illyricum*, and ſometimes to *Macedon*. It bordered upon *Epirus*, and the *Adriatick* Sea.

2 At *Naupactus*, *Antiochus* conſulted the chief of the *Ætolian* Nation, concerning his intended Expeditions. Then he took the Road to *Chalcis*, a City of *Ætolia*, and after he had joined his Troops new

Leucas, whoſe [3] Reduction had been attempted by Artifice. But he found that City leſs ready to receive him, than he had imagined. The *Roman* Fleet which the *Prætor Attilius* had brought the laſt Year, was cruiſing near *Cephalenia* [4], and kept the *Leucadians* ſteddy. Nevertheleſs the King, aſſiſted by the Artifices of *Mneſilochus*, one of the chief Lords of *Acarnania*, ſurprized ſome [5] Cities there in the Inland Country. Whilſt, on the other hand, the King of *Macedon*, (whoſe Friendſhip the *Syrian* had not cultivated) and the *Prætor* [6] *Bæbius*, were making Conqueſts in *Theſſaly*, in favour of the *Roman* Confederacy. Properly ſpeaking, all theſe Steps, this taking and re-taking of Cities in *Acarnania*, ought to have been conſidered only as Amuſements. But *Antiochus*, contrary to the wiſe Advice of *Hannibal*, laid great Streſs upon it. The only ſincere Friends he had in all *Greece*, were the *Ætolians*, the *Athamanes*, and the *Eubœans*.

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App. in Syric. N. 96.

§. II. THIS was the Situation of Affairs, when the *Conſul Acilius* landed his Troops, to the Number of twenty thouſand [7] Foot, two thouſand Horſe, and fifteen Elephants. His firſt Buſineſs was to ſend his Infantry to *Bæbius*, who was encamped near [8] *Pellinea* in *Theſſaly*. Then he marched himſelf with his Cavalry directly to [9] *Limnæa*, another City of *Theſſaly*, which the King of *Macedon* was beſieging; and upon the Approach of the *Roman* General the Place ſurrendered. From thence *Acilius*, accompanied by the King of *Macedon*, went to attack *Pellinea*; and this City could not hold out againſt ſo many united Forces. The *Athamanes* who were in Garriſon there, ſurrendered at Diſcretion; and among them was *Philip of Megalopolis*. This Pretender ſaid he was deſcended from *Alexander*, and Heir to his Dominions. So that the King of *Macedon* had the Pleaſure to ſee his Rival among his Priſoners of War. *Philip*, in Deriſion, ordered him to be ſaluted King, as he marched out of the City, called him Brother, and conducted him to the *Conſul*. *Acilius* rejoiced to have this Incendiary in his Hands, who had, upon chimerical Pretences, debauched almoſt all *Athamania* from the *Romans*; and he put him in Irons, and ſent him to *Rome*, as the firſt Pledge of good Succeſs. The three thouſand *Syrians* and *Athamanes* who were the Garriſon of *Pellinea*, were delivered up to the King of *Macedon*; and this Prince extended his Clemency to them, and ſent them back into their own Country. Which was indeed diſperſing ſo many People to extol him, in all the Parts of *Athamania*; and he almoſt

Livy, B. 36. *c.* 14.

near *The Maliac Gulph*, he came to *Stratum*, one of the moſt conſiderable Cities of South *Acarnania*, near the River *Achelous*. There *Menippus of Macedon*, and *Alexander of Acarnania*, waited for him, with a Body of *Ætolian* Troops.

3 *Mneſilochus*, one of the Chiefs of *Acarnania*, (having been gained by the Bounties of *Antiochus*,) uſed all Means poſſible to put this Prince in Poſſeſſion of *Leucas*. *Clytus*, *Prætor* of the *Acarnanian* Nation, joined with him in the ſame Deſign, and they both jointly laboured to promote the Intereſts of the King of *Syria*.

4 *Cephalenia* is an Iſland in the *Ionian* Sea, which the *Italians* call *Cephalogna*. There is alſo a City of this Name ſituated on an Eminence, in a pretty barren Soil, but about twelve Miles from *Zacynthus*. It is computed to be twenty Miles long, fifty broad in the wideſt Part, and an hundred and ſixty in Circumference.

5 Among the Cities which *Antiochus* ſurprized, Livy mentions *Medio*; which was ſituated near the River *Achelous*, towards the Confines of *Ætolia*. It was different from ſome other Cities of the ſame Name in *Bæotia*, and *Phocis*. But it was not with *Pyrium*, a City of *Acarnania*, as with *Medio*. The *Pyrians* kept themſelves upon their Guard againſt the Attempts and Sollicitations of *Antiochus*, and prevented his Deſigns.

6 *Bæbius* beſieged *Phacium*, a City of *Pelaſgiotis* ſituated between the River *Pamiſus*, and Mount *Pindus*, which divides *Macedon* from *Theſſaly*; and took it upon the firſt Aſſault. *Phæſtum*, which belonged to *Æſtiotis*, underwent the ſame Fate. *Argos*, *Cirretiæ*, and *Phricium*, a City of *Theſſaly*, were forced to ſurrender, and receive *Roman* Garriſons. And after he had ſubdued all theſe Places, *Bæbius* joined the King of *Macedon*, who was beſieging *Melæa*, in *Perræbia*. Upon this, the Inhabitants not being able to hold out againſt two Armies, reſolved to implore the Clemency of the Conquerors, and open their Gates to them. Then *Philip*'s Troops, in Conjunction with thoſe of *Bæbius*, over-ran *Theſſaly*, and reduced the Cities of *Trica*, *Æginium*, *Gomphi*, *Ericinum*, *Silana*, *Melibœa*, and *Phalcria*, of which the *Athamanes* had made themſelves Maſters.

7 *Livy* gives the *Conſul Acilius* only ten thouſand Foot; but *Appian* twenty thouſand. Indeed, according to the latter, *Acilius* had only two *Legions*. But he means excluſive of the *Latin* Auxiliaries.

8 *Pellinea*, or *Pellina*, according to *Pliny*, ſtood in *Æſtiotis*, on the left Bank of the *Peneus*, between the Cities of *Atrax* and *Tricca*. *Philip of Megalopolis* defended this Place, with a Garriſon of five hundred Foot, and only forty Horſe. At firſt, *Bæbius* and the King of *Macedon* jointly inveſted the Town; and before they begun their Attacks, ſummoned the Governour to ſurrender. The latter anſwered, with an haughty Air, That he would not have heſitated about delivering up the City to the Beſiegers, if they had been *Romans*, and *Theſſalians*; but could never reſolve to ſurrender himſelf up at Diſcretion to King *Philip*. It was therefore neceſſary to come to open Force. And as *Bæbius*'s Troops were more than ſufficient to beſiege the Place; the King of *Macedon* therefore, without loſing time, ſeparated from the *Roman* General, to go to lay Siege to *Limnæa*, a City of *Theſſaly*, whilſt the latter was beſieging *Pellinea*.

9 The modern Geographers place *Limnæa* in *Theſſaliotis*, between the *Peneus* and *Apidanus*.

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inſtantly reaped the Fruits of his Clemency. After the taking of *Pellinea*, the *Romans* and *Macedonians* ſeparated, to ſpread the Terror of their Arms in different Places. The King turned his *Phalanx* towards *Acarnania*; and then the weak *Amynander* did Juſtice on himſelf. He ſurrendered up the Country to *Philip*, its old Maſter; retired to *Ambracia* with his Wife and Children; and choſe rather to reſide in *Epirus*, than defend his own Dominions. Thus *Philip*, in a few Days time, both became Maſter of a new Kingdom, and got rid of a Competitor whoſe idle Viſions had perhaps prevailed enough, to have done *Antiochus* ſome Service.

As for the *Conſul*, he did not leave *Theſſaly*, but came and reſted his Troops at *Lariſſa*. The Motions of the Sea had fatigued his Cavalry, and he gave them ſome Days Refreſhment; and during his Stay the Cities of *Piara* [10] and *Metropolis*, ſent Deputies to make their Submiſſion to the *Roman* General. From *Lariſſa*, *Acilius* came down towards *Cranon*. There the Inhabitants of *Pharſalus*, *Scotuſſa*, and *Pheræ*, came to pay him Homage, and ſacrificed to him the *Syrian* Garriſons they had received. [11] *Proerna* alſo, and the Caſtles in that Neighbourhood, followed their Example. The *Conſul* continued his Rout towards *The Maliac Gulph*, and met with no Reſiſtance, till he came near *Thaumacia*, a maritime Town. There the Burghers of that Place marched out of it under Arms, ſeized a Defile, and lay in Ambuſh, in the Woods, to intercept the *Conſular* Army. From the Eminencies which they had ſeized, they fell down very ſuddenly on the *Romans*, and put them into ſome Confuſion. As for *Acilius*, he firſt exhorted them to lay down their Arms; and upon their Refuſal, the *Roman* General ſent a *Legionary Tribune*, with two *Manipuli*, to ſeize the Town, which was evacuated by its Inhabitants; and his Orders were obeyed. *Thaumacia* was taken, upon the firſt Aſſault, and the Burghers in Ambuſh hearing the Cries of their Fellow-Citizens, left their Poſts to aſſiſt them: and Death was the Reward of their Compaſſion. Then the *Roman* Army continued its March without Obſtruction, and came and encampcd on the Banks of the [12] *Sperchius*. From thence, the *Conſul* ſent his Troops into the Territory of [13] *Hypata*, an *Ætolian* City, and committed great Ravages there. And in ſhort, all *Theſſaly*, which was always prepared to join with the ſtrongeſt Side, fell off from *Antiochus*, as readily as it had joined him.

§. III. It may indeed be thought ſcarce credible, that neither the Armies of the King, nor of the *Ætolians* his Allies, ſhould oppoſe this ſurprizing Progreſs of the *Romans*. But *Antiochus* was either drunk with Pleaſure at *Chalcis*, or aſtoniſhed at the general Terror which the Arrival of the *Romans* ſpread in *Greece*. What a Revolution had happened ſince they had appeared! All the Predictions of *Hannibal* were already fulfilled. The King began to be ſenſible of the Cheat the *Ætolians* had put upon him; and of the Wiſdom of the Advice which the *Carthaginian* had given him. He no longer looked upon him as a common General; but as a Man inſpired by Heaven, to whom the Book of Fate was opened. Indeed it was a little too late, to undertake to remedy paſt Misfortunes. But the *Syrian* was not diſcouraged. His great Army was not yet come into *Europe* from *Aſia*; and he expected it with Impatience. Beſides, he did not think his Reſidence at *Chalcis* either ſafe, or honourable. He loved his new Wife *Eubia* to Adoration; but between whiles, his Reaſon would point out to him the Shame of ſo unequal a Match. He therefore propoſed to leave *Eubœa*, and draw nearer to *Ætolia*. This made it neceſſary to aſſemble all the Troops he had diſperſed abroad, all over *Greece*, and to join them all in one Army. And he imagined, that all together the *Syrian* Troops in *Greece* might perhaps amount, at moſt, to ten thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe. Then, in order to augment theſe Forces,

App. in Syriac. N. 96. *Livy, B.* 36 *c.* 15. *Plut.* Life of *Cato.*

10 In the Text of *Livy* the City of *Piara* is called *Pieria*. But the latter was the Name of a Province in *Macedon*, which was ſo called from its Neighbourhood to Mount *Pierius*. It is therefore probable that the Copyiſts took one Name for the other. At leaſt it's certain, that *Piara* was a City of *Theſſaly*, near the Springs of the River *Pamiſus*. *Stephen of Byſantium* mentions it.

11 *Proerna*, or *Proarna*, as *Stephen of Byſantium* calls it, was a City of *Æſtiotis*, in *Theſſaly*, near Mount *Othrys*, and in the Neighbourhood of *Thaumacia*.

12 The River *Sperchius* riſes in Mount *Pelion*; and after it has run thro' the Country of the *Ænianes*, and Part of *Phthiotis*, falls into *The Maliac Gulph*. Some now call it *Selambria*, others *Agriomela*.

13 *Hypata*, which had declared for the *Ætolian* Confederacy, ſtood at the Head of the *Apidanus*, between Mount *Pindus* and Mount *Othrys*.

A Map of The Passes of Thermopylæ.

Lamia.

Thessaly

Anticyra.

Rhoduntia.

Œniadæ

Tichius.

Callidromus.

Heradea.

R. Melas

Trachynia.

R. Asopus

R. Dyras

Alpenum.

Parasopias.

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Forces, which were ſo little able to make Head againſt the *Roman* Army, he wrote to the *Ætolians*, to bring him to *Bœotia*, thoſe numerous Squadrons which they had promiſed to raiſe, in Defence of the common Cauſe. But, to his great Surprize, he received this Anſwer. *We have done our utmoſt Endeavours to raiſe Soldiers in the Cities and Towns in our Cantons. But the Youth refuſe to take up Arms, and neither our Orders nor Threatenings are regarded by them.* Indeed the chief Lords of *Ætolia* came to the *Rendezvous* which *Antiochus* had appointed; but they did not bring with them above four thouſand Men, who were for the moſt part their own Clients, or Vaſſals. Then the *Syrian* was ſenſible of the bad State, to which the Deſertion of his Allies, or his own Subjects, had reduced him. Since his coming into *Greece*, the *Aſiaticks* had ſent him but few Troops, and the *Ætolians* refuſed to join him. But notwithſtanding all theſe Diſappointments, *Antiochus* purſued his Meaſures. He knew that the *Roman* Army had paſſed the *Sperchius*, and was ravaging *Phthiotis*. In order therefore to hinder them from entering into *Achaia*, thro' *Locris*, and at the ſame time to ſecure himſelf againſt the Attacks of the Enemy; the King of *Syria* came and ſeized a Paſs, already famous in Story, called *Thermopylæ*. Three hundred brave [14] *Lacedæmonians* had formerly ſeized it, under the Command of *Leonidas*, and for three whole Days together, had there ſtopped a Million of Men, which *Xerxes* was bringing to conquer *Greece*. And indeed, this Defile of *Thermopylæ*, if ever ſo little defended, was not to be paſſed, by the Body of an Army. On one Side, it was bounded by the Sea, whoſe Overflowings upon a pretty low Strand made deep Marſhes, but very muddy, where even Barks could not ride. On the other, it was ſhut in by *Oeta*, a long Chain of Mountains, which divide *Greece* in two Parts, almoſt in the ſame manner as the *Apennines* do *Italy*. Between theſe terrible Rocks and the Sea, Nature had left a pretty long Paſs, but not above twenty five Foot broad; and this Neck of Land was what the *Greeks* called *Thermopylæ*. It was an Entrance into *Locris*, from *Phocis*; and at the Foot of Mount *Oeta*, roſe ſeveral hot and wholſome Springs. This Poſt *Antiochus* choſe; and added Art to Nature, for its Defence. He threw up ſuch Trenches in the Woods which covered the Foot of the Mountain, as were in a manner impregnable. He ſurrounded his Camp with a double Ditch, and a double Rampart, ſtrengthened at proper Places, by a dry Wall, built of the Flints he found in great Plenty in the Hollows of the Rock. In this Camp the King ſhut up his *Syrian* Troops, and thought them ſafe. As for the four thouſand *Ætolians* which were come to aſſiſt him, he ſent them to the Cities of *Hypata* and *Heraclea*, which ſtill adhered to him. Without doubt, he was afraid the *Conſul* would beſiege them. Whereas *Acilius* had very different Views. His Deſign was to force the *Syrian* Camp, even in theſe Defiles. As ſoon as *Antiochus* perceived it, by the Motions of the *Roman* Army, his firſt Concern was to recall the four thouſand *Ætolians* he had ſent to *Hypata* and [15] *Heraclea*. He was not ignorant, that formerly *Xerxes* would not have been able to have forced the *Lacedæmonians*, in the Valley of *Thermopylæ*, if he had not firſt cauſed ſome of his Troops to climb up the Mountains, and fall down on the Enemy from thence. And therefore he judged it neceſſary to ſeize the Summits of *Oeta* which were neareſt his Camp. One of them was called *Callidromus*, another *Rhoduntia*, and the third *Tichius*. And he thought his *Greek* Troops very proper to guard theſe Eminencies. But, only one Part of them obeyed his Orders. The other would not ſtir out of *Heraclea*. However, the *Syrian* cauſed his two thouſand *Ætolians*, to encamp on the three Summits, and thought himſelf very ſafe. The Hiſtorians don't ſay that *Hannibal* adviſed theſe regular Diſpoſitions; but it is probable that he was the chief Perſon concerned in them; tho' his Name is not mentioned in any of the Accounts which the Ancients have given us of the Battle of *Thermopylæ*.

§. IV. The *Roman* General was informed of the prudent Precautions the *Syrian* had taken, to guard himſelf againſt his Attacks; and it embarraſſed him. To endeavour to force the Enemy in Paſſes where ſcarce ten Men armed could march

14 *Herodotus* and *Valerius* ſay, that there were but three hundred *Lacedæmonians* killed in defending the Paſs at *Thermopylæ*; but *Juſtin* makes them ſix hundred.

15 The City here ſpoken of is *Heraclea Trachynia*, which ſtood between the Rivers *Sperchius* and *Aſopus*, near *The Gulph of Zeiton*. See *Vol.* 3.

a-breaſt,

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a-breaſt, was indeed a very dangerous Attempt. To follow the Example of *Xerxes*, and climb over the Mountains, and fall on the *Syrian* Entrenchments that way, was a ſtale Project. Beſides, *Antiochus* had very prudently guarded againſt this Accident, which alone he had Reaſon to fear. In this Perplexity therefore, the *Conſul* had Recourſe to [16] *Cato*; and this brave and prudent Warrior extricated him out of his Difficulty. He voluntarily offered to lead a Detachment up to the three Summits, and diſlodge the *Ætolians*. It was a difficult Enterprize; and therefore *Acilius* joined *L.* [17] *Valerius*, one of his Lieutenants, with *Cato*, in the Execution of it. *Valerius* had Orders to march to *Tichius*, and *Cato* to *Callidromus*; and *Valerius* was unſucceſsful in his Attack; the *Ætolians* repulſed him. But *Cato* took more proper Meaſures. He choſe out one of the Inhabitants of the Country, who had been made Priſoner of War, for his Guide; and tho' the Guide unfortunately led *Cato* and his Men out of the Way, this did not diſconcert him. He commanded his Detachment to halt; and attended only by one [18] active Soldier, who was skilful in climbing Rocks, he went to diſcover the Enemy. It was a very dark Night, there being no Moon; and *Cato* and his Companion mounted ſteep Rocks together, and deſcended into Bogs, without being diſheartened. Till at length, they found a narrow Path, which ſeemed to lead to the Enemy; and after they had broken Holes to mark the Way they had gone, they returned to their Men, who waited for them at the Place where *Cato* had left them. Then all the Body marched on, in as good Order as the Ground would permit, and came at length to the Path, but found it ended in a Precipice. The Day began to break; and whilſt they were halting here, without being able to advance further, they heard confuſed Voices of Men. From thence they inferred, that the *Ætolian* Camp was not far off; and then *Cato* took a very prudent Step. He choſe out an Handful of faithful Men, and ſent them likewiſe to diſcover the Enemy; whilſt he, with his Company, waited in Silence for their Return. Theſe ran along the Slope that led to the Bottom of the Precipice, and found Means to come up to the *Ætolians* who guarded *Callidromus*. The unexpected Sight of this ſmall Number of *Romans*, gave the Alarm among the Watch, who were placed round the Camp; and the *Roman* Soldiers ſeized one *Ætolian*, and brought him to their Leader. *Cato* examined the Priſoner, and learnt of him, that the Enemy [19] were not far off; and upon theſe Aſſurances, the brave Commander drew up his Men in Battalia, took a Compaſs, and advanced at the Head of them, Sword in hand.

And whilſt *Cato* was falling on the *Ætolians* like a Torrent, the *Conſul Acilius*, on the other hand, was beginning the Attack of *Thermopylæ*. But before he led his Army into ſo dangerous a Paſs, he addreſſed himſelf to them thus. *I ſee, Fellow-Soldiers, a great Number of thoſe among you who forced* Philip's *Entrenchments. Will you then refuſe to do at* Thermopylæ, *what you formerly did on the Banks of the* Aous? *The Paſs we are to force is not more impregnable than that of which you made yourſelves Maſters. Nay, it may be affirmed, That* Philip's *Trenches were much ſtronger than thoſe of* Antiochus *are. The* Macedonian *Army was more formidable than that of the King of* Syria. *We have now none but effeminate* Aſiaticks *to fight with. Their King did nothing, during the Winter, but indulge himſelf in Pleaſure. Can he then, who is diſſolved in effeminate Delights, withſtand ſo many brave Men inured to military Labours? And what have we to fear from the* Ætolians, *his Allies? There are but few of them here, and the Diviſion of them forebodes their Ruin. Upon thoſe high Mountains, they ſeem to be fled up to Heaven, only to eſcape us. And yet perhaps, at this very Inſtant,* Cato *is tumbling them down to the Bottom of the Pit where* Antiochus *hides himſelf. The cowardly King dares not face you in the open Field. Go then, unkennel him, and drive him out of the Den, where he thinks himſelf ſafe. It is not only the Liberty of* Greece *that depends upon it. This Paſs will open you a Way into*

16 According to *Plutarch*, *Cato*, before he had Recourſe to Arms, had gone a great way in perſuading, by his Diſcourſes, the Cities of *Patræ*, *Ægium*, *Corinth*, and *Athens*, (where he had made a pretty long Stay,) to adhere to the *Roman* Confederacy.

17 This *Lucius Valerius*, ſurnamed *Flaccus*, was doubtleſs the ſame Perſon, who had been *Conſul* with *Cato*, in the Year of *Rome* 556. Thus *Livy* ſays that the Affair was committed to the Conduct of two *Conſular* Men. *M. Porcium Catonem & L. Valerium Flaccum, Conſulares Legatos.*

18 *Plutarch* gives this Guide the Name of *Lucius Mellius.*

19 The Priſoner depoſed, according to *Plutarch*, that the *Ætolians* were but ſix hundred in Number.

Locris, *and ſoon afterwards, into the richeſt Part of the World. When you have conquered at* Thermopylæ, *you will ſoon ſee all* Aſia *ſubject to the Republick. All the Nations from* Gades *to* The Red Sea, *will reverence the* Roman *Name.* Year of ROME DLXII.

THUS ſpake *Acilius*; his Soldiers had prepared themſelves for the Fight, by flattering themſelves That they ſhould certainly be victorious; and the *Conſul* formed them according to the Nature of the Attack. His firſt Line terminated in a Point, and made a right Angle. The light-armed Soldiers marched at the Head of it. And as ſoon as *Antiochus* ſaw the Enemy advance in Order of Battel, he alſo drew up his *Syrians*, on his firſt Rampart, to oppoſe the Enemy. The Pikemen of his Camp, armed after the *Macedonian* Manner, defended it. They were, perhaps, deſcended from thoſe *Macedonians* which *Alexander the Great* had led into *Aſia*, and had ſettled there, ever ſince the firſt *Seleucus* had made himſelf King of *Syria*. But if ſo, the Deſcendants were much degenerated from their Anceſtors. In his left Wing, on the Declivity of Mount *Oeta*, the King had poſted his *Syrian* Troops, which threw Darts and Stones, from the upper Ground, on the *Roman* Infantry. And laſtly, at the End of the Paſs, *Antiochus* had drawn up his Elephants in a Line, with his Cavalry behind them. The reſt of his Troops were behind all, as it were for a *Corps de reſerve*. At firſt, the *Syrians* who were under Covert of the Rampart, and armed with their long Poles with Iron Heads, ſuſtained the Shock of the *Romans* pretty valiantly. They were aſſiſted by their Archers and Slingers, who poured down Showers of Darts and Flints on the Aſſailants. However, the *Romans*, by widening, gained a little Ground on the Mountain, and made a broader Front; and in this manner attacked the firſt Rampart, and at length forced it. Then the *Syrians* retired behind the ſecond Entrenchment, which was that which, ſtrictly ſpeaking, ſurrounded their Camp. And it may likewiſe be added, that the *Syrians* with their Pikes made a third Rampart, which was likewiſe to be broken through. Beſides, their General had raiſed this ſecond Wall only Breaſt high, that the Pikes which were held over it might make it the more impregnable. And indeed, the *Romans* with all their Valour could not break thro' this Line which was every where ſo thick ſet with Pikes. All thoſe that approached it were killed, or received great Wounds. So that the Affair was yet undetermined, till *Cato* came to put an End to it. After having driven the *Ætolians* from *Callidromus*, he purſued them cloſely, and forced them to fly for Refuge to the Valley. The Sight of theſe Fugitives, did not at firſt alarm the *Syrians*, who yet ſuſtained the Attacks more with their long Arms, than by cloſe fighting. They in the beſieged Camp thought that the *Ætolians* were coming of their own accord to aſſiſt them. Nor was *Antiochus* himſelf undeceived, till he ſaw *Cato* half way down the Hill, followed by the *Roman* Standards; and then he deſpaired of Victory. Nevertheleſs, he ſtill made ſome Reſiſtance; but receiving a Blow in the Mouth with a Stone, which broke his Teeth, he then turned his Horſe about, and withdrew. And when *Cato* drew near to attack the Camp in its weakeſt Part, the *Syrians* threw down their Arms, and fled. Yet ſtill their Elephants covered them. So that a great Number of them ſaved themſelves by diſperſing, and ſcarce any periſhed in the Defiles, but thoſe who fell into the Marſhes, and were there drowned. The Narrowneſs of the Roads, and their Rear-Guard of Elephants, ſaved the Lives of a conſiderable Part of the *Syrian* Army. The *Romans* were taken up with plundering the Enemy's Camp, and few of the *Legionaries* followed the *Syrians* as far as [20]*Scarphia*. Nevertheleſs, they killed a conſiderable Number of Men, Horſes, and Elephants, in the Rout, and brought back ſome to their Camp. *Acilius* was much tranſported with his Victory, and did Juſtice to him whom he looked on as the Author of it. He embraced *Cato*, and ſaid theſe Words to him, which he never forgot, but often repeated afterwards, in Honour to himſelf. *The Service you have done the Republick is greater than the Favours ſhe has ever done you.* This was ſaying a great deal of *a New Man*. *Cato* owed to *Rome* his Riſe, all his Grandeur, a *Conſulſhip*, and a Triumph. Nevertheleſs, it muſt be owned, that this Action at *Callidromus* can never be enough commended. It was the laſt Exploit by which he ſignalized himſelf in War. He dedicated the reſt of his Life to civil Affairs. He was an inexorable *Cenſor*, and ſevere Reformer; and applied

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Plut. Life of *Cato.*

20 *Scarphia* was a maritime City which belonged to *Locris*.

himſelf wholly to regulate the Manners of his Countrymen, which began to be corrupted, by their Commerce with the Eaſtern Nations.

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§. V. The next Day after the Battel, at three in the Morning, the *Conſul* marched his *Legions* towards [21] *Elatia*, whither *Antiochus* had firſt retired. But tho' the *Roman* Cavalry which went before the Infantry made great Haſte, the fugitive King was got too far before them to be overtaken. However, all the *Legions* fell on the greateſt Part of the *Syrian* Troops, who had been too much tired to follow the King, or who had rambled out of the Way, in a ſtrange Country; and they were cut in pieces. It may be affirmed, that *Antiochus* loſt his whole Army in the Action at *Thermopylæ*. The *Romans* took and killed ten thouſand [22] of his Men. As for him, he eſcaped to *Chalcis* with about five hundred Horſe. In this dangerous Enterprize, *Acilius* reckoned that he had not loſt above two hundred Men, at moſt. As ſoon as the Action was over, the *Conſul* diſpatched *Cato* to *Rome*, with the News of the Victory; and the Wind and Sea favoured his Paſſage to *Brunduſium*. From thence he came to the City, by Land, in five Days. The Joy of the *Romans*, at this compleat Succeſs, in a doubtful War, is not to be expreſſed. They did not now deſpair of ſeeing the whole World, in a little time, ſubject to the *Roman* Laws. So that the Senate ordered Thanks to be returned to the Gods, in a ſolemn Manner. The *Prætor* was directed to ſacrifice forty of the largeſt Victims to their Honour; the Temples were opened; and the People crowded to them.

As for the Conqueror, he was wholly intent on making the beſt Uſe of his Victory. Thro' *Phocis*, he entered [23] *Bœotia*, with a Deſign to drive *Antiochus* from *Chalcis*, and recover *Eubœa*. During the *Conſul*'s March, many *Bœotian* Cities, which had gone over to the *Syrians*, were ſeized with Terror. The Inhabitants of theſe faithleſs Towns came in Crowds to meet the *Conſul*, in the Habits and Poſtures of Suppliants; and *Acilius* gave Inſtances of his Clemency, and of *Roman* Moderation, wherever he came. His Army ſpared the Lives and Lands of the *Bœotians*, as they paſſed thro' *Bœotia*. Diſcipline was admirably well preſerved in the Army, during its March; and the *Romans* were not ſuffered to commit any Hoſtilities, but at *Coronæa*. There, in a Temple [24] of *Minerva*, the *Bœotian* Diet had, by a publick Edict, ordered a Statue to be erected in honour to King *Antiochus*; and at this Sight, the *Legionaries* could not govern their Paſſions. The Territory of *Coronæa* was plundered. Nevertheleſs, *Acilius* conſidered that the City was not more to blame than the reſt of *Bœotia*. The Statue was not erected by the *Coronæans* only, but by a general Diet. The *Conſul* therefore ordered his Troops to put a Stop to their Ravages, and contented himſelf with reproaching the *Bœotians* with their Ingratitude and Revolt. Then the *Conſular* Army advanced, without Delay, towards the *Euripus*, and ſoon appeared within Reach of *Chalcis*. *Antiochus* did not expect the *Conſul* there; and upon his Approach embarked with his new Queen; ſet ſail for *Aſia*; and retired to *Epheſus*. After his Departure, *Chalcis* opened her Gates to the *Romans*; and all *Eubœa* followed the Example of the Capital. The Reduction of this fruitful Iſland, was the Work but of a few Days; and then *Acilius* ſet out for *Thermopylæ*. In his March, he kept up the ſame Diſcipline in his Army which had done him ſo much Honour. And at length, from *Thermopylæ*, *Acilius* came and encamped before *Heraclea*, which two thouſand *Ætolians* ſtill kept for *Antiochus*. Before he beſieged it in Form, the *Conſul* ſummoned the Place to ſurrender; and ſhewed the Inhabitants, that they could expect little from a fugitive and vanquiſhed King. He repreſented to them, That all *Greece* was returned to the *Roman* Intereſt; and That he had pardoned the Rebels, becauſe they had

21 *Elatia*, or *Elatea*, was the ſecond City in *Phocis*. See *Vol.* 3.

22 *Valerius of Antium*, according to *Livy*, conſiderably magnified *Antiochus*'s Loſs. According to that Hiſtorian, forty thouſand of the *Syrians* were killed upon the Spot, and the *Romans* took five thouſand Priſoners, and two hundred Standards. So that *Valerius* ſuppoſes, without any Proof, that the King of *Syria*'s Army conſiſted of ſixty thouſand Men.

23 In ſome Copies, we read that the *Conſul Acilius* led his Troops into *Æolis*; and this Reading does not contradict that which we have followed in the Text. The ancient *Greeks* often gave the Name of *Æolia*, or *Æolis*, to *Bœotia*, after *Æolus* the Son of *Hercules* had ſettled in this Country. *Strabo* affirms, that even in his Time, the *Bœotians* were called *Æolians*.

24 The Inhabitants of *Coronæa* had dedicated this Temple to *Minerva*, under the Title of *Itonia*. The Goddeſs took this Surname from the City of *Itone*, ſituated on the Banks of the *Paniſus* in *Theſſaly*. The *Itonians* had erected a ſtately Temple to this Goddeſs; and the *Bœotians* built this here ſpoken of, after their Example.

had

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had not added Obſtinacy to their Revolt. And laſtly, he offered to treat them as well as he had done the *Ætolians*, if they would ſubmit. But neither the *Ætolian* Garriſon, nor the Inhabitants of *Heraclea*, were moved with the Hopes of Impunity. So that it was neceſſary to reduce this untractable City to Reaſon by Force; and it was not without Difficulty, that the *Roman* made himſelf Maſter of it. This *Heraclea* was both ſtrong by Situation, and well fortified. It ſtood at the Foot of Mount *Oeta*; one Part of it extended into the Plain; and the other was defended by a Citadel built half way up the Mountain, which was difficult of Acceſs every Way. The River *Aſopus* [25] covered it on the Part next the Plain; and another little River, called [26] *Melana*, watered the Side of it. The *Roman* General ordered four Attacks to be begun, by four of his General Officers. *L. Valerius* commanded on the Side of the *Aſopus*. *Tib. Sempronius* prepared the Machines for battering the Citadel. *M. Bæbius* commanded in the Attack on the Side next the Sea; and *App. Claudius* inveſted it on the Side towards the *Melana*. The *Moveable Towers*, *Rams*, and *Mantelets*, were built in few Days. In the Valley which ſurrounded the Place, the *Romans* found a great Number of great Trees, of which they made their Machines; and the Houſes in the Suburbs which were deſerted, ſupplied the Beſiegers with Beams, Bricks, and cut Stones. All theſe Materials helped towards the Works; and the *Romans* harraſſed the Beſieged more with the Darts thrown by the *Catapultæ* and *Balliſtæ*, than by perſonal Attacks. Whilſt the Beſieged defended themſelves againſt the *Rams*, more by making Sallies and endeavouring to ſet Fire to them, than by letting down Hooks from the Wall, to weaken their Strokes. In the Beginning of the Siege, the *Ætolians* did Wonders for ſome Days. They often ſallied out thro' Poſtern-Gates made in the Middle of the Wall; and whilſt they were amuſing the *Romans* Without, others Within repaired the Breaches made in the Wall. This Activity of the Beſieged laſted for ſome time; but afterwards it abated. Watchings and Want of Sleep overcame them. The great Number of the Beſiegers made their Fatigues the leſs. But the Beſieged were Day and Night on their Feet; and the whole Garriſon was ſcarce ſufficient for the conſtant Defence of the Place. Forty Days were ſpent in theſe painful Fatigues; and at length, the *Conſul* thought fit to give the Enemy ſome Relaxation. But it was only the more effectually to deceive them. He commanded a Stop to be put to the Attacks, exactly in the Middle of the Night, and ordered them not to be renewed, till nine in the Morning. This he did for ſome Days. The Beſieged were well pleaſed with the Reſt this gave them; and accuſtomed themſelves not to return to the Attacks, till after they had had a long Sleep. Then the *Conſul*, all on a ſudden, changed the Times of fighting and attacking; and ordered *Sempronius* to batter the Citadel, at Three in the Morning. *Acilius* took it for granted, that the Noiſe which would be heard there in the Night, would draw all the Garriſon thither; and accordingly, the ſleepy *Ætolians*, being ſuddenly awaked, ran haſtily to the Caſtle. But at the ſame time, the other Generals made an Aſſault upon the Town; and then the Garriſon divided themſelves, to repulſe the Aſſailants. Only one Part of the *Courtine* continued unattacked, and undefended; which was that which joined to the demoliſhed Suburbs. And at break of Day, ſome *Legionaries* who had hid themſelves under this Part, mounted the Walls which were half thrown down, without any Oppoſition; and the Beſieged hearing a Shout on the Ramparts, thought the City taken. Inſtantly therefore, Soldiers, Citizens, Women and Children, all fled for Refuge to the Citadel. The inſolent *Damocritus*, who had daringly told *Flamininus*, that he would not give him any Account of the Declaration of War, till he came to the Banks of the *Tyber*, was Governour of it. But before *Acilius* beſieged it in Form, he delivered up the City to be plundered by his *Romans*. Theſe Spoils were in ſome Sort due to them, to make them amends for having got ſo little in a Campaign, wherein the Enemy's Country had been ſpared with as much Moderation as if it had been deemed a religious Duty. The Pillage of the City laſted till Noon; after which, the *Conſul* ordered an Aſſault to be made on the Citadel. It ſtood

25 There are two Rivers in *Greece* called *Aſopus*, or *Aſopo*. One, which waters *Theſſaly*, riſes in the long Chain of Hills which are called Mount *Oeta*; and after it has watered the Territory of *Heraclea*, falls into *The Gulph of Zeiton*. The other riſes at Mount *Cytheron*, runs thro' Part of *Bœotia*, and falls into *The Euripus*.

26 The *Greeks* gave the Name of *Melana*, to ſeveral Rivers, whoſe Waters were of a *blackiſh* Colour.

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on the Declivity of an Hill, and was at ſome Diſtance from the City. In order to make the Aſſault in two Places, *Acilius* divided his Troops into two Bodies. He put himſelf at the Head of that Part which was to attack it from the lower Ground, on the City Side; and ordered the Detachment which was to attack it from the Ridge of the Mountain, to take a Compaſs, thereby to gain the Top of it with the leſs Fatigue. The Top of *Oeta* was divided into two forked Summits, one of which ſo overlooked the Citadel of *Heraclea*, that Darts might be thrown into it from thence. As ſoon as the *Romans* gave a great Shout, at the Top of the Mountain, the Attack began on both Sides; and the Beſieged immediately thought of ſurrendering, as ſoon as they ſaw Showers of Darts thrown down upon them from above. How could they ſuſtain a long Siege? The Place was deſtitute of Proviſions; and ſo great a Multitude of Men and Women as fled thither for Refuge, could not poſſibly ſubſiſt there long. The ſafeſt Way was to throw themſelves upon the Clemency of the *Romans*. The *Ætolians* therefore ſurrendered at Diſcretion; and by way of Preliminary, delivered up into the *Conſul's* Hands the proud *Damocritus*, who had been ſo fierce in Words. The *Romans* were doubtleſs as much rejoiced at having this factious Man in their Hands, as at taking ſo important a City and Caſtle; and, tho' the Hiſtorians ſay nothing of it, it is probable, *Damocritus* was ſent to *Rome* among the illuſtrious Captives which were ſent thither from the conquered Nations.

§. VI. The Reduction of *Heraclea* was a terrible Blow to the *Ætolians*; and the Loſs of another City, almoſt as conſiderable, doubled their Anxiety. *Lamia* was thought a very ſtrong Place. It was about ſeven Miles diſtant from *Heraclea*, and ſtood on a very ſteep Rock. The Troops of King *Philip of Macedon* had begun the Siege of it, at the ſame time that the *Romans* were buſy before *Heraclea*. Indeed, *Philip* did not at firſt aſſiſt in Perſon, at the Siege of *Lamia*. He was prevented by an Indiſpoſition. As the two Cities were near each other, and *Lamia* ſtood on an Eminence, the *Macedonians* and *Romans* could each ſee from their own Camp, what Progreſs was made in the other. Hence aroſe an Emulation between the two Confederate Armies, which ſhould advance their Works with moſt Vigour, and take their City firſt. But the *Romans* firſt compleated the Reduction of *Heraclea*. The two Nations carried on Sieges different Ways. The *Macedonians* generally removed a great deal of Ground, and ſapped the Walls of beſieged Places, in order to throw them down that way; and as *Lamia* ſtood on a Rock, the Hardneſs of the Ground increaſed the Difficulty of the Siege. So that *Philip* had time to recover his Health. Which he no ſooner did, but he paid a Viſit to the *Conſul Acilius*, then encamped at *Thermopylæ*, and congratulated him on his Victory. In the mean time, the Siege of *Lamia* was ſtill continued; and *Philip* went thither to purſue it; but he had not the Satisfaction to take the Place. As ſoon as the *Lamians* underſtood that the Citadel of *Heraclea* was taken, they choſe to ſurrender to the *Romans*, and thereby recover their Liberty, rather than become ſubject to the *Macedonian* Yoke. So that *Philip* was diſappointed of the Conqueſt he had expected.

Livy, B. 36. c. 25.

But before the Sieges of theſe two Cities were begun, the *Ætolian* Diet had aſſembled at *Hypata*, and had reſolved to ſend a Deputation to King *Antiochus*, then at *Epheſus*. *Thoas* was charged with this Commiſſion, and had Orders to engage the King to aſſemble his Troops, and equip a Fleet in all haſte, to go into *Europe*. The *Ætolians* entreated him, if his Armies were not ready, to ſend his Allies large Sums of Money at leaſt, to ſupport the War. Their Deputy repreſented to *Antiochus*, that it would be ſhameful for a powerful Monarch, to abandon his Confederates to the Fury of the *Romans*. *If*, ſaid he, *the War is but weakly ſupported in* Greece, Ætolia *will not put a Stop to the Rapidity of our Conquerors, many Months. You will ſoon ſee them in* Aſia, *carrying the War into the Heart of your Dominions*. There was an Appearance of Truth, in what *Thoas* ſaid, and that gained him Credit. *Antiochus* firſt ſent the *Ætolians* conſiderable Sums; and promiſed them, that he would ſoon bring a numerous Fleet, and powerful Armies, into *Greece*. But in the mean time, he kept *Thoas* with him. The *Ætolian* was much pleaſed to continue his Negotiations in *Aſia*, and to have it in his Power ſtill to ſollicite *Antiochus* to perform his Promiſes; ſo that *Thoas* with Pleaſure fixed his Reſidence at the King of *Syria's* Court.

§. VII. Thus

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§VII. Thus the *Ætolians* were exceeding zealous to renew the War, before the taking of *Heraclea*, and *Lamia*; but the Reduction of these two Cities abated their Fierceness. In their Diet, they no longer talked of War, or thought of any thing but Peace. They therefore sent an Embassy to the *Consul Acilius*, to make advances towards it; but the *Roman* General received it, with Haughtiness. *I have many other Affairs to do*, said he to the Ambassador, *besides hearing you. Your Negociations tend only to distract me. Go back to* Hypata. *I will send* Valerius Flaccus *thither, to treat with you. The* Ætolians *may propose their Demands, and Offers to him; and in the mean time, I will grant you a Truce for ten Days.* The *Consul*'s Deputy, and the Ambassador from the Diet, set out for *Hypata* together; and the Assembly paid extraordinary Honours to *Valerius*. The Sittings were held at his House; and to shew the greater Confidence in him, they desired him to advise them, in what manner they were to proceed with *Rome*. *Our Alliance with the Republick*, said they, *is ancient. By how many good Offices have we shewn our Attachment to her?* Here *Valerius* stopped them, and said, *Don't say any thing there of an Alliance. You have so often broke the Articles of it, that* Rome *will be enraged at the mention of it. The best Advice you can follow, is to acknowledge you have offended. An humble Supplication will have more Effect on the* Consul *and Senate, than a vain Ostentation of your Services, and Attachment. And if you will take this Advice, I will readily assist you with my Interest.* The Diet paid great Regard to the wholesome Advice of *Valerius*; and the *Ætolians* therefore consulted together, how best to put on an Air of Humiliation. *We will*, said they, *by that means, impose upon the* Romans, *and put them under a Necessity of shewing us some Regard. And if Fortune should afterwards change, we shall be at Liberty to change with her.* Full of this insincere Scheme, the *Ætolians* came and presented themselves before the *Consul*. *Phæneas* was their Speaker; and he said, *All* Ætolia, *laid waste by her late Conduct, throws herself upon the Honour, and Clemency of the* Romans. But *Acilius* received these Protestations with the Distrusts of a prudent Man. *Take care*, said he, *how you engage yourselves. If your Promises are sincere, perform them. You say* Ætolia *surrenders herself up to the* Romans. *If so, deliver up the Head of the Nation, who was the Author of the Revolt. Put* Menetas *the* Epirot *into my Hands; that seditious Man, who stirred up the City of* Naupactus *to desert us. And lastly, surrender up King* Amynander, *and the* Athamanian *Lords, who drew you into the Revolt.* The *Consul* had scarce finished, before *Phæneas* briskly replied; *You demand more of us, my Lord, than we have promised. We threw ourselves upon your Honour; but we did not deliver ourselves up to Slavery. What you demand, is neither consistent with the Honour of the* Ætolian *Nation, nor with the Laws, or Customs of* Greece. *What is that to me*, replied *Acilius* haughtily, *whether my Demands are agreeable to your Customs and Laws, or not? They are agreeable to the Will of the* Romans, *and that is enough. The Vanquished, and the Suppliant, ought not expect more. Obey my Orders immediately, or you shall be put in Irons, this instant.* Then the *Lictors* appeared all on a sudden, and surrounded the *Ætolian*. His Collegues saw to what a Condition the Victory of the *Consul* had reduced them; and they represented to the Conqueror, That they could not obey his Orders, without the Consent of the Diet. *Give us*, said they, *another ten Days Truce, and we will bring you a positive Answer.* The *Consul* considered of it; and at length complied. The Suspension of Arms was granted.

When the Ambassadors were returned to *Hypata*, they declared to the Privy-Council of their Nation, the hard Conditions the *Roman* General had imposed upon them, and the severe Treatment, with which they had been threatened. All were grieved at it; but what had they to do, but to submit? This was the Advice of the most prudent. Nevertheless, they called a general Assembly, to which all the Cities of *Ætolia* sent their Deputies: And these all trembling at the bare Recital of the Preliminaries proposed, cried out, *We are then reduced to Slavery. Is the King of the* Athamanes *our Subject? Can we dispose of him as we please, and deliver him up to the* Romans? The Clamours which were made in all parts of the Assembly, exasperated all present. In a time of Peace, they would have cried out, *To Arms*; and it being the time of War now, the Uproar was

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much greater. The *Romans* were formidable indeed; but they had yet taken only two Cities of *Ætolia*. Besides, the *Ætolians* had a Resource in *Antiochus*. This King was very rich, powerful by Sea and Land, and was piqued. And during this Distraction of Mind in the Diet, a piece of News came, which determined the *Ætolians* to choose the worst part. One *Nicander*, an active and expeditious Man, had gone from *Ætolia* to *Ephesus*, and returned back again, in twelve Days. He brought from the King of *Syria* great Sums of Money, which had like to have been intercepted by King *Philip*, after the Siege of *Lamia*. *Nicander* himself had been surprized by a *Macedonian*, and carried before the King. This Prince was at Table when the Prisoner was brought to him, and though an *Ætolian*, *Philip* received him very graciously, and made him eat with him. After their Repast, he took him aside, and accosted him thus. *Be in no manner of fear about your Life. Only acknowledge, that the* Ætolians *were the Authors of our Misfortunes. They first brought the* Romans *into* Greece, *and facilitated the Reduction of my Dominions. Then they grew weary of their new Masters, and drew* Antiochus *into these Parts. However, I overlook all that is past, and won't insult your Misery. Let the Diet at* Hypata *know, that it is time for them to lay aside their Hatred to me. As for you,* Nicander, *always remember, that I now give you your Life, and be grateful.* Accordingly, *Nicander* acquainted the Diet, with the favourable Reception he had met with at *Philip*'s Camp. The *Ætolians* inferred from thence, That the King of *Macedon* sate very loose to the *Roman* Party; and That it would not be impossible to draw him off from it: and some Historians affirm, that it was now Policy only, or bare Decency, that kept him to it. But be that as it will, *Nicander*'s Discourse, the Money he brought from *Asia*, and the Reports which he spread, that *Antiochus* was getting ready very great Armies by Sea and Land, made strong Impressions on the Assembly. They determined for War, and all Thoughts of Peace vanished. The *Ætolians* therefore hastened to *Naupactus*, cantoned themselves there, and drew all their Forces thither. They thought it of the utmost Importance to preserve this maritime City, till *Antiochus* returned. So that all the Lords of the Nation fled thither for Refuge, and resolved to sustain a Siege, to the last Extremity.

Zonaras, B. 9. Polyb. in Legat. N. 13.

§. VIII. *ACILIUS*, on the other hand, looked on the taking of *Naupactus*, as the most fatal Stroke he could give the *Ætolian* Nation. To make himself Master of it, would be for ever to enslave the most restless, and most turbulent Nation, in *Greece*; and he therefore resolved to attempt it. In the first Place he sent four thousand Men, under the Command of *Appius Claudius*, to guard the Roads through which the Army was to pass. Whilst the *Consul* himself, being at the Foot of Mount *Oeta*, thought it his Duty to consecrate his Departure by an Act of Religion. The Ridge of *Oeta* was dedicated to *Hercules*. There was an old Tradition in the Country, that this Hero ended his Life, and labours there. So that this Summit of the Mountain was called *Pyra*, that is, *A Funeral Pile*; because *Hercules*, as was pretended, had here burnt himself alive, and had been translated from hence to the Immortals. The Fame of the Place drew the *Consul* to it, and he first offered Sacrifices to the God worshiped there, and then departed for *Naupactus*. He thought his Road not bad, till he came to Mount [27] *Corax*. But this was the highest Mountain in *Ætolia*, and it was necessary to climbe over it, with all the Baggage of a numerous Army. Great Numbers of Beasts of Burden were killed there, and Multitudes of the common Soldiers tumbled down the Precipices. So that nothing could have been easier to the Enemy, than to have stopped the whole *Roman* Army. But not one single *Ætolian* appeared to dispute this dangerous Passage with the *Consul*. At length the *Romans* got over it, and arrived, much fatigued, before *Naupactus*. Then the *Consul* first invested the Place, and took care to raise a *Cavalier* over against the Citadel, and build a wooden Tower upon it. It must be owned, this was a more difficult Siege to carry on, than that of *Heraclea*.

App. in Syriac. N. 99. Livy B. 35. c. 30

27 *Livy* places Mount *Corax* between *Naupactus*, and *Callipolis*. We must take care not to confound this last City with another of the same Name, situated on the Coast of the *Hellespont*. *Ptolomy* says this Mountain lay between Mount *Callidromus* and Mount *Parnassus*.

§. IX.

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§. IX. Whilst the *Roman* Army was buſy before *Naupactus*, *Flamininus*, who had conquered *Philip*, and ſettled *Greece* in Peace, was reſiding at *Chalcis*. *Rome*, who knew his Addreſs and Skill in Negociations, kept him long in the *Levant*. *Flamininus*, without any Title of *Conſul*, *Pro-Conſul*, or *Prætor*, was reſpected in all the Country, as the Arbiter of all Differences, and the Agent General for the Republick. He was mightily pleaſed to reſide at *Chalcis*. He was adored there. The *Chalcidians* owned him for their Deliverer. When their City laſt ſurrendered, after the Departure of *Antiochus*, the *Conſul Acilius* was reſolved to ſack this Capital. But *Flamininus* had Intereſt enough with him, to appeaſe his Anger, and ſave the Lives and Eſtates of the Inhabitants. And from that time the *Greeks* carried their Gratitude to him, to exceſs. Not content with honouring him with flattering [28] Inſcriptions, they had in a manner deified him. They had built a Temple, inſtituted a Feſtival, and erected an Altar, for the Worſhip which they ever after paid him. In the Hymn that was ſolemnly ſung to his Honour, his Name was inſerted among thoſe of the Gods. *Sing, Girls, Sing the Glory of* Jupiter, *and celebrate* Titus *with repeated Shouts of Victory.* But notwithſtanding this Reſpect and Adoration, *Flamininus* left *Chalcis* to adjuſt ſome Differences that aroſe in *Achaia*. Two Affairs happened, which it was neceſſary to ſettle. *Plut.* Life of *Flaminin.*

MESSENE and *Elis*, two Cities of *Achaia*, had gone over to *Antiochus*, and refuſed to come to the *Achaian* Diet, as uſual. In order to bring them to their Duty, *Diophanes*, the *Prætor* of *Achaia*, had raiſed ſome Troops, without the Conſent of the *Romans*, and advanced with them towards the Territories of the two rebellious Cities. All the Neighbourhood of *Meſſene* was already deſtroyed with Fire and Sword; and then the unfortunate Inhabitants had recourſe to the Clemency of *Flamininus*. They repreſented to him, That they had rather ſurrender themſelves up to the *Romans*, than live under the Dominions of the *Achaians*. *Flamininus*, moved with Compaſſion, came to the Place, made ſome ſtay at *Megalopolis*, and ſent Orders from thence to *Diophanes*, to put a Stop to his *Meſſenian* Expedition, and come and meet him. The *Achaian* General inſtantly obeyed (ſuch Terror had the *Roman* Name then ſpread in *Greece!*) And as ſoon as he came into *Flamininus*'s Preſence, endeavoured to excuſe this Step, as done out of Zeal for the publick Good. *Flamininus* gently reproved him for having diſturbed the Peace, reproached him with having begun Hoſtilities before he had any Orders for it, and immediately directed him to diſband his Troops. And on the other hand, *Flamininus* ſo ſettled the Affair of the *Meſſenians*, as tended moſt to the Advantage of *Achaia*. He ſubjected them to the *Achaian* Diet, and made them ſurrender the Exiles they kept in their Cities. And laſtly, he ordered, that if any Differences aroſe between the Cities and the Diet, they ſhould bring their Complaints to him at *Corinth*, where he was going to reſide. As for the City of *Elis*, it was not ſo obſtinate as that of *Meſſene*. As ſoon as the *Elians* were rid of the *Syrian* Garriſon, they returned to their Duty. *Liv.* B. 36. c. 31.

The ſecond Affair that *Flamininus* ended, turned to the Advantage of his Republick. *Zacynthos* was a pretty conſiderable Iſland in the *Ionian* Sea; and it long had been the Property of King *Philip*. The *Macedonian* had given it up to *Amynander*, and this King of the *Athamanes* had made that *Philip of Magalopolis* Governor of it, who pretended to be deſcended from *Alexander the Great*. From him, the Government of *Zacynthos* was transferred to *Hierocles*, originally a *Sicilian*; and he, after the Defeat of *Antiochus* at *Thermopylæ*, had ſold it to the *Achæans*. But to ſuffer Purchaſes and Sales of that kind, was contrary to the Rights, and Intereſt, of *Rome*. Was it juſt that an Iſland, which the Victory of *Thermopylæ* had forced to change its Maſters, ſhould belong to any but the Conquerors? Nevertheleſs, *Diophanes* heſitated about reſtoring it to the *Romans*. Sometimes he excuſed his Nation for having bought it; and ſometimes he endeavoured to keep Poſſeſſion of it, by Chicanery. To end the Diſpute, *Flamininus* ordered the Diet to be called; and there gave a ſignal Proof of his Abilities. This great Man laid aſide the Pomp of *Roman* Eloquence, accommodated himſelf to

[28] According to *Plutarch*, in the Front of the *Gymnaſium*, there was this Inſcription. *The People have conſecrated this* Gymnaſium *to* Titus *and* Hercules. And that which the *Chalcidians* had cut over the Gate of a Temple called *Delphinion*, put *Flamininus* upon a Level with *Apollo*. It was this. *The People have conſecrated this Temple to* Titus, *and* Apollo.

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the Genius of the *Greeks*, and ſpake to them in ſuch a manner, as did not at all ſavour of the *Roman* Taſte. *I look on* Achaia, ſaid he, *as a ſort of Tortoiſe, which Nature has guarded with its Shell. If it thruſts out its Head or Feet ever ſo little beyond its Armour, it is in Danger of being trod upon and wounded. The frontier Cities, which ſurround you* Achaians, *are your Shell, and your natural Defence. But as to any Acquiſitions of yours beyond the Continent, thoſe are parts of your State, which are expoſed to Inſults, and which you cannot ſecure without great Difficulty.* The familiar Compariſon was founded in good Senſe; the *Achæans* were convinced by it, and *Diophanes* acquieſced in it. *Zacynthos* [29] was unanimouſly delivered up to the *Romans*. And the natural Eloquence of the skilful Negotiator triumphed over the Prejudices of the *Achæans*.

§. X. The Siege of *Naupactus* was ſtill carrying on; and King *Philip* had turned his Arms towards *Demetrias*. *Acilius* had given him leave to conquer the Cities that had gone off from the *Roman* Confederacy. The *Demetrians* were diſpoſed to join with the ſtrongeſt ſide; and the Aſſiſtance they had from *Antiochus*, and from the *Ætolians*, had both failed them at once. The *Syrian* Garriſon they had received, was not very numerous at firſt; though it was afterwards increaſed by a Multitude of the Vanquiſhed, who fled thither for Refuge. But theſe *Aſiaticks* lived there without any Reſtraint or Diſcipline. So that as ſoon as *Philip* ſummoned the Place to ſurrender, the Gates were opened to him. Then *Eurylochus*, the Author of the late Troubles, and Revolt, had nothing to do but to kill himſelf. The *Syrian* Garriſon was conducted, under a Guard, through *Macedon* and *Thrace*, to the *Cherſoneſus*; and from thence it went to *Lyſimachia*. The other factious Men in *Demetrias* baniſhed themſelves. As for *Philip*, not content with being Maſter of a City, which was formerly the moſt agreeable part of his Dominions, he extended his Conqueſts in [30] *Dolopia*, [31] *Aperantia*, and [32] *Perræbia*. Thus the *Macedonian*, after his Alliance with *Rome*, recovered by Degrees all the Places which had been taken from him.

§. XI. But *Flamininus* was not pleaſed with the Progreſs, the *Conſul* had ſuffered the King to make, contrary to the Intereſts of *Rome*. He came from *Corinth* to *Naupactus*, where *Acilius* was purſuing the Siege, with all the Activity of a great General. In two Months time, he had reduced the Place ſo low, that it could not hold out long; but the Interview between the *Conſul* and *Flamininus*, ſaved it from utter Ruin. Though the latter had great Reaſon to complain of the *Ætolians*; both his own good Nature, and Policy, pleaded for ſaving them from Deſtruction. This Peace-maker affected to ſhew himſelf to the *Ætolians*, and to that end, often rode round the beſieged City. As ſoon as he was ſeen from the Top of the Walls, a Report was ſpread in the City, that *Flamininus* was in the Army; and then the Inhabitants immediately ran in Crowds to the Ramparts, and by their Geſtures and Cries, implored the Aſſiſtance of ſo compaſſionate a Protector. *Flamininus* at firſt gave Signs with his Hand, as if he would not hearken to their Entreaties. But this was only a Feint. As ſoon as he met the *Conſul*, he ſaid, *Have you well conſidered, my Lord, what prodigious Pains you take to ruin the Affairs of the Republick?* The General was ſurprized at theſe Words, and ſaid, *Explain yourſelf. Do you ſee any thing blameable in my Conduct? You ſee,* continued *Flamininus, that ſince your Victory at* Thermopylæ, *you have ſpent your whole time, in taking two Cities; and your* Conſulate *is juſt ready to expire. Whilſt* Philip, *who ſees no Generals, or Armies come to oppoſe him, has not only taken ſo many Cities, but Nations; and has recovered* Athamania, Perrœbia, Aperantia, *and* Dolopia. *You are endeavouring to leſſen the Forces of* Ætolia; *and at the ſame time ſuffer a real Enemy, who pretends to be an Ally, to increaſe his. Conſider better the true Intereſt of* Rome. *Raiſe this troubleſome Siege. Leave* Naupactus; *and go and re-eſtabliſh the Liberty of the* Greek

Livy, B. 36. c. 34.

Livy, ibid.

29 *Zacynthos*, and its capital City, are now both called *Zante*. This Iſland is ſaid to be twenty five Miles long, twenty broad, and ſixty in Circumference. See *Vol.* 1.

30 *Dolopia* belonged to *Epirus*, and bordered upon *Theſſaly*, near Mount *Pindus*.

31 *Aperantia* was a little Canton of *Epirus*, towards the Head of the *Acheloüs*. It was bounded to the Eaſt of *Theſſaly*.

32 The *Perræbi* ſpread themſelves in *Theſſaly* and *Epirus*. Hence the Name of *Perræbia* was common to two little Cantons, which were divided from one another, by that Tract of Ground, which reaches from Mount *Pindus*, to the Mouth of the *Peneus*.

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Flamininus had the Gift of Perſuaſion. Beſides, his Intereſt at *Rome* was greater than that of the *Conſuls* themſelves. And *Acilius* both feared his Power, and was convinced of the Force of his Reaſoning. So that only a Point of Honour now kept the latter before the Place. He was afraid of the Diſgrace of raiſing a Siege, which had held him out two Months. But at laſt he gave way, and referred it to the Prudence of *Flamininus*, to juſtify his Conduct. Upon this Declaration, the wiſe Peace-maker immediately went and appeared in ſight of the Beſieged; who redoubled their Clamours, when they ſaw him. *Have Compaſſion*, cried they, *on an unfortunate People, who fly to you for Protection; and deliver them!* At which Words *Flamininus* gave the *Ætolians* to underſtand, that they ſhould nominate ſome Deputies to come and confer with him. Then *Phæneas* came in Perſon, threw himſelf proſtrate at the Feet of the *Roman*, and could not ſpeak to him without Tears. *I will not inſult you in this Condition*, replied *Flamininus* to him, *or confound you with Reproaches. Your Misfortunes are indeed affecting; but I forewarned you of them. And you have therefore the further Mortification to know, that you have wilfully brought them upon yourſelves. But after all, can I reſiſt my Deſtiny?* Flamininus *is fated to do Good, even to Ingrates. Go, throw your ſelves at the* Conſul's *Feet, and promiſe to ſubmit to his Will. Demand a Suſpenſion of Arms, till ſuch time as your Ambaſſadors can arrive at* Rome; *and I will intercede with him, on your Behalf.* They followed the Advice of *Flamininus*; Ambaſſadors were ſent to the *Roman* Senate; and *Naupactus* had ſome Reſpite.

Then *Acilius* made the beſt uſe of the little time he had to ſtay in *Greece*; and firſt gave Audience to the Ambaſſadors, the *Epirots* ſent to him, to excuſe the Steps they had taken, with reſpect to *Antiochus*. Indeed, this artful People had not furniſhed any Troops for the *Syrian* Army; but they were ſuſpected of having borne part of the Expences of the War. The *Conſul* anſwered them, that he was in ſome doubt, whether he ought to call them Allies, or Enemies. *Your Conduct*, ſaid he, *is myſterious. But the Senate of* Rome *know how to explain it; and in the mean time, I grant you a Truce for ninety Days.* Accordingly the Affair was brought before the Senate; and the *Epirots* in vain endeavoured to juſtify their Conduct. The Senators were convinced, that they had not committed any Hoſtilities againſt the Republick; but it did not appear, that they had not kept up a Correſpondence with the *Syrian*. However, the Senate choſe rather to ſhew them Favour, than to draw new Enemies upon themſelves.

As to the Ambaſſadors of *Philip*, they were more favourably received, both by the *Conſul*, and at *Rome*, than thoſe of *Epirus*. The artful King of *Macedon*, demanded Leave of the Senate, to hang up in the *Capitol*, a Crown of Gold of a hundred Pounds weight, in Memory of the firſt Advantage the *Romans* had gained over *Antiochus*. The Republick accepted the preſent, and ſuffered the King to offer Sacrifices in the Temple of *Jupiter*. And ſome Hiſtorians falſely affirm, that, out of Gratitude, they reſtored him his Son *Demetrius*, then an Hoſtage at *Rome*. Theſe were the Exploits, by which *Acilius* ſignalized himſelf in this Campaign. If he had not the Glory of finiſhing the War with *Antiochus*; he at leaſt vanquiſhed him, forced him to return to *Aſia*, and ſettled the Diviſions of *Greece*.

§. XII. Whilst the *Conſul* was ſignalizing himſelf by Land, the *Prætor Livius*, Admiral of the *Roman* Fleet, was purſuing the War with Succeſs at Sea. He had ſet out from *Naples* with fifty Ships of War, and a great Number of thoſe Boats, with which the Allies on the Sea-Coaſt of *Italy* were obliged to furniſh the Republick. From thence he ſailed to *Meſſana*, where ſix *Carthaginian* Gallies joined him. When thus conſiderably reinforced, he appeared off *Corcyra*; and there informed himſelf of the Situation of Affairs in the *Levant*. He learnt, that *Antiochus* and the *Conſul*, were in ſight of each other, near *Thermopylæ*; and that the reſt of the *Roman* Fleet rode at Anchor, in the Port of *Piræeus*. Then he thought it neceſſary to make all the Sail he could thither. Nevertheleſs, he pillaged the Iſlands belonging to the *Ætolians*, as he paſſed; coaſted along *Peloponneſus*; and touched at the Port of *Athens*. There three Gallies of the King of *Pergamus* joined him. This Prince had deliberated, whether he ſhould not keep all his Forces at home, to defend his own Dominions, againſt the Menaces of King *Antiochus*, who was raiſing Troops in *Aſia*. But at length, *Eumenes*, ever faithful

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Livy B. 36. *c.* 41.

to the *Romans*, reſolved to ſhare their Fate, and came in Perſon to join the *Roman* Fleet. Then the *Prætor* had above eighty Ships of War under his Command; and this vaſt Armament, did not continue long unactive. *Livius* appeared off *Delos*, at the time that the *Conſul Acilius*, was beginning the Siege of *Naupactus*. The *Road* of *Delos* was ſubject to Storms; and high Winds forced the Fleet to ſeek for Shelter. *Antiochus* was then returned to *Epheſus*; and lived there in great Security. His Flatterers made him believe, that the *Romans* would never venture to come into *Aſia*. *Hannibal*, who had regained his Credit with the King, was the only Perſon, who ſpoke with Sincerity to him. *I am ſurprized, my Lord,* ſaid he, *that I don't yet ſee the* Roman *Armies in* Aſia. *They had a longer Paſſage from* Italy *to* Greece, *than they now have from* Greece *to* Aſia. *And it would be much more for the Intereſt of our Enemies to purſue us hither, than to amuſe themſelves with taking Cities in* Ætolia. *Their Fleet is as formidable as their Land-Forces. They have very lately received a new Reinforcement of Ships, with a new Commander. It is therefore a Jeſt to think of enjoying your Repoſe here. Theſe Conquerors, whoſe Pretenſions reach to the Ends of the World, will ſoon repent of their Delays. Either weaken them ſo much, as to make them lay aſide their Deſign; or elſe depend on ſeeing them ſoon in* Aſia. *Their Fleet has already appeared off* Malea. The King of *Syria* was ſtruck with this Diſcourſe. It rouzed him out of his Lethargy, and he ſailed to the *Cherſoneſus*, to be near enough, to ſtop up the Paſſes into *Aſia*, if the Enemy attempted to go thither by Land. And in order to hinder them from coming thither by Sea, *Antiochus* ordered *Polyxenidas* to equip all his Fleet. The latter therefore ſent out ſome light Barks to diſcover the *Romans*; and as ſoon as he had learnt that they appeared off *Delos*, he diſpatched a Courier to the King, who was then endeavouring to paſs the *Helleſpont*. Upon this News he immediately turned back; and when he came to *Epheſus*, called a Council of War. The Queſtion propoſed was, whether it was proper to engage the Enemy at Sea; and *Polyxenidas* determined it. *Let us,* ſaid he, *immediately fight the* Romans, *before the reſt of* Eumenes's *Ships, and thoſe of the* Rhodians, *join them. Your Fleet, my Lord, is complete, and ſuperior in Number. The* Roman *Gallies are heavy, yours are light. And as the former come from a foreign Country, they are loaded and encumbered with Bales of Goods and Proviſions. Ours carry only Men and Arms. Add to this, that we ſhall likewiſe fight on our own Coaſts. And how great will be our Advantage, how many our Reſources, upon that Account only?* All preſent appeared to be of his Opinion; and as *Polyxenidas* was the Author of the Advice, he was likewiſe to put in it execution. The Fleet, to the Number of a hundred, or as ſome ſay two hundred Ships, weighed Anchor, and ſailed for 33 *Phocæa*, a City of *Æolis*. From thence it came under Shelter of 34 *Erythræ*, in the Port of *Cyſſus*, and there waited for the *Romans*. As for *Livius*, he left the Road of *Delos*, as ſoon as the Sea was paſſable, and the Wind abated; arrived at the Point of *Chio*; there took 35 in Refreſhments; and purſued his Courſe towards *Phocæa*. In the mean time *Eumenes* left him for a few Days, to go and fetch the reſt of his Fleet, which he was to join with that of *Rome*; and he came up with the *Roman* again, juſt as every thing was got ready for a Battel. The twenty four Ships which the King of *Pergamus* added to the *Roman* Fleet, was a conſiderable Addition of Strength to it. After this it ſtruggled with ſome Storms, occaſioned by the North-Wind, which drove it on the Coaſts; but nevertheleſs ſailed on in good Order. When the Sea was calm, it doubled the Cape of 36 *Corycus*, pretty near *Cyſſus*, where the Enemy's Fleet lay; and upon the

App. in Syriac. N. 99.

33 *Phocæa* was a City of *Æolis* in *Aſia Minor*. The River *Hermus*, now the *Sarabat*, watered its Territory. In the Place where this City ſtood, there is now a Port, and Town, which the *Italians* call *Fochia Vechia*, to diſtinguiſh it from another Place in that Neighbourhood, called *Fochia Nova*. We have elſewhere obſerved, that a *Colony* of the Inhabitants of *Phocæa* ſettled in *Provence*, and there firſt laid the Foundations of *Marſeilles*.

34 The City of *Erythræ*, formerly one of the chief Cities in *Ionia*, is now called *Colire*, and *Stolar*. It ſtood over againſt *Chio*, between the ancient Cities of *Clazomene*, and *Teos*. *Livy* tells us, that the Port of *Erythræ* was called *Cyſſus*.

35 According to the *Roman* Hiſtorian, *Livius* had juſt put in at *Phanæ*, a Port in the Iſland of *Chio*. The Name of *Phanæ* was alſo given to a neighbouring Promontory, which is mentioned by *Stephen of Byſantium*.

36 The Cape and Port of *Corycus*, were near *Erythræ*, and *The Ionian Gulph*. We muſt take not to confound it with another Port of the ſame Name, which belonged to *Cilicia*.

News that the Enemy approached, *Polyxenidas* leaped for Joy. He himſelf led out the left Wing of the Royal Fleet, into the main Sea; and ordered the Officers which were to command in the right, to draw it up along the Coaſt. So that the *Syrians* advanced towards the Enemy in two Lines: And when *Livius* ſaw this, he lowered his Sails to wait for the Gallies, which could not keep up with him. Then he firſt drew up thirty Ships in front, and poſted them to the right, in his Line of Battel. And for a kind of left Wing, he ordered thirty others, to draw up in the left of the ſame Line, in a wider order than the other thirty. The Gallies that he deſigned for his ſecond Line, were commanded to keep towards the Shore, and range themſelves along the Coaſt. And laſtly, the Fleet of *Eumenes* was placed in the Rear, by way of a *Corps-de-reſerve*. Then the Attack began. At the Head of the *Roman* Ships were two *Carthaginian* Gallies, which were attacked by three *Syrian* Ships. So that the Number was unequal; and whilſt one of the *Carthaginian* Ships, was engaging one of the Enemy's, the other two *Syrian* Gallies ſhut in the ſecond *Carthaginian* Ship, on both ſides, and keeping up cloſe to her, broke her Oars. Then the *Syrians* boarded her, and ſhe was taken. But if one Hiſtorian may be credited, the whole Crew leaped into the Sea, and ſaved themſelves by ſwimming. This beginning exaſperated the *Roman* Admiral, and he, in a great Rage, advanced with his own Ship againſt the Enemy. The two Ships which had taken the *Carthaginian* Galley, immediately came up with that in which *Livius* commanded; and the General ordered his Crew to reſt their Oars and hold Water. This kept the *Roman* Ship ſteddy; and her Crew, by the Admiral's Order, grappled with the two *Syrians*, and the Battel was fought, as if the Combatants had been aſhore. The *Romans* remembered their uſual Valour, and conſidered the *Syrians* only as cowardly Slaves, whom they were going to lay in Irons. And indeed, *Livius*'s Men boarded both the Enemy's Gallies; and had no more Difficulty in taking them, than They had had, in taking one of the *Roman* Gallies. A valiant Action, which gave the *Romans* freſh Courage! The Ships engaged in all parts of the Fleet; they grappled, boarded, and threw their Darts at each other; and in ſhort the Action was in ſome Places general, Ship to Ship, and in others two to one. So that it was a kind of confuſed Engagement. Upon which *Eumenes*, who had not yet engaged, came up. He ſaw that *Livius* had all the Advantage in the right; but that in the left, the Succeſs was dubious; and therefore fell on the Enemy on that ſide, and determined the Fate of the Battel. The Rout of the *Syrians* began in their left. *Polyxenidas* became ſenſible, that notwithſtanding the Advantage his Ships gave him, the *Roman* Bravery was inſurmountable; and therefore hoiſted his main Sail, and fled. *Eumenes* alſo created as much Diſorder in the right Wing of the Enemy. After the Victory, *Livius* and he purſued the Fugitives, with all the Speed their Sails and Oars could give them, till their Rowers could work no longer. But the *Roman* Gallies were ſlow Sailors, and heavily laden; the *Syrian* ones light and ſwift. So that the former could not come up with the Rear of the Enemy; but were forced to be content with having ſunk ten Ships, in the Engagement, and taken thirty. Whilſt the *Romans* loſt only that ſingle *Carthaginian* Ship, which was firſt attacked. *Polyxenidas's* Fright was ſo great, that he ſtopped no where, till he came to the Port of *Epheſus*. *Livius*, after he had caſt Anchor only one Day, in the *Road* where the Battel was fought, again purſued after *Polyxenidas*, In their Way, the *Roman* Fleet met twenty *Rhodian* Ships, which were coming to join them. They all went together, to inveſt the Port of *Epheſus*, whither the *Syrian* Admiral had fled for Refuge, and then the Inaction of the Enemy, was a Confeſſion of their Defeat. The *Roman* therefore bid them Defiance a ſecond time; but their Fleet durſt not appear. So that *Livius* ſent *Eumenes*, and the *Rhodians*, home; and ſpent ſome Days himſelf at *Phœnicus* 37, to refreſh his Crews. From thence he came to *Canæ*, a City of *Myſia*; and Winter approaching, he laid up his Gallies there, after he had fortified the Port of *Canæ*, with a Ditch, and a Rampart.

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App. in Syriac. N. 100.

Liv. B. 36. *c.* 44.

§. XIII. So much good News could not but be very agreeable to the *Roman* Senate and People; and the *Conſul Naſica*, had almoſt gained himſelf as much Glory againſt the *Gauls* in *Italy*, as *Acilius* had done in the *Levant*, againſt the

37 *Phœnicus* was a Port belonging to the Territory of *Erythræ*, according to *Livy*.

King

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King of *Syria*. *Minucius* alſo, who had been making War with the *Ligures*, for theſe three Years, in quality of *Pro-Conſul*, had ſignalized himſelf by Arms. But firſt of *Naſica*. The Piety of this great Man is well known. As ſoon as his Conſulſhip began, he demanded of the Senate, a Sum of Money, for the Diſcharge of the Vow he had made in *Spain*; which was to celebrate *Games* in honour of *Jupiter*. But *The Conſcript Fathers* thought the Propoſal new. Naſica, ſaid they, *made this Vow of his own Head. The Senate was not at all concerned in it; and therefore the publick Treaſury is not obliged to defray the Expences of it. If he has reſerved any part of the Spoils for himſelf, let them ſerve for the Diſcharge of his Promiſe. If not, let him do it, at his own Expence.* However, this Refuſal did not deter the *Conſul* from his Purpoſe. He bore the Expence of the *Games*, which he continued for ten Days. So true is it, that a Spirit of Religion prevailed at *Rome*, in the times of her greateſt Proſperity! This plainly appeared by the Expiations which were now made there, to avert the ill Effects of certain [38] Prodigies, which were deemed fatal to the State. The *Sybilline* Books were conſulted by the *Decemviri*; who pretended, that they had there diſcovered it to be neceſſary, to inſtitute a Faſt [39], in honour to *Ceres*. Accordingly it was ordered, that it ſhould

38 Among theſe Prodigies, *Livy* mentions one, which doubtleſs had no Foundation; but in the Report of ſome Viſionary, or of the Prieſts themſelves, whoſe Intereſt it was to impoſe on the Credulity of a ſuperſtitious People. The Hiſtorian ſays, that in a Quarter of *Rome* called *The Carinæ*, two Oxen went up the Stair-caſe of an Houſe, till they came to the Roof of it. The affrighted Spectators thought this Prodigy a certain forerunner of ſome approaching Calamity. The two Animals which were concerned in the ill *Augury*, were ſeized, and by order of the *Aruſpices* burnt alive; and their Aſhes thrown into the *Tyber*.

39 That Faſting was uſed by the Pagans, at ſuch times as they were labouring to avert the Anger of the Gods, is a Fact atteſted by the Ancients. *The Pagans*, ſays *Tertullian*, (*De Anima*,) *in a Year of Drought, fly to their Divinities, to obtain of them plentiful Harveſts, and often pray to them for Rain. Then they order publick Proceſſions, in which all who aſſiſt at them walk bare-Foot. The Magiſtrates appear in a State of Humiliation, without any Attendants, or Regalia. They make Vows to procure Fruitfulneſs to their Fields, and ſacrifice Victims. In ſome Cities, the People appear every Year before their Idols, in Sackcloth and Aſhes; and theſe external Acts of Repentance are accompanied with ſevere Faſts.*

Porphyry tells us, that the *Egyptians* uſed to prepare for the Celebration of their chief Feaſts, ſometimes by faſting continually for ſix Weeks together. During this time, which was appropriated to Acts of Penance, the Prieſts, and Sacrificers, and after their Example, all thoſe who profeſſed to live very regularly, abſtained from Fleſh, Fiſh, Wine, Oil, and even Bread, and ſome of the richeſt and moſt nouriſhing ſorts of Pulſe. They carried their Auſterity ſo far, that ſeveral of them made it matter of Merit, to mortify their Bodies with exceſſive Watchings, and ſtrange kinds of Diet. According to *Herodotus*, Faſting was a Preparation that the Religion of the *Egyptians* required of them, when they were to ſacrifice a Cow to *Iris*. And it was an indiſpenſable Duty for thoſe, who uttered or conſulted Oracles. The Ceremony of initiating People into the Myſteries of *Ceres*, was always preceded by Faſtings and Mortification. The *Athenians* were obliged to be faſting, when they ſacrificed to *The Muſes*, to ſhew, that of all Vices, Intemperance was moſt prejudicial, to that Underſtanding and Purity, for which they honoured the nine Daughters of *Apollo*.

That the *Greeks* had their religious Abſtinences, *Ariſtotle* proves in his *OEconomicks*, by the People of *Lacedæmon*. They had reſolved to ſend Succours to a Town belonging to their Allies, which was ready to ſurrender to the Enemy, for want of Proviſions. But firſt, the Magiſtrates ordered a general Faſt, not excepting even domeſtick Animals from the Obſervance of it. They thought by this means, to intereſt Heaven in their Enterpriſe, and merit the Protection of the Gods, in favour of the beſieged City. We have elſewhere obſerved, that in ſome Feſtivals conſecrated to *Ceres*, the Women ſate the whole Day on the Ground, in mourning Habits, and ate nothing at all. It is well known, that in the Iſland of *Crete*, the Prieſts of *Jupiter* bound themſelves by a kind of Vow, never to eat Fleſh, or Fiſh, or any thing boiled, baked, or roaſted.

The *Italians* alſo had their Faſts as well as the *Greeks*. *Ælian* obſerves, *Hiſt. B.* 2. That when the Inhabitants of *Tarentum* were cloſely preſſed by the *Romans*, and reduced to the laſt Extremity, they had recourſe to the *Rhegians* for Relief; and That the latter reſolving to ſend them Succours, appointed a ten Days Faſt to be kept, throughout all their Territory. And they experienced, ſays this Author, the Protection of Heaven, in the happy Succeſs of their Enterprize. A new Convoy of Men and Proviſions, was thrown into the beſieged City, and the *Romans* were forced to raiſe the Siege. And the *Tarentines*, in Commemoration of their Deliverance, ordered a Faſt Day to be ever after kept, in all their Dominions. According to *Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus*, the Inhabitants of *Alba*, faſted for a great while together, after the famous Combat of the *Horatii*, and *Curiatii*.

As for the *Romans*, they ſeem to have kept ſeveral Faſting-days in honour to *Jupiter*. At leaſt *Horace* gives us Reaſon to believe ſo, in theſe Lines,

Frigida ſi puerum quartana reliquerit, illo
Mane die quo tu indicis jejunia, nudus
In Tiberi ſtabit. Sat. 3. B. 2.

The Poet puts theſe Words in the Mouth of a Mother, who was uneaſy about the Recovery of her Son's Health. After ſhe has prayed to *Jupiter*, ſhe promiſes to purify the ſick Perſon in the *Tyber*, in the Morning of the Faſt-day conſecrated to this God, in caſe he recovers. *Julius Cæſar* was never thought an over-ſcrupulous Prince, in the little Obſervances of Paganiſm. But nevertheleſs, *Suetonius* affirms, that he always made it matter of Duty, to deny himſelf one Meal every Month. *Julian the Apoſtate*, ſet up for great Faſtings. Not to mention the Faſtings of the *Pythagoreans*, *Gymnoſophiſts*,

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should be kept every five Years. At the same time a Day of publick Prayers was appointed; and Sacrifices were ordered, for nine Days together. And lastly, the People were commanded to assist at these Ceremonies with Crowns on their Heads. After these religious 40 Regulations, *Nasica* set out for the Army. His *Legions* entered the Country of the *Boii*, who were still obstinate in their Rebellion, notwithstanding their Losses; and in short, the *Consul* gave them the finishing Stroke. They ventured to take the Field, and offer him Battel; and they were defeated, put to the Rout, and forced to submit to the superior Strength of the *Romans*. Indeed, one of the Historians who deserves little Credit, here 41 exaggerates, as usual, the Advantage the *Consul* gained. But be that as it will, it is certain, the Victory was complete. The Camp of the *Boii* was taken and plundered, and the whole Nation, submitted to the Dominion of *Rome*. *Nasica* determined the Fate of the Conquered, took part of their Estates from them, and forced them to suffer *Colonies* to come and share their Lands among them. A memorable Reduction, after the fighting of so many Battels, and the Loss of so much Blood!

§. XIV. As soon as *Nasica* had settled *Gaul* in Peace, he disbanded his Troops, and came to *Rome*. A Triumph was due to him; and he demanded one. The Senate assembled in the Temple of *Bellona*, to consider of his Request, and it met with Opposition. *A Tribune of the People*, named *Sempronius Blæsus*, acknowledged indeed, that the *Consul* deserved a Triumph; but pretended, that it ought to be postponed, that the two Victors might triumph at the same time. *Thermus*, said he, *who has long made War in* Liguria, *with Success, has deserved the same Honour. He has very lately gained a signal Victory over the* Ligures. These People, obstinate in their Revolt, had entered into a new League, and forced their Subjects to take up Arms under the severest Penalties; and these Troops, which were privately raised, had come to besiege *Thermus*'s Camp, in the Night. The prudent *Pro-Consul* had kept himself upon the defensive, till Day-break; and then had made a Sally at two Gates of his Camp. The *Ligures* had sustained his Attack, and kept the Victory doubtful, for two Hours; but at last, they had been put to flight, after the Loss of four thousand Men, and left him all the Glory of the Action. So that he was now continually expected to return and triumph. The *Tribune Blæsus* therefore pretended, that the Triumph of the *Consul* ought to be deferred, in order to their triumphing together. But the Name of *Nasica* was reverenced in *Rome*, and had great weight in the Senate. He pleaded his own Cause, and gained it. *Blæsus* in vain represented, That the Wars with the *Gauls* and *Ligures* were indeed but one and the same War; That those two Cantons mutually assisted each other; That it had belonged only to the *Consul*, to go into *Liguria* himself, or send Reinforcements thither to *Thermus*, to finish the Con-

sophists, *Brachmans*, *Apollonius of Tyana*, &c. Their whole Lives were, according to the Ancients, one continued Abstinence.

These voluntary Mortifications, must doubtless have seemed very strange to Persons bred up in Paganism. Their Religion did not look beyond the Pleasures of Sense. It was in this, very agreeable to corrupt Nature, and Self-love Besides, the scandalous Accounts they had of their Gods, were much stronger Authorities in favour of Pleasure, than the austere Maxims of some Philosophers were against it. It is not to be conceived, how a Pagan could hope to render himself acceptable to the Gods by such Acts, as openly condemned their Disorders. This Contradiction between their Sentiments, and Conduct, is a Mystery which affords ample Matter for Reflection.

40 To these religious Acts, the *Romans* added another. There was yet no Temple erected for the Statue of *Cybele*, which had been brought from *Pessinus* to *Rome*, eleven Years ago, and placed on the Hill *Palatinus*. Nevertheless, *Marcus Livius*, and *Caius Claudius*, the *Censors* at that time, had provided for the Expences of the Building, which it had been left to some Undertakers to erect. The Temple was not finished, till this Year 562; and it was necessary to dedicate it, according to the Rites of Paganism. See *Vol.* 1. The Honour of pronouncing the Form of Consecration, was given to *Marcus Junius Brutus*. After this Ceremony, followed *The Scenic Games*; that is, several dramatical Performances. These *Games*, according to *Valerius of Antium*, as quoted by *Livy*, were at first called *Megalesia*, or *Ludi Megalenses*, from *Megale*, the Name of *The Mother of the Gods*, to whose Honour they were celebrated. Much about the same time, *Caius Licinius Lucullus*, consecrated a Temple newly built, to *Hebe*, the Goddess of Youth. This Temple was consecrated in discharge of the Vow, the *Consul*, *Marcus Livius*, had made sixteen Years ago, to erect a Temple to this Goddess. The Festival was celebrated with *Games*, and several religious Ceremonies. The *Romans*, says *Livy*, flattered themselves, that they should by these extraordinary Shews of Devotion, interest their Gods, to protect the Republick against the Enterprizes of *Antiochus*.

41 *Valerius of Antium* reckons, that there were twenty eight thousand of the *Boii* killed on the Spot, and three thousand four hundred taken Prisoners. He also pretends, that the *Romans* took from the Enemy a hundred and twenty four Standards, twelve hundred and thirty Horses, and two hundred and thirty Chariots. Whilst *Cornelius*, according to him, lost but fourteen hundred and eighty four Men.

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queſt of that Country; That *Naſica* had disbanded his Army, purely in order return the ſooner to *Rome*, and triumph; therefore, That he ought to be ſent *Liguria*, to aſſiſt *Thermus* in finiſhing his Conqueſt; and laſtly, That they both oug to be recalled together to triumph the ſame Day. *Naſica* anſwered him in the Words. Liguria *was not my Province: What then have I to do with it? It n ther fell to me by Lot; nor have I conquered the* Ligures. *Would it then beco me to triumph jointly with another General, on account of having conquered them I have overcome the* Gauls. *Their Country is entirely ſubdued, and become* Roma *This is the Effect of my Victory; and I deſire to reap the Fruits of it, not ſo mu on my own account, as that of my Troops. They are come hither to ſhare my Gl with me. Would it be any Encouragement to them to perform new Exploits, to ſent into* Liguria, *without the honourable Rewards due to their Valour? The Def of a Triumph is what has made them conquer. Will it not then diſcourage them fruſtrate their Expectations? Yes; they will be more affected with the Honour o Triumph, than I ſhall be. As for myſelf, ever ſince the Decree that you paſſed my Favour; ever ſince the time, that I was adjudged worthy to receive* The Moth of the Gods, *I have been very little deſirous of Triumphs. I am ſatisfied wi Glory. The Title you gave me will be ſufficient to be put under my Picture, witho thoſe of* Conſul, *and* Triumphant Victor. By this Speech, ſo agreeable to *Naſic* Character, he charmed *The Conſcript Fathers.* They obſerved in it, a Moderati in the purſuit of Honours, a Zeal for the Intereſt of his Troops, a commendab Preference of the Character of a good Man, to the Titles that Valour gives; a in ſhort, an Aſſemblage of all the Virtues that Reaſon can inſpire. Could th then refuſe him a Triumph, which he had likewiſe on other Accounts, deſerve The *Tribune* dropped his Oppoſition; and the Senate decreed *P. Cornelius Sci Naſica* a Triumph, for having ſubjected the *Boii* to the Republick. His Proceſſi was ſet off with all ſorts of Spoils. There were ſeen, Chariots made after t *Gallic* Faſhion, Standards, Vaſes of Braſs made in a very different manner fro thoſe formerly uſed by the *Gauls*, fourteen hundred and ſeventy Collars of Go twelve hundred and twenty Horſes taken from the Enemy, two thouſand thr hundred and forty Pounds weight of Silver in [a] Bars, two hundred thirty thr thouſand pieces of Silver Money, two hundred and forty five Pounds weight Gold [b], and laſtly, a great Number of Captives, ſeveral of which were of the chi Nobility of the Country. The triumphant Victor diſtributed to each of his Sc diers a hundred and twenty five [c] *Aſſes* of Braſs, to every *Centurion* twice as muc and to every Horſeman in his Army, three times that Sum. And it may be firmed, that in the Perſon of *Naſica*, *Rome* did honour, both to Probity, and Valo

Tabulæ Triumphales. Livy, B. 36. c. 40.

[a] *Worth 7120 l. Sterl. at 5 s. per Ounce.*

[b] *Worth 11760 l. Sterl. at 4 l. per Ounce.*

[c] *8 s. 0 d. 3 q. ½. Arbuthnot.*

§. XV. A few Days before the Triumph of *Naſica*, *Rome* had ſeen another Pr ceſſion, but of an inferior Kind. The Senate had granted an *Ovation*, to t *Pro-Prætor Fulvius Nobilior*, for having conquered the 42 *Vectones*, and 43 *Oretani*, in *Spain.* The Spoils he had brought from the Place of his Victory we conſiderable. There was among them, a hundred and thirty thouſand pieces Silver Money, ten thouſand Pounds weight of Silver [d] in Bars, and a hundred a twenty five Pounds weight of Gold [e] in Ingots. Theſe Riches, which *Rome* gathe together from all the Places whither ſhe carried her Arms, put her into a Condition make War with the moſt powerful Monarchs of the Eaſt. *Acilius* alſo had w well deſerved to triumph, in his turn. By the great Overthrow he had giv King *Antiochus*, he had merited the greateſt Honours; but he ſtill continued *Greece.* His Triumph was therefore poſtponed till his Return. The Pomp of Proceſſion with which he was then honoured, was greater than that of his C legue *Naſica.* In it were carried many valuable Spoils of *Greece* and *A* a great Number of Silver Vaſes, carved after the *Greek* Faſhion, all the Silver Pl of the King of *Syria*, and all his Moveables, which were the fineſt *Aſia* afford There were carried two hundred and thirty Standards, three thouſand Pou weight of Silver in Bars, a hundred and thirteen thouſand *Attick* [f] *Tetradrachn* and two hundred and forty eight thouſand [g] *Ciſtophori* 44, pieces of *Aſia*

Livy B. 36. c. 39. Auth. of the Lives of Illuſt. Men.

[d] *30000 l. Sterling.*

[e] *6000 l. Sterl.*

Livy, B. 37. c. 46.

[f] *14595 l. 16 s. 8 d. Arbuthnot.*

[g] *4374 l. 2 s. 6 d. Arbuthnot.*

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42 We have already ſpoken of the *Vectones* and *Oretani*. The former inhabited part of the Kingdom of *Leon*, and of the Province of *Tralos Montes*.

43 The *Oretani* poſſeſſed that Canton of *New Caſtille*, called *La Mancha*, and the neighbou Country.

44 The very Name of a *Tetradrachma*, fu ently ſhews, that this ancient piece of *Greek* M wei

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Money. *Acilius* also brought Home with him forty five Crowns of Gold, which were Presents made him by the Cities of the *Roman* Confederacy. And lastly, There walked before his Chariot thirty six *Ætolian* 45 Lords, taken Prisoners in the War. As for the perfidious *Damocritus*, *Acilius* had not the Pleasure of seeing him Honour his Triumph. He had killed himself, to avoid the Shame of contributing to the Glory of the triumphant Victor. In short, there wanted nothing in the Solemnity of the Day, but an Army to follow the Victor's Chariot. That which had conquered, under *Acilius*, was left in *Greece*. In order to transmit the Memory of his famous Victory to Posterity, the Son of the *Consul Acilius*, caused a Statue of gilt Brass to be erected to his Father's Honour, in the Temple of *Piety*; which is said to have been the first Equestrian Statue, that was gilt at *Rome*. So many Victories, followed by so many Triumphs, make us look on the Year 562, as one of those which brought most Honour to the Republick. And here we may place an Event, which would be below the Dignity of History, were it not for its Singularity. *Val. Max. B. 2. c. 5. §. 1.*

A *Roman*, named *Furius Crest*, had perfected his Talent for Agriculture, during a tedious Slavery, to which he had long been reduced, in Captivity; and when ransomed and returned to *Rome*, he applied himself wholly to the Cultivation of his little Patrimony. None of the neighbouring Lands were so fruitful as his; and the plentiful Harvest he always had, raised the Jealousy of his Neighbours. Their Rage went so far, that they accused him of Magick, before *Spurius Albinus*, then *Curule Ædile*. His Accusation was, That he, by magical Words, drew the Fruitfulness of the neighbouring Fields from them to his own. *Furius* appeared on the Day appointed; and did nothing to justify himself, but produce the Instruments of Husbandry which he had used. He shewed the *Ædile*, that his Spades were longer than ordinary, his Harrows heavier, his Coulters and Plough shares better ground, and his Oxen fatter and better fed. And lastly, he produced before the Judge, one of his Daughters, who was active, well-fed, dressed like a Peasant, and appeared by her Air to be an excellent Manager. *These*, said he to the Judge, *are the only Enchantments I make use of, to make my Fields fruitful. O that I could likewise shew you my Watchings, Fatigues, and Sweats!* *Rome* applauded the industrious *Furius*, and acquitted him. And the *Romans*, who were then for the most part Husbandmen, were thereby taught, that Labour, and the Master's Eye, contribute more towards the Fruitfulness of the Earth, than Magick itself. *Plin. B. c. 6*

§. XVI. The *Gauls* were now subdued, and the *Ligures* had just been reduced. Though *Thermus* had not triumphed; and *Rome* had, for Reasons to us unknown, refused him an Honour, which he seems to have deserved, and desired; he had weighed, and was worth, as much as four *Attick Drachmæ*. Now we have already fixed the worth of each *Drachma*, at ten *Sols*. The *Tetradrachma* must therefore be worth forty; and consequently, the hundred and thirteen thousand which *Acilius* brought from *Asia*, must amount to two hundred and twenty six thousand *Livres*.

The *Cistophorus* was a piece of Silver Money current in *Asia*. *Cicero* speaks of it, in his Epistles to *Atticus*. It was so called, because it was stamped on one side with one of those Coffers, or mysterious Chests, which the Pagans used to carry in State, during the Celebration of *The Orgie of Bacchus*, and some Festivals consecrated to *Cybele*, *Isis*, and *Ceres*. If, as *Festus* says, seven thousand five hundred *Cistophori* were equal in Weight and Value to one *Euboic Talent*, or four thousand *Roman Denarii*, it is plain, the Proportion the *Cistophorus* bore to the *Denarius*, was as 15 to 8, or 7½ to 4. And consequently four *Roman Denarii* were worth seven *Cistophori* and a half. Now at the Rate of ten *Sols* for each *Roman Denarius*, four will be worth forty *Sols*; and forty *Sols* will be worth seven *Cistophori* and a half. And consequently, one *Cistophorus*, will be worth near five *Sols*, and a *Liard*. So that two hundred forty eight thousand *Cistophori*, amount to the Sum of sixty five thousand *Livres*, or thereabouts. And here we shall observe by the by, that the Passage taken from *Festus* cannot be right, as to his Reduction of *The Euboic Talent* to four thousand *Denarii*. *Herodotus*, who was better acquainted with the *Greek* Money, makes *The Euboic Talent*, and *The Attick Talent*, of the same Value; and consequently, *The Euboic Talent* must, at that Rate, be equal to six thousand *Attick Drachmæ*, or six thousand *Roman Denarii*; according to what we have already observed in this History. So that it is probable, an Error may have slipt into the Text of *Festus*; and the Copyists may have transposed the Numerals, and put IV. M. for VI. M. In this case, seven thousand five hundred *Cistophori*, will be equal to the Sum of six thousand *Roman Denarii*, or six thousand *Attick Drachmæ*. And upon this Supposition, the *Cistophorus* must have been to the *Roman Denarius*, as sixty to seventy five, or as four to five. And consequently the *Cistophorus* was worth eight *French Sols*.

45 *Livy* had before told us, That *Damocritus*, and forty three other *Ætolian* Lords had been already conducted to *Rome* by two Companies of *Legionaries*; and that the Senate had ordered they should be confined in Prison, till the Victors should return and triumph. Whereas, the Historian here mentions but thirty six. Probably seven of them had died in Prison.

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finiſhed the War with the *Ligures*, by the Reduction of their whole Country: So that *Italy* was now in Peace. The *Romans* had no Enemies left, except in *Spain*, where their Dominion was not ſufficiently ſettled; and in the *Levant*, where *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians* were not yet effectually humbled. Indeed, the Victory of *Thermopylæ* had diſconcerted the *Greeks* and *Syrians*. But after all, this was only a Prelude to that low State, to which *Rome* propoſed to reduce *Greece* and *Syria*. It therefore ſeemed to be of Importance to chooſe ſuch *Conſuls*, as by their Valour and Experience might be able to keep the Conqueſts of *Flamininus*; and equal the late Exploits of *Acilius*, in the Eaſt. During the Abſence of the latter, his Collegue *Naſica* preſided in the *Comitia by Centuries*; and it was natural for him to have Regard to the Inclinations of *Scipio Africanus*, his Relation, and to the Intereſt of his Family. So that, under his Influence, and during his Preſidentſhip, the Suffrages fell on *L. Cornelius Scipio*, the Brother of the Conqueror; and on *C. Lælius*, that faithful Friend, and inſeparable Companion of the Great *Scipio*. The former was a *Patrician*; the latter of a *Plebeian* Family, which he had raiſed out of Obſcurity. They were both worthy of the *Conſulate*. *L. Cornelius* had learnt the Art of War under his Brother; *C. Lælius* had been privy to all the Deſigns of *Scipio Africanus*, and had likewiſe often put them in execution. The Superiority of the Maſter, was a good Aſſurance of the Ability of the two Scholars. Nevertheleſs, it muſt be owned, that *C. Lælius* had a better Genius for War, and a finer Underſtanding than his Collegue.

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Liv. B. 37. c. 1. As ſoon as they were entered upon their Office, their firſt Buſineſs was to give Audience to the *Ætolian* Ambaſſadors; who preſſed *The Conſcript Fathers* to be diſmiſſed. The Truce which had been granted them, was almoſt ready to expire; and they had Reaſon to fear, that as ſoon as it was at an end, *Acilius* would on a ſudden appear again before *Naupactus*. When theſe Deputies were introduced into the Senate, they endeavoured to raiſe the Compaſſion of *The Fathers*; gave them a long Account of the Services they had done the Republick, during their Alliance with her; and would have had them thought a ſufficient Recompence for the Injuries they had done her ſince their Revolt. But the Senators were not to be ſo eaſily impoſed on. It was then cuſtomary for any of them to ask foreign Ambaſſadors what Queſtions they pleaſed; and theſe were tired out with the many Queſtions that were put to them. The Senate perceived, that inſtead of anſwering them, they had recourſe to Supplications; but obſerved, that they were not poſitive and explicit enough in the Aſſurances they gave of their Submiſſion for the future. They were therefore ordered to withdraw; and then warm Debates aroſe among *The Conſcript Fathers*. Some were for granting them a Peace; others for refuſing it. Some Days were ſpent in theſe Diſputes; and as *The Fathers* received no poſitive Anſwer, they continued in ſuſpence between Peace and War. Nevertheleſs, *Rome* gave the Ambaſſadors their choice of theſe two things: Either to ſubmit implicitly to the Will of the Senate; or to pay the Republick a thouſand *Talents*, and promiſe to declare themſelves Enemies to all the Enemies of *Rome*. But the *Ætolians* would not conſent to either. So that the Project of a Peace was deſtroyed; and the Senate ordered the Ambaſſadors to leave *Rome* that very Day; and *Italy*, in a Fortnight.

Polyb. in Legat. c. 16.

Liv. B. 37. c. 1. §. XVII. No ſooner had the Senate diſpatched the Affair of the *Ætolians*, but another came before them, which muſt embarraſs them. The Buſineſs was to ſettle the Provinces of the two *Conſuls*. For ſome time paſt, this had been generally done by Lot. But *Lælius*, more like a Man of Ambition, than a real Friend, endeavoured to perſuade his Collegue to refer it to the Determination of *The Conſcript Fathers*. He ardently deſired to be choſen to carry on the War in *Aſia*; and though a *Plebeian*, had many Friends in the Senate. The Prejudices entertained of his Capacity for War, ſeemed to incline *The Fathers* more to favour him, than his Collegue. And though *Cornelius* was alſo ambitious of making War in the *Levant*, and had more Reaſon to hope for Succeſs by Lot, than by the Senate, he durſt not openly refuſe *Lælius*'s Propoſal. He deſired time to conſider of it; and conſulted his Brother *Scipio*, what to do. It is eaſy to judge, how much the illuſtrious *African* was divided between his Love for his Friend, and that for his Relation. But nevertheleſs, he did not heſitate one Moment. The Great *Scipio* adviſed his Brother, to refer the Affair to the Arbitration of the Senate; and took a Reſo-

Cicero 2. Philip.

Liv. B. 37. c. 1.

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a Reſolution, which was ſufficient to determine *The Conſcript Fathers*, in his Favour. The Senate aſſembled, and were unwilling to determine an Affair, which was generally left to be ſettled by Lot. And whilſt they were making Excuſes, the Conqueror of *Carthage*, to their great Surprize, offered to ſerve under his Brother, in quality of Lieutenant-General. This was no new thing. In the Infancy of the Republick, *Poplicola* had ſerved as a Subaltern under his Brother *Valerius*, had aſſiſted him with his Counſels, and had been the Cauſe of his gaining the firſt Victory, which had recovered the Honour of *Rome*, after ſhe had changed her Government. And now *The Conſcript Fathers* placed an entire Confidence in *L. Cornelius*, when guided by the Councils of the greateſt General in *Rome*; and aſſigned *Aſia* to the two *Scipio's*, as their common Province. By this means *Lælius* was forced to continue in *Italy*, without any Office, but that of watching the Motions of the *Gauls*, and *Ligures*, lately pacified. Thus the brave *Africanus*, ſhewed more Regard to the Honour of his Houſe, than Tenderneſs for his Friend. What a Blemiſh would it have been to his Brother, if he had not been deemed worthy to go and engage with *Antiochus!* Beſides, *Lælius* had been a little wanting to his Friend's Brother. He had expoſed *Cornelius* to a very great Affront. As for the *Romans*, their Joy at ſeeing *Hannibal* and *Scipio* enter the Liſts again, is not to be expreſſed. They were now both Subalterns, one under a *Conſul*, the other under a King; and this new Diſpoſition raiſed the Attention of all Nations.

The *Conſul* deſigned for *Aſia* now thought of nothing but his Departure. *Æmilius Regillus* was nominated to command the *Roman* Fleet under him, in quality of *Prætor*. The Army *Cornelius* was to command, was that which *Acilius* had commanded the laſt Year, and which had been victorious in the Eaſt. Only about three thouſand *Romans* were added to it, to complete the *Legions*, and five thouſand Allies to recruit the Auxiliaries. So that the new General was to find in the *Levant* but two *Legions*, in which the whole Strength of his Army was to conſiſt; and theſe were few Troops to oppoſe the formidable Levies *Antiochus* was making in all Parts of his Dominions. At leaſt *Cornelius* accepted of the Services of five thouſand Volunteers, who offered to go over with him. As ſoon as it was known in *Italy*, that the Great *Scipio* would have the chief Management of the Expedition, a good Number of thoſe Veterans, who had ſerved under him in *Spain*, and *Africa*, voluntarily offered to attend their ever-victorious General. So that the Reinforcement which *Cornelius* embarked for the Eaſt, was, Horſemen included, thirteen thouſand ſix hundred Men [46].

§. XVIII. When the *Conſul* had prepared every thing for embarking, and performed the uſual Acts of Religion [47]; before his Departure, Ambaſſadors arrived at

46 Then the Senate provided for the Safety of the other Provinces. They aſſigned the *Conſul Lælius* two *Roman Legions*, fifteen thouſand Foot, and ſix hundred *Latin* Horſe. The Army *Quintus Minucius* commanded the laſt Year in *Liguria*, was given to the *Pro-Conſul*, *Publius Cornelius*, who had Orders to march into the Country of the *Boii*, who were always ready to revolt. As for the *Ligures*, *Minucius* had ſent an Account by Letter, that they had voluntarily ſubmitted to the *Roman* Dominion. So that their Submiſſion ſaved the Republick the Trouble of keeping new Troops in this Country. *Marcus Tuccius* had two *Legions*, fifteen thouſand *Latins*, and ſix hundred Horſe, to lead into *Apulia*, and that Neighbourhood. *Aulus Cornelius* who commanded there the laſt Year, was ordered to carry his Troops to *Ætolia*, and put them into the Hands of *Manius Acilius*. But if the latter returned to *Rome*, *Aulus* was ordered to take his Place, and watch the Steps of the *Ætolians*. *Caius Atinius Labeo*, to whoſe Lot *Sicily* had fallen, with the Army of *Marcus Æmilius* his Predeceſſor, obtained Leave of the Senate to recruit his Troops with a hundred *Sicilian* Horſe, and two thouſand *Sicilian* Foot. *P. Junius Brutus*, who was ordered for *Tuſcany*, had the Command of one *Legion*, ten thouſand *Latins*, and four hundred Horſe. *Lucius Æmilius* was appointed Admiral of the Fleet, which was to go into *Aſia*. It conſiſted of the twenty Gallies, *Marcus Junius* commanded the laſt Year, and of all the other Ships, which *Marcus Livius* had had under his Command. The ſame General had Leave to recruit his Marines, with a thouſand Rowers, and two thouſand Foot. The two *Spains*, and *Sardinia*, were again committed to the Care of the ſame Governors. And laſtly, in order to ſubſiſt all theſe numerous Armies, the Republick continued to demand of the *Sicilians* and *Sardinians*, the fifth part of their Crops of Corn. Some of the Corn they furniſhed, was tranſported to *Ætolia*, and the reſt kept to ſupply *Rome*.

47 The *Conſuls*, before their Departure, had preſided at *The Ferie Latinæ*, according to ancient Cuſtom. But it happened, that the *Laurentini* had no Share of the Fleſh of the Victims; and this was thought an eſſential Defect. So that it was neceſſary to begin the Ceremony again, in order to ſettle the Minds of the People, who drew ſtrange Inferences, from ſuch Irregularities. The *Romans*,

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at *Rome*, from King *Ptolomy*, and Queen *Cleopatra*. Their Buſineſs was to congratulate the Republick on the Deliverance of *Greece*, and the Flight of *Antiochus* into *Aſia*; and to offer the *Romans* the Aſſiſtance of the King and Queen of *Egypt*, againſt the *Syrian*. A ſtrange Offer! The Son-in-law and the Daughter of *Antiochus*, had deſerted him, to continue faithful to the *Romans*. The one deteſted the Ambition of his Father-in-law, the other the barbarous Cruelty of her own Father. The *Egyptian* Ambaſſadors were very graciouſly received; Preſents were made them; and Thanks returned to the King and Queen for their Offers, which were not accepted.

BRUNDUSIUM was the general *Rendezvous* of the Troops the *Scipio's* were to tranſport to the *Eaſt*; and at length, they ſet out from *Rome*, and the *Conſul* left the *Toga* for the *Paludamentum*. At their Departure, whilſt the People were entertained with the Show of *The Apollinarian Games*, five [48] Days before the *Ides of July*, it was very dark, and cloudy. There was a viſible Eclipſe of the Sun; which the Hiſtorian who mentions it ſays was occaſioned by the Interpoſition of the Moon between the Diſc of the Sun, and the Earth. The *Romans* therefore were not ignorant of the true Cauſes of Eclipſes; but underſtood them much better than ſeveral other Nations. However, this *Phænomenon* did not alter the *Conſul's* Reſolution. He ſet ſail [49] with his Brother *Publius*, who carried with him a Son who was yet but young. *Scipio Africanus* was not then above forty five, at moſt. The *Prætor Æmilius*, who was to take the Command of the Fleet in the *Levant*, from *Livius*, did the Office of Admiral, in their Paſſage. In the mean time, *Rome* took Care to increaſe the Number of her Ships. Upon the News that *Antiochus* was aſſembling a formidable Fleet from all the Ports of *Aſia*, the Republick gave a Commiſſion to the *Prætor Aurunculeius*, who continued in *Italy*, to build and launch thirty *Quinqueremes*, and twenty *Triremes*. But after all, theſe Preparations fell ſhort of thoſe of the *Syrian*, both by Sea and Land. *Antiochus* placed his Hopes in the Multitude of his Soldiers, and the Number of his Galleys. Whereas the *Romans* placed their Confidence only in Valour and Conduct.

And whilſt the People at *Rome* were in daily Expectation of hearing of the Succeſs of their Arms in the Eaſt, the *Ætolians* received the News, that their Ambaſſadors had been driven out of *Italy*, and that there were no Hopes left of Peace. They therefore thought it neceſſary to guard *Naupactus* againſt a new Siege. They were afraid that *Acilius*, who continued in *Greece* till his Succeſſor arrived, would again ſit down before the Place, and carry it. They therefore ſeized the Paſſes of Mount [50] *Corax*, in full Aſſurance that the *Roman* General would not venture thro' them a ſecond time. But tho' the Precaution was a wiſe one, it did not put a Stop to the *Conſul's* Activity. It only turned him to another Place of as great Importance as *Naupactus*. *Lamia* had been very hard preſſed, the laſt Year, by the King of *Macedon*, and did not expect to be ſo ſoon aſſaulted by the *Romans*. But *Acilius* turned all his Forces againſt it. At break of Day he appeared before it, on a ſudden, and ordered the Walls to be ſcaled in every Part. This Surprize gave the Inhabitants a great Alarm. Nevertheleſs, they made a more vigorous Reſiſtance than had been expected. Men and Women all joined in Defence of their Country; and *Acilius*, deſpairing of taking the City in this firſt Aſſault, ſounded a Retreat. The *Romans* returned to their Tents; but the General told them that he would make a more vigorous Aſſault the next Day. *Don't expect*, ſaid he to his Troops, *ever to return to the Camp, till the City is taken*. And indeed, the Ardour of the Aſſailants was ſo great at the ſecond Aſ-

terrified at the Report of ſome Prodigies, crouded to the Temples to appeaſe the Anger of the Gods. By the Advice of the *Decemviri*, a great Number of new-born Animals were taken from the Breaſt, and ſacrificed by way of Expiation. Twenty young Children of both Sexes, whoſe Innocence made them acceptable to the Gods, and whoſe Fathers and Mothers were living, were admitted to partake of the Sacrifices. It may have been obſerved in the Courſe of this Hiſtory, that this Circumſtance of their Parents being alive, was thought neceſſary by the *Romans*, to prevent the melancholy Thoughts that might ariſe in their Minds, at the Sight of an Orphan.

48 *The Fifth of the Ides of July*, anſwered to our eleventh Day of *July*.

49 According to *Livy*, *Scipio Africanus*, before his Departure, built a Portico on the Hill *Capitolinus*, over againſt the Road which led up to the Temple of *Jupiter*; and adorned this new Building with ſeven fine gilt Statues, two Horſes finely carved, and two great marble Ciſterns.

50 Mount *Corax* is in *Ætolia*. We have ſpoken of it already.

ſault,

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ſault, that it ſunk the Courage of the Beſieged. They were tired out with the Fatigues of the preceding Day; and in a few Hours the Place was taken. Then *Lamia* [51] was delivered up to be plundered; but the Soldiers had only one Part of the Booty. *Acilius* ſold the reſt for the Benefit of the Republick.

§. XIX. After this ſpeedy Conqueſt, which was ſo little diſputed, it was conſidered, whether it was adviſeable to renew the Siege of *Naupactus*; and in the Council of War, not one was for making ſo hazardous an Attempt. An unpaſſable Mountain covered the Place, and the Paſſes were guarded by an Army of *Ætolians*. Nevertheleſs, the General, to make the beſt Uſe of the little time he had left, led the Troops before [52] *Amphiſſa*, a City of *Phocis*, which adhered to the *Ætolian* Party. But *Acilius* did not attempt to take it at once, by an Aſſault. He beſieged it in form; and made large Breaches with his *Rams*. Nevertheleſs, as the Beſieged defended themſelves more by fighting, and Sallies, than by the Artifices then in uſe, to guard againſt Machines; the Siege was long. And whilſt *Acilius* was obſtinately purſuing it, he received the News that his Succeſſor was landed at *Apollonia*, and marching thro' *Epirus*, and *Theſſaly*. The new *Conſul* paſſed thro' this laſt Diſtrict, and viſited all the Coaſts of it, quite to *The Maliac Gulph*. From thence, he ſent to ſummon [53] *Hypata* to ſurrender to the *Romans*; and upon receiving for Anſwer, from the Inhabitants, That they were not their own Maſters, and That it belonged to the *Ætolian* Diet to diſpoſe of them as they pleaſed; *Cornelius* turned towards *Amphiſſa*. *Scipio Africanus* arrived there before his Brother, and found the Siege very far advanced. The Town was taken; and the *Ætolian* Garriſon, mixed with the Burghers, were making their laſt Efforts in the Citadel. And at length the *Conſul* appeared, and encamped eight Miles from the City. Thither came Deputies from *Athens*, who being always Friends to the *Romans*, were in haſte to pay their Reſpects to *Scipio Africanus*. The chief Buſineſs of the *Athenians* was to beg Favour for the *Ætolians*; which the Great *Scipio* granted with much Pleaſure. His Deſign was to go immediately to *Aſia*, as ſoon as he had pacified *Greece*; and to ſtick cloſe to *Antiochus* alone, that that he might once more enter the Liſts with *Hannibal*. The Reception *Scipio* gave the *Athenians*, raiſed the Expectations of the *Ætolians*; and the *Athenian* Deputies adviſed them, to aſſemble the Heads of their Nation at *Hypata*, and make the beſt Uſe of this favourable Conjuncture. But after all, the Arrival of the famous *Africanus* in *Greece*, only encouraged the *Ætolians* for a little time. They knew, That Clemency was his favourite Virtue; That many *Spaniſh* and *African* Nations had ſubmitted implicitly to his Honour; and That none of them had ever repented of putting their Intereſts in his Hands; and therefore ſent frequent Deputations to him. Their Envoys always brought back word, That he had ſpoken favourably to them; and the Perſons moſt concerned thought the Peace certain. But it unfortunately happened, that *Scipio Africanus* was only a Subaltern under his Brother. And perhaps the younger Brother conceived ſome Sort of Jealouſy, from the Deference that was paid the elder. The Hearts of the *Roman* Heroes were not exempt from human Frailties. But whatever the Motive was, the *Conſul* was not ſo tractable as his Lieutenant-General. *Cornelius* gave the Deputies no Anſwer, but what the Senate had before given. He again inſiſted, That the *Ætolians* ſhould either pay a thouſand *Talents*, or ſubmit implicitly to the Diſcretion of the *Romans*. And this ſeemed an hard Choice, to the Aſſembly at *Hypata*. Where could they find a thouſand * *Talents*, in a Country ruined by long Wars? And to ſubmit implicitly to the *Romans*, was to hazard the Lives of the Lords of the Country, of whom the Council then conſiſted. So that the Impoſſibility on one hand, and Fear on the other, made them ſend another Deputation to the two Brothers jointly. Theſe propoſed, That they ſhould either leſſen the Sum demanded; or promiſe, That if the *Ætolians* gave up their Eſtates and Liberties, all in general ſhould have their Lives ſaved. But the obſtinate

Polyb. in Legat. c. 17.

App. in Syriac. N. 100.

* 193750 *l.* Sterling. *Arbuthnot.*

51 See what we have already ſaid in this Volume, of the City of *Lamia*, now *Lamina*, in *Theſſaly*.

52 *Amphiſſa* then bordered upon *Locri* and *Phocis*, but it belonged to *Ætolia*. It was ſo called, according to *Pauſanias*, becauſe it was ſurrounded with Mountains on all Sides. Some modern Geographers pretend it ſtill retains the ſame Name. But *Le Noir* calls it *Lambina*.

53 *Hypata* was formerly, according to *Apuleius*, one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in *Theſſaly*. It ſtood at the Foot of Mount *Oeta*, near *The Maliac Gulph*.

Conſul

Year of ROME DLXIII.

L. Cornelius Scipio, C. Lælius, Conſuls.

Livy, B. 37. c. 7.

Conſul was poſitive, that he would not abate any thing, or promiſe any thing. What Deſpair then muſt this produce in unfortunate Men, threatened by a *Conſular* Army ſo near at hand! *Echedemus*, the Chief of the *Athenian* Embaſſy, was affected with their Lamentations; and the Advice he gave them, reſcued them out of their extreme Danger, at leaſt for a Time. He emboldened them to demand a Six-months Truce, to ſend to *Rome*, and once more try a Negotiation with the Senate. This was gaining Time at leaſt; and Time often ſoftens the moſt deſperate Misfortunes.

By the Mediation of *Scipio Africanus*, and at the earneſt Requeſt of *Echedemus*, the *Ætolians* at length obtained the Truce they deſired; they ſent to *Rome* the ſame Ambaſſadors that had been driven from thence; and *Scipio* aſſiſted them with his Advice, and Intereſt. By the Truce, the Siege of *Amphiſſa* was raiſed; and then *Acilius* immediately reſigned up the Command of the Army to the new *Conſul*. The Republick had left it to *Acilius*'s Choice, either to return to *Rome*, or continue in *Greece*, and command the thirteen thouſand Men *Cornelius* had brought with him; and *Acilius* choſe rather to triumph, than continue under the Command of the two *Scipio's*, in a Country where he had gained ſo much Glory. We have already deſcribed his Triumph before-hand, that we might not break the Thread of our Hiſtory.

THE

THE

Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK XLI.

§. I. GREECE and *Ætolia* being ſettled in Peace, the *Romans* were now at full Liberty to employ their Army elſewhere. *Aſia* was the Point the *Scipio's* had moſt at Heart, and *Antiochus* the chief Object of their Ambition. And now, the two Brothers had nothing more to do than to find out the Means of penetrating into *Aſia*, and to determine the Rout which it was moſt proper for the Army to take, in order to go and engage *Antiochus*. To tranſport it by Sea was dangerous. Beſides, the *Syrian* Fleet appeared formidable on their own Coaſts. The *Conſul* therefore was of Opinion, that it would be beſt to march it by Land to *The Helleſpont*, and conſequently to croſs *Macedon*, and *Thrace*. But this Deſign, tho' wiſe in itſelf, required Prudence in the Execution of it. The Great *Scipio* ſuggeſted, that before they made the Attempt, it was of Importance to know the real Diſpoſitions of *Philip*, with reſpect to the *Romans*. *To what Dangers*, ſaid the Lieutenant-General to his Brother, *ſhall we expoſe ourſelves in ſo long a March, if the King of* Macedon *ſhould think fit to oppoſe us? Nothing will be more eaſy for him, than to cauſe ſuch numerous Forces to periſh by Famine, or to weaken them by Ambuſcades. Prudence therefore requires, that we ſhould ſound the Heart of* Philip, *before we abſolutely depend on his Fidelity. Let us ſend a Man to him ſuddenly, who ſhall ſurprize him, and inform himſelf upon the Place of what Steps he has taken.* The Expedient was approved of; the *Roman* Army halted ſome time in *Theſſaly*, before they entered *Macedon*; and a Man of a good Underſtanding ſet out for *Philip's* Court. The King was then at *Pella*; and in three Days, the young *Roman*, making great haſte, arrived there. He ſurprized *Philip* at a great Entertainment, and exhilarated with Wine: And this firſt Accident took off many Suſpicions. Men never give themſelves up to Pleaſure, ſaid the *Roman* to himſelf, when they are contriving the blackeſt Treaſons. And the Reception the King gave him, the kind and hoſpitable Entertainment he received, confirmed him in that Sentiment. The next Day he obſerved every thing. He ſaw with his own Eyes the great Quantities of Proviſions *Philip* had laid up for the Subſiſtence of the *Roman* Army, the Bridges he had prepared to facilitate their paſſing Rivers; and laſtly, the Road he had levelled. This News was exceedingly agreeable to the *Scipio's*; and they continued their March, and entered *Macedon*. The King came in Perſon to receive them on his Frontiers, with a Train worthy of Regal Majeſty. Nor was this all. He accompanied them in their March; and was wanting in no kind of Reſpect to the *Roman* Generals. By his obliging Behaviour, agreeable Converſation, the great Entertainment he gave them, and the delicious Refreſhments he procured for them at proper Seaſons, he much leſſened the Fatigue of the Journey. *Scipio Africanus* was affected with theſe Civilities. It is ſaid that he was no Enemy to good Cheer, when not carried to Exceſs. By theſe Means the artful King made his Court to theſe Republicans, who were more powerful and formidable than Monarchs. He did not leave the *Scipio's*, even in *Thrace*; but conducted them as far as *The Helleſpont*. And there he received the Reward of his Fidelity. The *Roman* Generals, in the Name of their Republick, forgave him all the Sums that yet remained to be annually paid by him, according to the Conventions made with *Flaminius*.

Year of ROME DLXIII.
L. Cornelius Scipio, C. Lælius, Conſuls.

Year of *ROME* DLXIII.

L. Cornelius Scipio, C. Lælius, Conſuls.

WHILST the *Romans* were ſeeking for a Paſſage into *Aſia*, *Antiochus* was wholly employed in preparing to oppoſe the Progreſs of the Enemy which was coming to fall upon him. And above all, he took great Care to repair his Fleet. It had been damaged in the Battel of *Corcyra*. The *Roman* Ships had had the Advantage there, tho' the Squadron they expected from the *Rhodians* had not joined them. And the *Roman* Admiral would now be more formidable than ever, when his Fleet ſhould be entire, and *Rhodes* ſhould have furniſhed him with her Ships in time. From *Phrygia* therefore, where *Antiochus* ſpent the Winter, he diſpatched away *Hannibal*, in all haſte, for *Phœnicia*. The *Carthaginian* was there to make the *Tyrians* and *Sidonians* fit out all their Ships. Whilſt, on the other hand, *Polyxenidas* was repairing the King's Fleet with the more Expedition, becauſe he was reproached with having been the Cauſe of its former Defeat. In the mean time, *Antiochus* ſollicited all the Countries in *Aſia* to ſend him Land Forces: and among the many Nations whoſe Alliance he courted, he chiefly fixed his Eyes on a conſiderable Colony of *Gauls*, who had been ſettled in *Aſia* a Century. They were, from that time, called *Gallo-Greeks*, or *Galatians*. The Country they had invaded bordered upon *Phrygia Major*, *Piſidia*, *Lycaonia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Paphlagonia*. It is pretty certain, that theſe *Galatians* came originally from [1] *Tranſalpine Gaul*. They were, for the moſt part, a Swarm of the People who lived on the *Garonne*, round about *Tholouſe*. Nevertheleſs, it is not certain that they went directly from *Gaul* to *Macedon*. Perhaps they were ſome of thoſe *Gauls* who had followed *Belloveſus*, in the firſt Tranſmigration into *Italy*, and had ſettled on the Coaſts of *The Adriatick*. Or perhaps they might be ſome of the Companions of *Segoveſus*, who dwelt in *Germany*, and in Proceſs of time advanced forwards along the *Danube*. But be that as it will, theſe *Gauls*, after they had ravaged *Greece*, and plundered the Temple of *Delphi*, had choſen to fix their Settlement in [2] *Aſia*. They had penetrated into the Heart of *Aſia Minor*; and no doubt had obſerved the ſame political Rules in the Eſtabliſhment of their *Colonies*, as the *Italian Gauls* had done, when they ſettled in *Italy*. Every Nation had divided the Cantons they conquered among themſelves; and when they fixed there, retained the Name they brought from their native Country. The *Cænomani* of *Tranſalpine Gaul*, for inſtance, were called *Cænomani* in *Ciſalpine Gaul*. And this was the Caſe of the *Gauls* who went into *Aſia*. Some of them were ſtill called [3] *Tectoſagi*, others *Toliſtoboji*, and laſtly, others *Trocmi*; Names which, without doubt, they had in the Countries from whence they originally came. And theſe Nations, after they were tranſplanted into *The Levant*, continued divided in different [4] Provinces, without mixing with one another. Such were the *Galatians* whom *Antiochus* endeavoured to draw into his Meaſures. The *Syrian* had Rea-

Strabo, Pauſanias, Juſtin, Appian.

1 See what we have ſaid of the Tranſmigration of the ſeveral Swarms of People from *Gaul*, into ſeveral Countries in *Europe* and *Aſia*, *Vol.* 2. The *Greeks* always called the Natives of *Gaul*, *Galatai*, or *Galatians*.

2 *Pauſanias* fixes the Irruption of the *Gauls* into *Aſia*, to the third Year of the 125th *Olympiad*. *Antiochus Soter* then reigned in *Syria*; and *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, in *Egypt*. So that this Epocha nearly coincides with the Year of *Rome* 475. According to *Polybius*, a Part of theſe *Gauls*, commanded by their Chief *Comontorius*, after they had ravaged *Macedon* and *Greece*, ſettled on the Borders of *The Helleſpont*, round about *Byſantium*; whilſt the others divided themſelves to go and ſeek new Habitations in *Aſia*, beyond *The Boſphorus*.

3 It is certain that *Strabo*, *Livy*, and *Pliny*, looked on the *Tectoſagi* as a Nation originally *Gallic*. They agree that it poſſeſſed a Canton of *Languedoc*, near *The Garonne* and *Tholouſe*. The Country they ſeized in *Aſia Minor*, lay between the Rivers *Halis* and *Sangarius*. *Ancyra* was the Capital of it. As for the *Toliſtoboji*, they took Poſſeſſion of the Territory of *Germa*, and of *Peſſinus*. Theſe, according to *Ptolomy* and *Strabo*, came from *Gallia Narbonenſis*. And the *Trocmi* probably had the ſame Origin, tho' the Ancients have not told us ſo. The latter made their Settlements in the Cities of *Tavium*, *Andoſia*, *Claudiopolis*, and *Cariſſa*. *Conſtantinus Porphyrogenites* places the Tranſmigration of theſe People in the Reign of *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, and of *Nicomedes* King of *Numidia*, who was the Son of *Zypœtes*. And this Chronology agrees well enough with that of *Pauſanias*, mentioned in the preceding *Note*.

4 Each of theſe Nations were divided into four *Tetrarchies*, or Cantons, according to *Strabo*. Each Canton was governed by a *Tetrarch*. But a General of an Army, and two Lieutenant-Generals had ſome Share of Power with him, tho' they were ſubject to his Commands. The twelve Cantons uniting together, formed a Council of three hundred Men; which was held in a Place called *Drynemetum*. This Court were the ſupreme Judges of Criminals accuſed of Murder, and all Affairs that related to the general Welfare of the Nation. Other Matters were left to the Determination of the *Tetrarch*. Theſe Nations had one very barbarous Law among them, which was that of ſacrificing to their Gods moſt of the Enemies they took in War. In *Strabo*'s time they were governed by three Princes; and ſoon after, only by two. And at length all *Galatia* was united, for the firſt time, in one Government, under the Dominion of King *Deiotarus*.

ſon to promiſe himſelf great Things from their Valour. And thus new *Gauls* ſtarted up in the fartheſt Part of the World, to become Enemies to the *Romans*. It ſeems to have been the Fate of *Rome* to meet with *Gauls*, wherever ſhe came, and to find them the moſt troubleſome of any of her Enemies. Year of ROME DLXIII. L. Cornelius Scipio, C. Lælius, Conſuls.

§. II. The firſt Care of *Antiochus* in *Aſia*, was to guard this great Continent againſt the Invaſion of the *Romans*. In order to protect the *Greek* Cities on the Coaſt, which adhered to him, he had left his Son *Seleucus* in *Æolis*, with Orders to hinder *Eumenes*, on one Side, and the *Romans* on the other, from entering the Country of the *Aſiatick Greeks*, whom they ſollicited to revolt. The *Roman* Fleet was not yet come out of the Port of *Canæ*, in *Myſia*. It had wintered there; and *Eumenes* joined it early, with thirty *Triremes*, and ſeven *Quadriremes*. The *Rhodian* Squadron alſo came thither by the *Vernal Equinox*, to make amends for their Dilatorineſs the laſt Year. *Livius* had not yet delivered up the Command of the Fleet to *Æmilius* his Succeſſor. He ſet out on board *Eumenes*'s Ship, which he found ready; and his Deſign was to ſail to *The Helleſpont*, there to wait for the *Conſular* Army, and prepare every thing for its Paſſage into *Aſia*. The firſt Port *Livius* touched at, was the next to Old *Troy*, near Cape *Sigæum*, then called *Achæum*, becauſe the *Greeks* had ſecured their Ships there during the famous Siege of *Troy*. And it was natural for the *Romans*, when in this Neighbourhood, to have the Curioſity to viſit the Place of their Origin, and ſee the Country of *Æneas* their Founder. They went up to the Citadel of *Ilium*; carried their Offerings to *Minerva*, who was yet worſhiped there; and *Livius* ordered Victims to be ſacrificed to the Goddeſs. During his Abode in this Place, ſome Deputies arrived from the Cities of *Elæus* [5], *Dardanium* [6], and *Rhæteum* [7], to put themſelves under the Protection of the *Romans*; and they were graciouſly received. From thence, *Livius* ſailed to take Poſſeſſion of the Streights of *The Helleſpont*. But firſt he left ten of his Ships before *Abydos*; and came with the reſt of his Fleet, and inveſted the Port of [8] *Seſtos*. By this City, which ſtood on the Continent of *Europe*, there was the ſafeſt and ſhorteſt Paſſage into *Aſia*. *Seſtos* was therefore beſieged; but made no long Reſiſtance. The *Romans* were ready to have entered it Sword in hand, when a Company of thoſe Fanaticks, who had devoted themſelves to the Worſhip of *Cybele*, and who, to pleaſe the Goddeſs, had condemned themſelves to be but half Men, appeared before the Beſiegers. This Sight ſtopped the Ardour of the *Romans*; and their Requeſt was heard. They ſaid they were ſent by *The Mother of the Gods*, the Goddeſs of *Peſſinus*, with Orders to the *Roman* General, to ſpare the City, and its Inhabitants; and *Livius* had Reſpect for the Miniſters of a Goddeſs revered at *Rome*. He contented himſelf with the Surrendry the Magiſtrates and Senate made of their City, and gave them their Lives, Eſtates, and Walls. From thence *Livius* returned to *Abydos*. The *Syrian* Garriſon there did not ſeem inclined to ſurrender it; and it was therefore neceſſary to beſiege it in Form. But *Livius* was ſoon forced to raiſe the Siege; not by the Bravery of the Beſieged, but by the following unexpected Adventure. *Liv. B. 37. c. 8.*

§. III. *POLYXENIDAS* had repaired his Fleet, during the Winter, and put it into a Condition to bear the Sea. The firſt Attempt he was willing to make with his new maritime Forces, was againſt the auxiliary Forces which the *Rhodians* had ſent the *Romans*. He was himſelf a *Rhodian* by Birth; but having been baniſhed his Country, had gone into the Service of the King of *Syria*, gained the Confidence of his new Maſter, and was now at the Head of a ſtrong naval Force. *Pauſiſtratus* (a Native of *Rhodes*, as well as *Polyxenidas*) then commanded the *Rhodian* Ships, and was advanced with his Fleet as far as to the Iſland of *Samos*. The former had long had a perſonal Enmity to the latter, and had often ſpoken of him with Contempt, in the Aſſemblies of his Republick: and *Antiochus*'s Admiral propoſed to revenge himſelf, not by Words only, but by Ac- *App. in Syriac. Livy, B. 37. c. 10.*

5 *Elæus* was a City which ſtood in the extreme parts of *The Thracian Cherſoneſus*, upon the Coaſts of *The Helleſpont*. It is now called *Critea*.

6 *Dardanium* was a maritime City of *Troas*. It took its Name from *Dardanus* its Founder, who built it, on the Coaſts of *The Helleſpont*, between *Abydos* and Cape *Sigæum*.

7 The Name of *Rhæteum* was formerly common to a City and Promontory of *Troas*. The *Turks* now call it the City of *Peſkiam*.

8 The City of *Seſtos* in ancient *Thrace*, was divided from *Abydos* in *Aſia Minor*, only by a little Streight, which was ſcarce a Mile broad. We have ſpoken of this City, as well as *Abydos*, elſewhere. Theſe two Cities are now known by the Name of *The Dardanelles*.

tions.

Year of *ROME* DLXIII.

L. Cornelius Scipio, C. Lælius, Conſuls.

Livy, ibid.

tions. However, it being difficult to attack the *Rhodians*, and conquer them, by open Force; *Polyxenidas* laid a Snare for *Pauſiſtratus*, to ſurprize him. He pretended to have forgotten both the ill Treatment he had received from his Country, and his Reſentments againſt *Pauſiſtratus*. From *Epheſus*, where he then was, he ſent an Expreſs to the *Rhodian* Admiral, to tell him, That being Maſter of *Antiochus*'s Fleet, it was in his Power to do *Pauſiſtratus* and his Country ſignal Service; and That it was in the Power of *Pauſiſtratus* to reſtore him to his Country. *Pauſiſtratus* thought this firſt Propoſal from an Enemy, was neither to be implicitly believed, nor abſolutely rejected; and he deſired of *Polyxenidas* to explain himſelf more fully; and promiſed Secrecy. Then the latter ſent a ſecond Expreſs, with Advice, That he was ready to deliver up all *Antiochus*'s Fleet, provided only, he might be permitted to return to his Country, and be reinſtated in his former Condition there. This *Pauſiſtratus* thought a Propoſal of too much Importance to be neglected; and in order to give *Polyxenidas* time to follow him, he retired with his Squadron to a Port in *Samos*, called *Panormus*, and there waited to ſee the Concluſion of the Affair. From thence, he ſent Couriers to *Epheſus*; and at length procured from *Antiochus*'s Admiral, Letters written with his own Hand, ſubſcribed with his Name, and ſealed with his Seal, wherein he promiſed to deliver up all the *Syrian* Fleet. Upon this open Declaration, *Pauſiſtratus* no longer heſitated. He had it in his Power to ruin *Polyxenidas* with *Antiochus*; and how could he believe, that a wiſe Man would give a Promiſe which might coſt him his Life, without deſigning to perform it? Nothing therefore remained, but to take proper Meaſures for putting the Deſign in Execution. To this End, *Polyxenidas* promiſed, to cauſe all Duty to be neglected on board the *Syrian* Fleet; to ſeparate the Soldiers, Seamen, and Rowers, under ſeveral Pretences; to ſet the Men at work to refit moſt of the Ships, to carry a great many of them away from the Port of *Epheſus*, and ſend them to different Ports; and laſtly, to appear with very few of them in that *Road*, that they might be expoſed to be taken on the firſt Attack. This Method pleaſed *Pauſiſtratus*; he affected the ſame Negligence which he had been aſſured he ſhould find in the Enemy's Fleet; and quietly waited for Notice, when he ſhould go and attack the *Syrian* Fleet in the Port of *Epheſus*. In the mean time, the better to cover his Deſign, *Polyxenidas* ſent away ſome of his Galleys, ordered the Port to be cleanſed, and ſeemed in no Haſte to aſſemble his Crews. But tho' he did not do it at *Epheſus*, he commanded them to aſſemble near it; and *Pauſiſtratus* was over-reached by his Enemy; notwithſtanding that he had Notice of it. A private Perſon came to *Samos*, from *Epheſus*. *Pauſiſtratus* examined him concerning the Proceedings of the Admiral, and the Condition of his Fleet. And the Stranger ingenuouſly told him, That the Port of *Epheſus* was full of Ships; That their Crews were all within Reach of it; and That *Polyxenidas* was doing his utmoſt, to render his Fleet invincible. Nevertheleſs, *Pauſiſtratus* was ſo prepoſſeſſed with the Promiſe of an artful Enemy, that he neglected the ſincere Report of an indifferent Perſon. He ſtill continued at *Samos*, waiting for Advice when he ſhould go and take the *Syrian* Fleet. Whilſt *Polyxenidas* took quite different Meaſures. He ſailed from *Epheſus* with ſeventy Ships of War, and made for the Port of 9 *Pygela*, whence the *Aſiatick* Fleets generally ſet out for *Greece*. But before he weighed Anchor, he ordered one *Nicander*, the Commander of a Squadron of Privateers, to go with five Ships, and make a Deſcent in the Iſland of *Samos*; there conceal his Men as ſoon as landed; and attack the *Rhodians* in the Rear, at the ſame time that his Fleet attacked them in Front. Accordingly, *Nicander* faithfully executed the Orders of his Admiral; whilſt the *Syrian* Fleet at the ſame time ſet ſail, arrived at the Port of *Panormus* in the Night, and found the *Rhodians* lying on the Shore. *Pauſiſtratus* had been ſecure enough to ſuffer them to ſleep without any Caution. The Noiſe of a Fleet entering the Port was what firſt awakened them. Upon which, the *Rhodian* Soldiers inſtantly drew up in Order of Battel. They were old Troops; and *Pauſiſtratus* thought it better to make uſe of them in a Fight at Land, than by Sea. He poſted them to the Right and Left, upon two Promon-

Livy, B. 37. c. 11.

9 The Port of *Pygela* was on the Coaſts of *Ionia*. It is now called *Figena*. It was cuſtomary to embark there for *Greece*. *Strabo* ſpeaks of a Temple that *Agamemnon* ordered to be erected there, in honour to *Diana*.

tories which reached near to one another, and thereby formed the Mouth of the Port. And then the *Rhodians*, to their great Surprize, were on a ſudden attacked behind likewiſe. *Nicander*'s Soldiers were landed, and fell upon thoſe of *Pauſiſtratus*. The latter therefore concluded, from the Darkneſs of the Night, and the Number of the Aggreſſors, that they ſhould be over-powered; and then they had nothing to do, but to retreat to their Ships. Accordingly Soldiers, Seamen, and Rowers, all ran in Confuſion to the Port. But the Mouth of that was ſtopped up by the *Syrian* Fleet, as well as the Land infeſted by *Nicander*'s Troops: and it was therefore neceſſary to fight deſperately, in order to force a Way thro' the *Road*, and gain the high Seas. *Pauſiſtratus* was brave. His Credulity had been the ſole Cauſe of his falling into this Danger; and therefore his Indignation and Rage made him ſtick at nothing. The Galley on board which he was, happened to be the firſt that faced the Enemy at the Mouth of the Port; and when ſhe had forced her Way thro' the Road, ſhe was immediately inveſted by five *Quinqueremes*, commanded by *Polyxenidas* himſelf. So that ſhe was ſoon overpowered with numberleſs Darts; and being pierced in the Flank by the Spur of one of the Enemy's *Quinqueremes*, ſhe leeked, and ſunk. Thus periſhed *Pauſiſtratus*, who had been deceived by a baſe Stratagem, had ever behaved himſelf like a gallant Man, and was at laſt overcome only by the Multitudes of his Enemies. After the Death of the *Rhodian* Admiral, his Fleet was at the Mercy of the *Syrian* Ships. Some of the *Rhodian* Galleys were taken in ſight of the Port, others in the Port itſelf, and others were ſeized by *Nicander*'s Soldiers, before they weighed Anchor. Only ſeven Ships of this great Armament eſcaped. Five of them were *Rhodians*, and two belonged to the Iſland of [10] *Cos*. In order to force their Way thro' the Enemy, they had lighted great Fires in their *Prows*, and from thence held out long Poles, with Kettles full of burning *Bitumen* at the Ends of them; and the Terror this gave the Enemy favoured their Eſcape. In their Flight they were met by ſome *Erytræan* Galleys, which were coming to their Aſſiſtance; and they all together turned towards *The Helleſpont*, and came and joined the Fleet which *Livius* commanded before *Abydos*. The Siege of this Place was ſo far advanced, that it had already demanded to capitulate. Nothing remained, but to determine in what Manner the *Syrian* Garriſon ſhould march out of it; whether with their Arms, or not. Nevertheleſs, the *Roman* General thought his Preſence more neceſſary elſewhere. He raiſed the Siege, and made all poſſible Haſte to cover the reſt of his Fleet, which he had left at *Canæ*, in *Myſia*.

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Livy, B. 37. c. 11.

§. IV. *LIVIUS* had Reaſon to fear that *Polyxenidas*, puffed up with his Succeſs, would go and ſet Fire to the Fleet before *Canæ*. Beſides, *Seleucus* was making ſome Progreſs on the Coaſt of *Aſia*, and had already taken *Phocæa*, *Cyme* [11], and ſome other maritime Places. It was therefore neceſſary to put a Stop to the Conqueſts of the young *Syrian*, and re-take *Phocæa*; and *Livius* haſtened thither with all the *Roman* Fleet. But he found the Garriſon there too ſtrong for him; and only made a Deſcent, and ruined the Country. From thence he ſailed to *Samos*; and the Ships of *Eumenes* attended him thither. The faithful King of *Pergamus* every where followed the Army and Fortune of the *Romans*. But as for the *Rhodians*, the Defeat of their Fleet ſunk them into Deſpair. They lamented the Loſs of an able General, and wiſe Citizen, who had been deſtroyed by the Deceit of his cowardly Countryman. Nevertheleſs, they did not renounce their Alliance with *Rome*, or their Engagement to aſſiſt her with all their Forces. They fitted out twenty new Galleys, and gave the Command of them to *Eudamus*, a Man who was indeed leſs brave, and leſs expert than *Pauſiſtratus*; but more diſtruſtful, and more circumſpect. Whilſt the *Rhodian* was preparing to ſet ſail, the *Roman* Fleet, and that of *Eumenes*, cruiſed along the Coaſts of *Ionia*; and from

[10] The Iſland of *Cos* lies in the *Carpathian* Sea, at a little Diſtance from *Caria*, and fifteen Miles from *Halicarnaſſus*. It is now called *Lango*, as well as its chief City. This Iſland boaſted of having given Birth to the famous Painter *Apelles*, and to *Hippocrates* the Prince of Phyſicians. *Pliny*, B. 9. ſpeaks of a very fine Temple which the Inhabitants of this Iſland erected in honour to *Æſculapius*, their tutelary God. They had enriched it with all the moſt valuable Things they could get, of all Sorts. But above all, what was moſt admired there, was a *Venus* riſing out of the Sea, exquiſitely well performed by *Apelles*.

[11] *Cyme* was a City of *Æolis* in *Aſia Minor*, between *Myrina*, and *Phocæa*. *Sophian* gives it the Name of *Caſtri*. *Niger* places it where *Foia Nova* now ſtands. *Iſidorus* ſays this City was founded by *Pelops*.

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thence returned to *Samos*. *Polyxenidas*, who had ordered them to be watched, thought the *Roman* Ships were going to join thoſe of the *Rhodians*, to enlarge the Fleet; and immediately left the Port of *Epheſus*, appeared off [12] *Myonneſos*, and afterwards under the Iſland of [13] *Macris*. His Intention was to attack ſuch of the Enemy's Galleys as could not keep up with the reſt, or fall upon the *Roman* Ships in the Rear. But his Deſign was fruſtrated by a Storm. The North Wind aroſe all on a ſudden, ſwelled the Sea, diſperſed the *Roman* Fleet, and *Polyxenidas* miſſed his Blow. However, he hid himſelf behind the Iſland of [14] *Æthalia*, in order to attack the *Roman* Ships as they were returning to *Samos*, fatigued with the Storm. And indeed ſome of them came there, to a deſerted Port; and the Inhabitants told them that the *Syrian* Fleet was upon the Watch under *Æthalia*. They therefore deliberated whether they ſhould go and attack it, in the Abſence of the *Rhodian* Fleet. But they thought it more adviſeable to return to the Coaſts of *Ionia*. Then *Polyxenidas*, who loſt time in waiting for the Enemy, ſailed from *Æthalia*, for the Port of *Epheſus*. After his Departure, the *Roman* Fleet came, without any Diſturbance, to *Samos*; and there the *Rhodian* Galleys joined them. Then *Livius* gave the New-Comers the Satisfaction to know, that he had waited for them, in order to go and attack the Enemy; and ſoon after the three Confederate Fleets were joined, they came and appeared before *Epheſus*. This was bidding *Polyxenidas* Defiance, and ſhewing all *Aſia* the Superiority of the *Romans* over their Enemies, in caſe he ſhould decline fighting. Nevertheleſs, the *Syrians* acknowledged their Weakneſs, by their Inactivity; and the *Romans* reſolved to inſult them. Some of the *Romans* landed, and laid the Country waſte. But the Garriſon of *Epheſus* marched out againſt them, made them lay down the Booty with which they were loaded, and forced them to return to their Ships. The next Day, the *Romans* offered the *Syrians* to fight at Land; but there was no drawing them to a Battel. The *Roman* Fleet therefore returned to *Samos*, with the Glory of having twice forced the Enemy to hide themſelves. From thence *Livius* detached four Ships, under the Command of *Epicrates* the *Rhodian*, to go and cruiſe between the Iſlands of [15] *Cephalonia*, and *Zacynthus*. Some Pirates there intercepted the Convoys deſigned for the *Roman* Fleet. In his Paſſage, the *Rhodian* met the *Prætor Acilius*, who had ſet out from *Piræeus*, with a Convoy of only two *Quinqueremes*; and was coming to ſucceed *Livius*, in the Command of the *Roman* Fleet. *Epicrates* gave the new General the firſt Notice he had of the Defeat of the *Rhodians*; and *Æmilius* forced him to guard him into *Aſia*, with his four Ships. The new Admiral croſſed the *Ægean* Sea, and in his Way met *Timaſicrates* the *Rhodian*, with two *Quinqueremes*; who ſaid, he was come into this *Road* purely to guard the *Prætor* againſt the *Syrian* Corſairs which infeſted it. With this Convoy, *Æmilius* ſailed for *Chio*; and there found two *Quadriremes* more, which *Livius* his Predeceſſor had ſent thither to meet him. The nearer he came to *Samos*, the more Ships he found continually coming to him, either out of Reſpect, or for his Safety; and King *Eumenes* himſelf advanced far out into the main Sea, with two *Quinqueremes*, to do Honour to *Æmilius*. So great was the Power of the Republick; ſo great the Reſpect that even crowned Heads paid to her chief Officers! At length *Æmilius* landed at *Samos*, with a magnificent Retinue, and received the Command of the Fleet from *Livius*. Some Acts of Religion were always the firſt Things performed at the Inſtalment of any *Roman* Magiſtrates; and now, the *Prætor* firſt offered Sacrifices to the Gods, and then called a Council of War. The Buſineſs

Livy, B. 37. c. 13.

Livy, B. 37. c. 14.

12 *Strabo* and *Stephen of Byſantium* place the City of *Myonneſos* in *Aſia Minor*, in a Peninſula near *The Ionic Gulph*. They alſo both ſpeak of an Iſland of the ſame Name, in the *Ægean* Sea, over againſt *Lariſſa*. The *Greek* Term *Myonneſos* ſignifies *an Iſland of Rats*.

13 The Name of *Macris* was common to ſeveral Iſlands in the *Ægean* Sea. The Ancients gave it to *Eubœa*, on account of its Largeneſs; and alſo to the Iſland of *Chio*. And *Pliny* mentions two others of the ſame Name, ſituated on the Coaſts of *Lycia*, at ſome Diſtance from each other. By *Livy*'s Story, he ſeems to mean in this Place the Iſland of *Icarus*, one of the *Cyclades* near *Samos*. At leaſt *Euſtathius*, in his *Commentaries on Dionyſius the Geographer*, gives the latter no other Name but that of *Macris*.

14 *Ephorus*, an ancient Author, whoſe Authority *Pliny* quotes, affirms that the Iſland of *Chio* was anciently called *Æthalia*. But we muſt take Care not to confound it with another Iſland of *Æthalia*, which is in the *Tyrrhenian* Sea, and which the *Italians* now call *Elba*.

15 We have already ſpoken of *Cephalonia* and *Zacynthus*; the former of which is now called *Cephalogna*, the latter *Zante*.

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of it was to determine what Enterprizes *Æmilius* ſhould undertake with the Fleet. The firſt whoſe Opinion was asked, was *Livius*, whoſe Command was juſt expired; and the Advice he gave was that of an artful Man, who was jealous beforehand, of the Succeſs his Succeſſor might have. His Pretence was very ſpecious; but his real Deſign was to make *Æmilius* loſe the whole Campaign, by engaging him in a trifling Project. And it was therefore rejected. *Had I continued in the Command,* ſaid *Livius*, *my Deſign was to have gone and ſhut up the Mouth of the Port of* Epheſus, *and there kept the* Syrian *Fleet confined. To this End, I would have filled ſome old Barks with Flints and Sand, and ſunk them at the Entrance into that Port. Then, after I was become ſole Maſter of the Seas, I would have over-run them all, without Exception; and would have ravaged the Coaſts, and forced the maritime Cities to ſurrender.* King *Eumenes* immediately ſaw the Vanity of this Project; and he ſaid to *Livius*, *After we have ſtopped up the Mouth of the Port, ſhall the* Roman *Fleet continue before it, or not? If it continues there, the Enemy's Fleet will be in a better Situation than ours. They will be under the Covert of a good City, which will be ſupplied with Proviſions by Land, from all Parts of* Aſia. *Whereas we ſhall be expoſed to Winds and Tempeſts, and loſe Time in a Road where we ſhall gain no other Advantage, but that of having continued inactive, and given our Enemies Repoſe. And if we do not continue there, the* Syrian *Fleet will doubtleſs get out of the Port of* Epheſus, *and we ſhall loſe our Time, and Labour, and Expence, to no purpoſe.* *Eudamus* the *Rhodian* Admiral, only declared his Diſapprobation of *Livius*'s Project, without propoſing any other. But *Epicrates*, an inferior Officer in the *Rhodian* Fleet, offered the following Scheme. *Patara* [16], ſaid he, *is a City of* Lycia, *which muſt be brought into the* Roman *Intereſt. When ſhe once declares for* Rome, Rhodes *will be more at Liberty, and in a Condition,* (*when delivered from the Vexations of the* Patarans) *to employ all her Forces in the Service of the Confederates. Let therefore a Part of the* Roman *Fleet be ſent to the Coaſt of* Lycia; *and Fear will make* Patara *ſhake off the* Syrian *Yoke.* This Propoſal was approved of; and *Livius* was ordered to put it in Execution. The *Prætor Æmilius* detached for the *Lycian* Expedition, two *Roman Quinqueremes*, four *Rhodian Quadriremes*, and two ſmall Ships of *Smyrna.* In his Way, *Livius* touched at *Rhodes*, and got his Enterprize approved there. The *Rhodians* joined four *Quadriremes* more to his Squadron, and ſent him on for *Patara.* At firſt he had a fair Wind; then it blew freſher, and at length amounted to a Storm. He was therefore obliged to put in at *Phœnicus*, a Port about two Miles from *Patara.* This Port was overlooked by Rocks which were both high and ſteep; and the Inhabitants of the City mixed with the *Syrian* Soldiers of the Garriſon, ran up to the Eminences, and endeavoured with their Darts to drive the *Romans* from their Station. *Livius* oppoſed them, with ſome Troops he had on board; but in vain. The Number of the Enemy increaſed, and they had a great Advantage in their Ground. So that the *Roman* was obliged at laſt to land all his Soldiers and Seamen. Upon this, a bloody Battel enſued; and one of the chief Officers of the *Romans* was killed in it. However, the *Lycians* at length gave way, and retired into their City; but the *Romans*, on the other hand, loſt all Hopes of taking *Patara* from the King of *Syria.* After *Livius* had failed in his Attempt, he ſailed for *Greece*, took his Leave of *Scipio*, and returned to *Rome.* As for *Æmilius*, he firſt appeared before *Epheſus*, with the reſt of the *Roman* Fleet; but was forced by a Storm to put out to Sea. Then he called to mind the Affront the *Romans* had received before *Patara*; and flew thither. But in his way, he made a Deſcent at *Jaſſos* [17]; ſent to ſollicit it to come over to his Republick; and upon its Refuſal, beſieged it in Form. In the mean time, ſome Exiles of *Jaſſos*, who ſerved on board the *Roman* Fleet, were concerned for their Country; and when it was ready to fall into the Hands of the *Romans*, prevailed on the *Rhodians* and King *Eumenes* to intercede with

16 *Patara* is in *Lycia*, and borders on the *Lycian* Sea, near the Mouth of the *Xanthus*. It was called *Arſinoe*, according to *Strabo*; and afterwards *Sata-vos*, according to *Pliny*. This City had been built on an Eminence. Some of the Ancients derived its Name from one *Patarus*, a Son of *Apollo*. This God uttered Oracles there, ſix Months in the Year, according to *Feſtus*; that is, from the Winter Solſtice to the Summer. During the other ſix Months, he was ſilent at *Patara*, and ſpoke at *Delos*.

17 *Jaſſos* was a City of *Ionia*, towards the Frontiers of *Caria*. We have ſpoken of it already.

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with *Æmilius*, to prevail on him not utterly to deſtroy their native City. The *Prætor* granted their Requeſt; and only ſettled the Coaſt in Peace, but did not ravage it. Then he advanced towards *Lycia*, and appeared off *Loryma* [18], a maritime City of *Caria*. There the *Roman* Officers murmured at the Admiral's Deſign of going to *Patara*, and revenging the ill Treatment *Livius* had met with there. *We are going a great way from* Epheſus, ſaid they, *and the General alters his Reſolutions. In the Abſence of* Æmilius *and the Fleet*, Polyxenidas *will think himſelf at full Liberty to do what he pleaſes. And then, what will become of all our faithful Allies, which are left at the Mercy of the* Syrians? Theſe were ſolid Reflections; and the *Prætor* was affected with them. Nevertheleſs, it was neceſſary to pleaſe the *Rhodians*. They inſiſted on puniſhing and deſtroying *Patara*. In order therefore to put a Stop to their Impetuoſities, *Æmilius* asked them, whether the Port of the City to which they were going was large enough to hold all the Fleet. They could not deny, but the Fleet muſt be divided; and the Admiral thought this ſufficient Grounds for tacking about. He immediately returned to *Samos*, where he was near enough to watch the Motions of the *Syrian*.

§. V. Indeed *Antiochus*, on the one hand, and his Son *Seleucus*, on the other, thinking that the *Roman* Fleet was engaged in the Siege of *Patara*, undertook to penetrate into the Kingdom of *Pergamus*. The former had wintered at *Apamea*, the latter in *Æolis*. *Seleucus* paſſed the [19] *Caicus*, at the Mouth of it, near the City of *Elæa*, and entered the Dominions of *Eumenes*. Whilſt *Antiochus* came and firſt encamped at *Sardis* in *Lydia*; and from thence advanced to the Banks of the *Caicus*, pretty near his Son's Camp. The King had in his Army about four thouſand of thoſe *Gauls* who had ſettled, about a Century ago, in the Country which was called, from them, *Gallo-Græcia*, or *Galatia*; and the Father lent his Son theſe four thouſand Strangers; who, with his Troops, laid waſte the Kingdom of *Pergamus*. *Seleucus* even ventured to appear before the Capital, to lay Siege to it. His Deſign was to take Advantage of *Eumenes*'s Abſence, who commanded his own Fleet which had joined that of the *Romans*. But *Eumenes* had very fortunately left his Brother *Attalus* to take care of his Dominions; and this Prince ſuſtained, as well as he could, the Attacks of an Enemy which was ſtronger, and had a more numerous Army, than himſelf. His laſt Refuge was to give his Brother Notice of the Danger in which *Pergamus* was. *Eumenes* was then returning to *Samos*, with the *Prætor Æmilius*; and upon the firſt News of this extreme Danger, he ſailed back to the Port of *Eubœa*, landed there, and came to his Capital, before the Enemy had Notice of his Arrival. The *Roman* and *Rhodian* Fleets followed him without Delay; all the Troops they had on board made a Deſcent, without Oppoſition; and the Kingdom of *Pergamus* no longer wanted Forces to defend it. Beſides, News came from all Parts, that the *Scipio's* were advancing by great Marches, thro' *Macedon*, and would ſoon be on the Banks of *The Helleſpont*, and ready to enter *Aſia*. Upon this, *Antiochus* was ſtruck with as much Terror as he had given *Eumenes*. He was under great Anxiety, and dreaded as much the Sight of a *Roman Conſul* in *Aſia*, as the *Romans* had done the ſeeing him in *Europe*. But he did not act with a Magnanimity equal to that of the Republick his Enemy. He retired, trembling, to an Eminence near *Elæa*, and there encamped. From thence he ſent a Deputation to *Æmilius*, and deſired to begin a Treaty. The *Roman Prætor* was not averſe to concluding one with him. It would be robbing the *Scipio's* of a great deal of Honour, and immortalizing himſelf. He therefore deſired *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* to come to his Camp, there to hold a Council, upon the Subject of *Antiochus*'s Propoſal; and the *Rhodians* were not diſinclined to a Peace. But *Eumenes*, who was moſt nearly concerned to get one, made moſt Oppoſition to it. *Is this a time*, ſaid he, *to treat of Peace?* Pergamus *is beſieged, and hard preſſed by the Enemy; and it will be ſaid, that we have purchaſed the Deliverance of it by cowardly*

Livy, B. 37. c. 18.

Livy, B. 37. c. 19.

18 Both ancient and modern Geographers place *Loryma* in *Caria*, a Province of *Aſia Minor*, towards the South Coaſt of a Peninſula, in which the City of *Cnidus* ſtood. It is now called *Maxi*, according to *Niger*.

19 The River *Caicus* riſes in *Myſia*, waters the ancient Territory of *Pergamus*, and diſcharges itſelf into the *Ægean* Sea, near *The Gulph of Gineſtio*. The Moderns give this River different Names. Moſt of them call it *Girmaſti*. But *Le Noir* calls it *Caſtri*. And others ſay that is now the *Chiai*.

Compliances. So that the Shame of the timorous Antiochus *will fall upon us. Besides, can* Æmilius *conclude a Peace, without the Concurrence of the* Conſul? *Could* Cornelius *himſelf do it, without the Conſent of the* Roman *Senate and People? And if you grant it, what will you then do with your Armies and Fleets? Will you return immediately to* Italy, *or wait here for the* Conſul's *Reſolutions, and the Orders of the Senate? The firſt would be leaving us at the Mercy of the* Syrians; *and we ſhould continue in Uncertainty, in relation to a Peace, which we could not accept. And if your Armies were to continue in the* Levant, *what an Expence would that be to the Allies? They would pine away with Grief, to ſee themſelves obliged to provide for the Subſiſtence of idle Troops, which might, by their Victories, have put an end to the War, before the Concluſion of the Campaign.* This Diſcourſe, in which there appeared ſo noble a Spirit, and ſo much juſt Reaſoning, was applauded. *Eumenes* ſpoke the Sentiments of a *Roman*. *Æmilius* diſcovered the Weakneſs and Artifice of an *Aſiatick*. So that the Opinion of the Council was, that the Anſwer given to *Antiochus*'s Meſſengers ſhould be, That the Council could not determine any thing, before the Arrival of the *Scipio's*.

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§. VI. Then the King of *Syria* turned this ſhort Suſpenſion of Arms, into open Hoſtilities. He left his Son *Seleucus* to lay waſte the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, ſet out himſelf for *Troas*, and came and encamped at *Adramytteum*[20], at the Foot of Mount[21] *Ida*. This Country adhered to its Confederacy with *Rome*; and *Æmilius* therefore with his Fleet, accompanied by *Eumenes*, came to the Aſſiſtance of theſe faithful Allies. But *Attalus* ſtill continued at *Pergamus*, to defend his Brother's Dominions againſt the Arms of *Seleucus*; and a Reinforcement of *Achæans*, came thither very ſeaſonably, to the Aſſiſtance of the young Prince. Their Commander was an Officer of Diſtinction in his own Country, and his Men were well-diſciplined. This *Æchæan*, whoſe Name was *Diophanes*, had made his firſt Campaigns under the famous *Philopœmenes*; and the Pupil ſeems to have imbibed all the Excellencies of his great Maſter. With his Body of a thouſand Foot, and a hundred Horſe, he harraſſed *Seleucus* with continual Repulſes, and at length drove him out of the Country he infeſted. *Diophanes* ſpent but two Days in ſtudying the *Syrians*, their Method of encamping, and the Steps they generally took round *Pergamus*, which they kept inveſted. He obſerved from the Top of the Ramparts, that the *Syrians* poſted an advanced Guard at the Foot of an Hill, thereby kept the City in Awe, and then diſperſed themſelves in the Plains to pillage them. No Body durſt ſtir out againſt this advanced-Guard, to drive them from their Poſt; the Pillage was carried on, without Oppoſition; and this Inaction of the Beſieged, lulled the Beſiegers into a Security. Being uſed to make the Enemy tremble at the bare Sight of them, they ſlept even upon Guard; and ſpent their whole time in Diverſions, and good Eating and Drinking. The expert *Diophanes* therefore concluded, it could be no difficult Matter to ſurpriſe an Enemy ſo little upon their Guard. He acquainted *Attalus* with his Reſolution to attack, and beat the advanced-Guard of the *Syrians*; and he marched out his *Athenians* at the Gates of the City. But *Attalus* did not conſent to this Expedition, without Difficulty. In the City it was deemed a raſh Attempt. Could a thouſand Foot and a hundred Horſe, make Head againſt a formidable Army? All the *Citizens* ran to the Ramparts to be Spectators of the Action; and there ſaw, that the Motion of the *Achæans* did not at all affect the *Syrians*, or draw them off from their Sport, or Repaſts. At firſt *Diophanes* ſtood ſtill, and ſeemed to have marched out only to watch the Enemy, without any Deſign to attack them. But when he ſaw how indolent the *Syrians* were grown, through their Careleſsneſs, he marched at the Head of his hundred Horſe, directly up to a Body

App. in Syriac. Liv. B. 37. c. 20.

[20] *Adramytteum*, or *Adramittium*, an ancient City of *Aſia Minor*, bordered upon *Myſia* and *Troas*. It ſtood near a Gulph, which from the modern Name of that City, is called *The Gulph of Andramiti*, or *Endromit*. Some alſo call the Town, *S. Dimitri*. *Livy* calls the neighbouring Territory, *The Plains of Thebe*. There was a City called *Thebe*, in this Canton, in the time of the *Trojan* War; and it was deſtroyed by *Achilles*.

[21] It is well known that Mount *Ida*, ſo famous for the fabulous Accounts the Poets give of the Judgment of *Paris*, was a Mountain in *Little Phrygia*, or *Troas*. It reached from the neighbouring Territory of old *Troy*, between *Abydos*, and the River *Aſapus*, to *Little Myſia*. The higheſt part of this Mountain was called *Gargarus*. *Athenæus* reckons up at leaſt fifteen Rivulets, which all riſe in Mount *Ida*; but moſt of them were dried up, and diſappeared, in *Pliny*'s time.

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of three hundred of the Enemy, and attacked four thouſand *Syrians* with his thouſand Foot. The Onſet was ſo ſudden, and the Shout of the *Achæans* ſo terrible, that the *Syrian* Horſes broke their Bridles, and put the Enemy into Diſorder. Their Riders could not govern them. And as for the attacked Infantry, they had much Difficulty to rally; and then, being half a-ſleep, and their Bellies full, they made but little Reſiſtance. They were put into Diſorder, and fled; and were purſued croſs the Plains. How glorious an Action for *Diophanes!* All the *Pergamenſes*, both Men and Women, were Eye-witneſſes of his Victory. The next Day, the Enemy poſted themſelves farther off, and kept better Diſcipline. Nevertheleſs, *Diophanes* invited the Inhabitants of *Pergamus* to march out with him, and promiſed them a ſecond Advantage. But the Garriſon refuſed to follow him: Only the *Achæans* would run the Riſque of a ſecond Action. All the Day was ſpent in watching one another, without any Attack on either ſide; at Sun-ſet the *Syrians* withdrew to their Camp; and this was the Opportunity for which *Diophanes* waited. The *Syrian* Troops filed off in a Line; and the *Achæans* attacked them in the Rear. And the Slaughter they made of them, obliged the foremoſt to haſten their Pace, and retire to their Camp for Refuge, without having dared to make head againſt the Enemy. By theſe repeated Advantages, *Diophanes* at length forced *Seleucus* to raiſe the Siege of *Pergamus*, and march out of the Dominions of *Eumenes*.

§. VII. Nor had *Antiochus* any better Succeſs in *Troas*. *Æmilius*, ſupported by the confederate Fleets, forced him to abandon *Adramytteum*. So that after he had taken by Aſſault ſeveral defenceleſs Cities in his Way, the *Syrian* returned to *Sardis*. Then the *Roman* Fleet alſo returned to *Samos*; and there watched the Motions of *Polyxenidas*, who was yet ſhut up in the Port of *Epheſus*. At *Samos* the three confederate Fleets ſeparated. The *Roman* Ships continued there under the Command of *Æmilius*. *Eumenes* ſailed towards the *Helleſpont*, to get every thing in a Readineſs for the Paſſage of the *Scipio's* into *Aſia*. And laſtly, *Eudamus* [22] returned back to *Rhodes* with his Galleys, there to receive freſh Reinforcements. News had been brought that a Fleet was coming from *Syria*, under the Command of *Hannibal*, who would make the maritime Forces of *Antiochus* formidable. The *Rhodians* offered their Service to hinder its joining the Armament, which *Polyxenidas* kept under Shelter of *Epheſus*. And they ſucceeded in their Deſign. At firſt the Squadron *Eudamus* brought to *Rhodes*, conſiſted of only fifteen Ships. But ſeventeen other *Rhodian* Ships ſoon joined him; and after this, *Rhodes* added ſix other Boats to them. With this ſmall Fleet *Eudamus* had the Courage to go and wait for the Multitude of Ships, which *Hannibal* had gathered together from all the Ports of *Syria*. The *Rhodian* Admiral made it his firſt Buſineſs to ſhelter himſelf under a little Iſland called

Liv. B. 37. c. 31.

22 *Antiochus*, ſays *Livy*, durſt not make any Attempt upon *Adramytteum*, after he had underſtood, that the *Roman* Army, and that of *Eumenes*, were approaching to protect it. But he did not ſpare the neighbouring Fields. He deſtroyed them with Fire and Sword. From thence he marched on to *Myſia*. Then, after he had made himſelf Maſter of the City of *Peræa*, an ancient Colony of the Inhabitants of *Mitylene*, he turned all his Forces againſt the Cities of *Cotton*, *Corylenus*, *Aphrodyſias*, and *Crene*. We cannot ſay, whether the firſt of theſe four Cities, belonged to *Myſia*, or *Æolis*, or *Phrygia*. It ſeems to have been unknown to the ancient Geographers. But it is certain, they place in the laſt of theſe three Provinces, a City called *Cotiæon*. Nor are we more certain of the true Situation of *Corylenus*. As for the City of *Aphrodyſias*, there were two of that Name; one in *Caria*, near the little River of *Meander*. The *Italians* now call it *Santa Croce*. The other belonged to *Cilicia*; and is the Place now called *S. Theodoro*. And laſtly, ſome conjecture, that *Crene* was a City of *Great Phrygia*, towards the Confines of *Galatia*, and near a Mountain and Valley, which *Pliny* calls *Aulo Crene*. But whatever was the Situation of theſe four Cities, the King of *Syria* took them upon the firſt Aſſault.

Whilſt *Antiochus* was taking by force theſe Cities in his Road, the *Roman* Fleet, jointly with that of *Eumenes*, and the *Rhodians*, was cruiſing in ſight of the Iſland of *Mitylene*, and *Elæa*, a City in *Æolis*, on the Coaſts of the *Archipelago*. Then it ſailed on towards *The Gulph of Smyrna*, and put in at the little Iſland of *Bachium*, near *Phocæa*. The firſt Deſign was to ſurpriſe the Capital of the Iſland. But the *Romans*, after the firſt Attempt, found that *Antiochus* had put this City into a Condition to ſuſtain a long Siege. This Prince had lately had the Precaution to throw into it a Reinforcement of three thouſand Men, well armed. So that the Beſiegers had nothing to do, but to retreat. Nevertheleſs, before they embarked again, they diſperſed themſelves in the Plain, and laid it waſte. The Temples themſelves were not ſpared by the greedy Soldiers. The Statues of the Gods, and the richeſt Ornaments, were taken out of them, and made a Prey by the Pillagers. Then the *Roman* Fleet, loaded with the Spoils of *Bachium*, ſet ſail, and came and put in at *Samos*; where *Marcus Æmilius*, the Brother of the *Prætor Lucius Æmilius Regillus* ended both his Voyage and his Life.

Megiſte [illegible]

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Megiſte [23], on the Coaſt of *Lycia*; and then he advanced towards *Phaſelis* [24], between *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*. This was the moſt proper *Road* he could have found, to diſcover the Approach of the *Syrian* Fleet at a great Diſtance; but he thought the Air there unwholſome, and the Heat was exceſſive. So that his Crews ſuffered too much there, to continue long in that Station. *Eudamus* ſailed from thence to the Mouth of the [25] *Eurymedon*; and there the Inhabitants of *Aſpendus* [26] informed him, that *Hannibal*'s Fleet appeared off [27] *Sida*, a maritime City, on the extreme Parts of *Pamphylia*. Contrary Winds had prevented its Arrival ſooner. But how great was the Difference between *Hannibal*'s Fleet, and that of *Eudamus*, both as to Numbers, and Strength! The *Rhodian* Fleet conſiſted of only thirty two *Quadriremes*, and four *Triremes*. In that of *Syria* there were at leaſt thirty ſeven Ships of the firſt Rate (among which were three *Septiremes*, and four *Hexaremes*) beſides ten *Triremes*. Neither of the Enemies were yet in ſight of the other; nevertheleſs, they advanced in as good Order, as if going to give Battel. That they might not be ſurpriſed by a ſudden Attack, the *Rhodians* firſt doubled a Cape which hid them, and then they ſaw *Hannibal* and his Fleet. The *Carthaginian* General commanded the left Wing, which was fartheſt out in the main Sea; and another General named *Apollonius*, whom the King of *Syria* honoured with his Confidence, commanded in the right. The *Syrians* immediately made a large Front, and faced the Enemy: Whilſt the *Rhodians* ſailed on in a Line, fileways; with *Eudamus* at the Head of them. *Chariclitus* bronght up the Rear; and *Pamphilidas* commanded in the Center of the Fleet. When they came to draw up frontways, in Line of Battel, *Eudamus* ſailed out towards the main Sea; but did not go far enough from the Shore, to leave the Room that was neceſſary for his Gallies to be conveniently drawn up in one Line. And this Inadvertency cauſed ſome Diſorder in his Fleet. Beſides, the Admiral had not ordered a ſufficient Number of Ships to attend him, and guard him. He was too warm. He immediately went and attacked *Hannibal*'s Wing, with only five Gallies. And in the mean time, the reſt of his Fleet had ſo little room left them, between the Shore and the Point of his Wing, that his Ships could not be formed, without much Difficulty. However, whilſt they were diſentangling themſelves as well as they could, *Eudamus* was engaged with *Hannibal*; and the Ability and long Experience of the *Rhodians*, ſoon repaired the Fault of their General. Their Ships widened of themſelves, and left each room enough to work it with Eaſe. Then the Onſet began; and not any *Rhodian* Galleys attacked any of *Antiochus*'s, without Succeſs. Sometimes the former ſtruck the latter with the Spurs in their *Prows*. Sometimes they took them in Flank, and broke their Oars. And ſometimes they got behind them, and pierced them in the *Poop*. But what made the ſtrongeſt Impreſſion on the Enemy, was to ſee the largeſt Ship in the Royal Navy, which was attacked by a much weaker Ship, daſh ſo unfortunately againſt the latter, that ſhe ſunk upon the firſt Stroke. Thus the *Rhodians* had all the Advantage, in their right Wing; but *Eudamus* in the left, was hard preſſed by *Hannibal*. The *Carthaginian* having many more Ships, had already ſurrounded the five Gallies of the *Rhodian*, when the latter gave the uſual Signals for aſſembling the Fleet about him. Then the Ships in the right Wing, which had put the *Syrians* to flight, immediately repaired to *Eudamus* to aſſiſt him, he

[23] *Megiſte* is a little Iſland near the Coaſts of *Lycia*, and ſituated over againſt *Patara*. *Pliny* and *Ptolomy* mention it. Several modern Geographers think it was the ſame Place which is now called *Strongallo*.

[24] *Phaſelis* was a maritime City, which ſome ſay belonged to *Pamphylia*, others to *Cilicia*, and others to *Lycia*. Its advantageous Situation, and the Convenience of its three Ports, were what drew the Corſairs of *Cilicia*, to fix their Abode there. From the Name of this City, the Ancients gave the Name of *Phaſelus* to a ſort of *Brigantines*, which was invented and uſed by the Pirates of this Country.

[25] The *Eurymedon*, a River of *Aſia Minor*, riſes, according to *Pliny*, and *Strabo*, in *Piſidia*, in one of the Rocks of Mount *Taurus*. From thence it runs Southwards, into the Plains of *Pamphylia*, waters the City of *Aſpendus*, and diſcharges itſelf into the *Mediterranean*. *Thevet* calls it *Zacath*.

[26] *Aſpendus* was a City of *Pamphylia*, ſituated on the Banks of the *Eurymedon*, ſixty *Stadia*, that is, ſeven thouſand five hundred geometrical Paces, or two Leagues and a half from its Mouth, according to *Strabo*. This City was thought to have been founded by a Colony of the Inhabitants of *Argi*.

[27] *Side*, or *Sida*, was one of the maritime Cities of *Pamphylia*, near the Confines of *Cilicia*. It was long the Capital of that Province. Whereas it is now only a ſmall Town ſubject to the *Turks*. *Molet* and *Thevet* give it the Name of *Scandalor*; *Le Noir*, that of *Chrizonda*.

being

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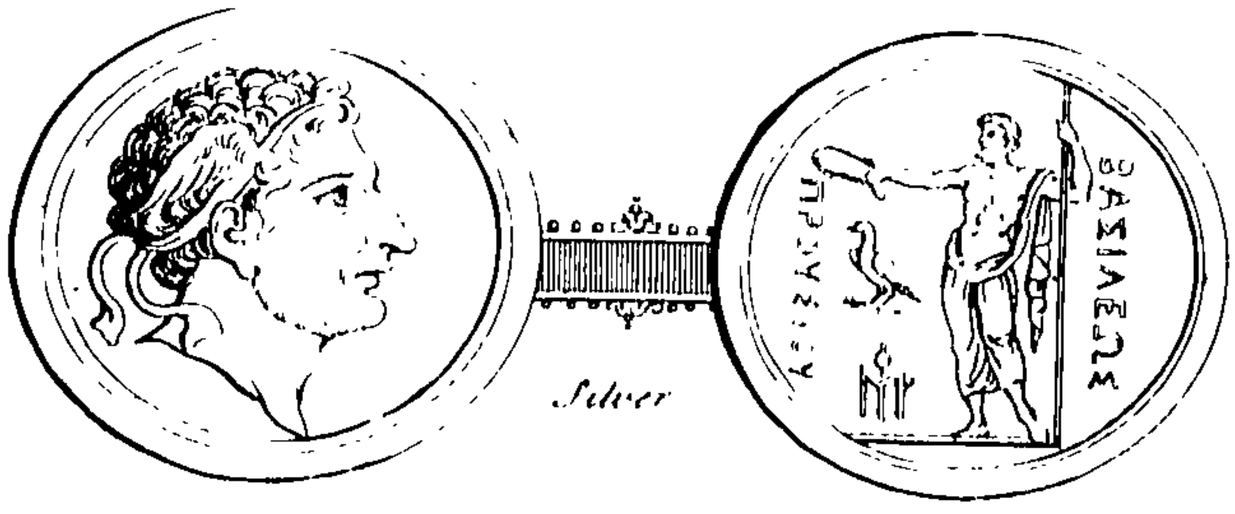
being in the moſt imminent Danger. And now *Hannibal* was attacked by all the *Rhodian* Fleet. What then could he do but retreat! He crowded all the Sail he could, and plied his Oars; and *Eudamus* could not come up with him. His Crews were yet ſick of the Diſtempers they had caught in the Port of *Phaſelis*. It was neceſſary to give them Reſpite, and make them take ſome Nouriſhment. And that inſtant, *Eudamus* caſt his Eyes on the Enemy's Fleet, which fled before him, and ſaid; *What a Sight is this! To what a Condition have you reduced* Hannibal's *Fleet! It will find it difficult to reach the Port, to ſhelter itſelf there. Moſt of the Gallies are damaged; and they muſt be refitted before they can advance farther.* At which Words, there was a Shout heard among the *Rhodian* Crews; who cried out, *Let us go on, and purſue theſe Cowards, who, though more numerous than we, could not ſuſtain our Attacks.* *Eudamus* made the beſt uſe of the good Will of his Rowers; and detached *Pamphilidas* and *Chariclitus* with Orders to follow the Enemy as far as they could, without Danger. But the Conquerors did not come up with the Fugitives, till they were ready to enter a Port; and it was not ſafe to follow them there. All the Coaſt was bordered with the Enemy's Cities; and had the Wind been ever ſo little contrary to the *Rhodians*, they would have found it difficult to have got out of ſo dangerous a *Road*. They therefore contented themſelves with taking from the *Syrians* one of their *Hexaremes*, which they towed to *Phaſelis*. From thence they returned to *Rhodes*, with the Glory indeed of having conquered; but reproaching one another, for not having utterly deſtroyed the *Syrian* Fleet. However, they had at leaſt the Advantage of keeping *Hannibal* in *Pamphylia*, and hindering him from joining *Polyxenidas*'s Fleet at *Epheſus*. In order to intercept him in his Paſſage, *Chariclitus* went and lay at Anchor with twenty Ships of War, off *Patara*, and the Iſland of *Megiſte*. As for *Eudamus*, he returned with only ſeven great Ships to *Samos*, to rejoin the *Prætor Æmilius*. His Deſign was to engage the *Romans* to come and beſiege *Patara*; and they liked the Propoſal. They were ſenſible, that *Rhodes* would thereby be the more at Liberty to ſerve the *Roman* Confederates more effectually. But after all, there was another Affair, which they thought more urgent; and that was, to hinder *Antiochus* from leaving *Sardis*, and falling down like a Torrent, on the Coaſts of *Ionia* and *Æolis*. So that they only ſent *Pamphilidas* with four Ships to enlarge *Chariclitus*'s Fleet before *Patara*.

§. VIII. As for *Antiochus*, he, during his Abode at *Sardis*, uſed all poſſible means to gain himſelf Aſſiſtance from all the Kingdoms in *Aſia*. In the firſt Place he caſt his Eyes on *Pruſias* [28], King of *Bithynia*. He was a powerful Prince, and able to increaſe the *Syrian* Armies conſiderably: and in order to draw him into his Meaſures, *Antiochus* made uſe of the moſt powerful Argument that can be uſed with Sovereign Princes. He told him, That the only Point *Rome* had in view, was to deſtroy the monarchick State in all Places; and That under the Pre-



Silver

28 This *Pruſias* was ſurnamed *The Hunter*, according to *Appian*. He was deſcended from the famous *Zipœtes*, who took Poſſeſſion of *Bithynia*, after the Death of *Lyſimachus*, one of *Alexander*'s Succeſſors. The Hiſtorians have given us ſuch a Picture of *Pruſias*, as does not prejudice us in his Favour. This Prince, ſays *Appian*, had an ugly Countenance, and a very diſagreeable Figure, and Stature, being exceeding ſhort. We find the Head of this Prince on ſome Medals. The Reverſe of that above is a *Jupiter*, holding a Crown of Laurel, This God was highly eſteemed at *Tarantum*, a City of *Bithynia*. Hence the Surname of TARANTÆUS, which *Stephen of Byſantium* gives him; and which we find likewiſe on another Medal of this King. *Beger* has placed it among his *Antiques*.

tence of Liberty, ſhe ſollicited all Nations to ſhake off the Yoke of their Kings. *Thus*, ſaid he, Flamininus *reduced* Philip *ſo low, that he was only a King in Name. Thus the Republick forced* Nabis *to ſurrender up his Dominions. The Fire began in* Macedon; *ſpread to* Lacedæmon; *has now reached to me; and will ere long overtake you. As ſoon as the* Syrian *Throne is deſtroyed,* Bithynia *will have her Turn.* Year of ROME DLXIII. L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO, C. LÆLIUS, Conſuls.

THE *Scipio's* were then upon their March, advancing towards *Aſia*; and they were informed of *Antiochus*'s Negotiation with *Pruſias*, to draw him off, from *Rome*. *Scipio Africanus* therefore thought it proper to put a Stop to the Intrigues of the King of *Syria*; and ſent a Courier to *Bithynia* for that Purpoſe. The Letter he wrote to King *Pruſias*, was a very proper one to undeceive him. It ran thus. Rome *is very far from being an Enemy to Sovereigns. How many petty Kings has ſhe made powerful Monarchs? Has ſhe not extended the Dominions of* Cholcas *and* Indibilis *in* Spain? *In* Africa, *has not* Maſiniſſa *ſeen his Territories enlarged by the Protection of the* Romans? *Has not the Son of* Syphax *been put into Poſſeſſion of the Inheritance of his Fathers? And in* Illyricum, *has not* Pleuratus *found his Power increaſe, by the favour of* Rome, *his Protectreſs.* Philip *indeed, by his Ambition, drew upon himſelf the Anger of the* Romans; *and their Victories ſo reduced him, as to leave him little more than the Title of King. But he has ſince that time altered his Conduct; and we have reſtored him his Children, and his Dominions. As for* Nabis, *we have left him in Poſſeſſion of his Crown, though it was in our Power to have taken it from him.* This Letter made a ſtrong Impreſſion on the Mind of *Pruſias*. Nevertheleſs, he was ſtill wavering between *Antiochus*, and the *Romans*; till at length, a new Embaſſy fixed him. The ſame *C. Livius* who had the laſt Year commanded the *Roman* Fleet on the Coaſts of *Aſia*, came from *Rome* to *Bithynia*. The Propoſals he made to the *Bithynian* in the Name of his Republick, prevented his entering into the Engagements, which he was ready to have made with *Antiochus*: And *Pruſias* ſo far became a Friend and Ally to the *Romans*, as even to demean himſelf, to oblige them. *Polyb. in Legat. c. 22*

§. IX. So that the King of *Syria* having now no hopes of *Bithynia*, his whole Dependence was on his Fleet. He thought it would be of more Service to him, in his Deſign of keeping the *Romans* out of *Aſia*, to make himſelf Maſter of the Seas; than to guard the Shores of the *Helleſpont*, to hinder their Paſſage. With this View he left *Sardis*, and came to *Epheſus*. *Polyxenidas* was there waiting for him with a good Number of Ships, all well equipped, and well ſtored with Arms and Proviſions. Indeed *Hannibal*, who was blocked up in the Ports of *Pamphylia*, had not yet brought his *Phœnician* Ships to the *Rendezvous*; but then the *Romans*, who lay at Anchor before *Samos*, were likewiſe deprived of the Aſſiſtance of a great Number of *Rhodian* Gallies, and of all thoſe of *Enmenes*. Some continued before *Patara*, and others were cruiſing about the Mouth of the *Helleſpont*. *Antiochus* therefore ordered *Polyxenidas* to engage the Enemy at Sea. As for himſelf, and his Land-Forces, he came and encamped at [29] *Notium*, between *Smyrna* and *Epheſus*: And from thence fell down on [30] *Colophon*, and beſieged it. This City of *Ionia* had long been troubleſome to *Antiochus*'s Fleet. Being ſituated on an Eminence, the *Colophonians* diſcovered all that paſſed in the Port of *Epheſus*, and gave the *Romans* Advice of it. In the firſt Place therefore the King threw up a Line of Circumvallation round it, from the Extremity of the Port round to the Sea. Then he made his Aſſault, with all the Machines then uſed in taking Places. *Mantelets*, *Rams*, *Covered Galleries*, and *Terraſſes*, were all employed againſt it. *Antiochus* expected that the *Roman* Fleet would have come to the Aſſiſtance of their Allies; and his Aim was, to draw it out of the Ports of *Samos*, and make *Polyxenidas* attack it. And indeed, the *Colophonians* ſent ſome of their Citizens to *Æmilius*, to deſire his Aſſiſtance *App. in Syriac. Livy, B. 37. c. 26.*

29 *Notium*, according to *Livy*, ſtood on the Coaſts of *Ionia*, at the Diſtance of only ten thouſand geometrical Paces from *Colophon*. But *Strabo* ſays, the Diſtance between them was twelve thouſand.

30 *Colophon* was one of the moſt conſiderable maritime Cities in *Ionia*. It was one of the ſeven, that contended for the Glory of having given Birth to *Homer*. Scarce any Footſteps of it are now remaining. The Place where it ſtood is called at preſent *Altoboſco*, according to *Caſtaldus*; or *Belvedere*, according to *Le Noir*.

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againſt an Enemy, which they had drawn upon themſelves, only by their Fidelity to *Rome*; and the Requeſt of the Beſieged broke the *Prætor*'s Meaſures. *Æmilius* had determined to go and meet the *Scipio's*, and aſſiſt them in their Paſſage into *Aſia*. So that he heſitated between the preſſing Wants of *Colophon*, and the trifling Honour of paying his Court to the two *Roman* Generals. *Eudamus* therefore remonſtrated to him, that it was much more worthy of the *Roman* Name, to ſave the Lives and Liberties of the Diſtreſſed, than to give the Land-Army an Aſſiſtance, which it did not want. *The Fleet of King* Eumenes, ſaid he, *is ſufficient to tranſport the Troops and Baggage of the* Conſular *Army. Will you then loſe an Opportunity of delivering* Colophon, *out of the Danger it is in, and of giving Battel to the* Syrian *Fleet? Your going to receive the* Scipio's, *at their Entrance into* Aſia, *is rather Matter of Civility, than Neceſſity. But to conquer the Enemy, and preſerve the* Colophonians *from impending Ruin, is doubtleſs, the indiſpenſable Duty of a* Roman *Admiral.* And theſe Words from the prudent *Eudamus*, had their deſigned Effect. *Æmilius* ordered the Fleet to get ready to ſail. But before he attacked *Antiochus* before *Colophon*, he reſolved to take in ſome Proviſions at *Chios*. The general Magazine of the *Romans*, both for their Sea and Land-Forces, was there; and the *Prætor* had been informed, that a great Convoy of Corn was arrived there, but that the Barks which were bringing the Wine, were retarded by contrary Winds. His Recourſe therefore in the latter Caſe, was to 31 *Teos*. He knew that the Inhabitants of *Teos* had promiſed the King of *Syria* five thouſand Hogſheads of their excellent Wine; and he reſolved, either to force the *Teians* to deliver it up to him, or elſe take and demoliſh their City. However, a Fleet of Pirates amuſed him for ſome time. He took it for a *Syrian* Squadron, and chaſed it. And then the *Roman* Fleet made a Deſcent on *Teos*. There were two Ports in this Iſland, one behind, and the other before, the City. *Æmilius* went to the Port, which was fartheſt from thence, to make his Deſcent, and ravage the Country; and the poor Iſlanders ſent Deputies to the *Prætor*, who, in a ſuppliant manner, proteſted to him, that they had never taken up Arms againſt the *Romans*. *No*, ſaid *Æmilius*, *but you have promiſed our Enemies Wine; and if you will give us what was deſigned for them, we will put a Stop to the Pillage.* The *Teians* conſented to it; and the *Prætor* ſailed to the Port next to the City, there to receive the Convoy.

§. X. In the mean time *Polyxenidas* ſailed in all haſte from *Colophon*, as ſoon as he underſtood that the *Roman* Fleet was at *Teos*. He thought it yet in the Port behind the City; rejoiced much at it; and expected to have been able to have ſhut in the *Roman* Ships there, in the ſame manner as he had formerly inveſted the *Rhodian* Gallies. And indeed, the ſecond Port of *Teos* was very like that of *Samos*. The Mouth of it was formed by two Promontories, which came ſo near each other, that two Gallies could ſcarce ſail out of it a-breaſt. But *Polyxenidas*'s Miſtake made him pay dear for his vain Artifices. He ſheltered himſelf under the Iſland of *Macris*, over againſt *Myonneſus*, and there kept his Fleet, as it were in Ambuſh, in an unknown Port. He continued there in Silence two Days, deſigning to attack the *Prætor*, as ſoon as a fair Wind, and favourable Opportunity, would give him leave. But his Expectations were fruſtrated. The *Roman* Fleet had changed their Poſt, by the Advice of *Eudamus*. Beſides, a Peaſant of the Country came and told *Æmilius*, that there was a Fleet appeared in the Port of *Macris*, very near *Myonneſus*; and this News made the *Roman* Admiral doubly cautious. For fear of being ſurrounded in the New Port, where he waited for the *Teian* Wine; and leſt a Body of *Syrians* ſhould land and ſurpriſe his Troops, which were diſperſed in the Fields; he ſounded a Retreat, and ordered the Fleet to ſail. The Officers themſelves went aſhore, and diſperſed themſelves about the Iſland, to gather together their ſcattered Men, and they all haſtened to the Fleet. Their Precipitation was ſo great, that the Men ſcarce knew their reſpective

31 *Teos* is a City yet in being, in *Ionia*; it is now called *Sufor*. But others think it ſtood where now ſtands a neighbouring Village called *Segeſi*. It was the Country of *Anacreon* the Poet, *Hecatæus* the Hiſtorian, and *Protagoras* the Philoſopher, whoſe Books were condemned to be burnt by the *Athenians*. Nevertheleſs *Cicero* ſays, *De Nat. Deor.* that the laſt was a Native of *Abdera*, a City of *Thrace*; perhaps becauſe, according to *Strabo*, the Citizens of *Teos* left their City, to go and ſettle at *Abdera*.

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ſpective Ships, and Poſts. In order to prevent Confuſion at going out of the Port, *Æmilius* weighed Anchor firſt, and after him the *Roman* Ships, which he drew up in Line of Battel as faſt as they came out. Then *Eudamus*, with his *Rhodian* Gallies, ſailed out after them, and formed a ſecond Line behind that of the *Romans*. Thus the two Fleets ſailed on in good order, and were not perceived by the Enemy, till they appeared off *Myonneſus*. As for *Polyxenidas*, he only ſought for a Battel; and ſeized this Opportunity for it. His Ships firſt advanced two and two. Then they made ſo large a Front, that they ſeemed to deſign to ſurround the firſt Line of the *Roman* Fleet. This *Eudamus* perceived; and in order to equal the Front of the *Romans*, as much as poſſible to that of the Enemy, he left the ſecond Line, and with incredible Expedition, poſted himſelf at the Point of the left Wing. His Ship was then directly oppoſite to that of *Polyxenidas*. In the *Roman* Fleet there were eighty Gallies, twenty two of which were *Rhodian*. The *Syrian* Fleet conſiſted of eighty nine Ships of the Line, ſome of which were of an enormous Size. Two of their Gallies were *Heptaremes*, and three others *Hexaremes*. But the Advantage, in Point of Valour, was wholly on the ſide of the *Romans*. And as to their Boats, if their own were heavier than the *Syrian*, this Diſadvantage was abundantly made up to them, by the Lightneſs of the *Rhodian* Ships that joined them. The *Rhodians* had then invented a ſort of Fire-ſhips, which ſtruck much Terror into the *Syrian* Fleet. Cauldrons full of combuſtible and burning Materials, were hung out at the *Prows* of theſe Fire-ſhips: and not one of the Enemy's Ships durſt come near them. As for the Fire-ſhips themſelves, they fell on the *Syrian* Gallies, ſtruck them with their *Spurs*, and at the ſame time ſet them on Fire. And this firſt Attack of the *Rhodian* Veſſels, was as it were the Prelude to the Battel. A good Number of the *Syrian* Gallies left their Ranks, and crowded round the Fire-ſhips, not ſo much with intent to come up to them, as to keep hovering round them, and deſtroy their Crews, with Darts, Arrows, and Javelins. On the other hand, ſome of the *Roman* Ships ſailed into the Spaces the *Syrians* had left, by quitting their Ranks, and attacked the *Syrian* Gallies behind; others grappled with them; and the *Romans* boarding them, their Valour was as ſucceſsful now, as it generally had been in pitched Battels.

The left of the Enemy was very ſeverely handled. Some of their Ships were ſunk, and others taken. The *Syrians* had no Advantage at all over the *Romans*, till a Galley of *Sidon*, and another of *Rhodes*, engaged. They ſtruck at each other with their Spurs, with great Fury; and the *Rhodian* caught hold of the *Sidonian* Galley, with the Grapplings at her *Prow*. But in the Struggle to get looſe, the Cable, by which the Grapplings were tied, twiſted round the Capſtan, and thereby made one ſide of the Rowers in the *Rhodian* Galley uſeleſs. So that it was then eaſy for the *Sidonians* to enter the *Rhodian* Galley, and ſeize her. And this was almoſt the only Advantage the Enemies had in all the Battel. *Polyxenidas*, when he ſaw his left Wing in ſuch Diſorder, thought of nothing but Flight; and the Wind ſtanding fair for *Epheſus*, he clapped on all the Sails he could, and quitted the Fight. His right Wing, which had ſcarce had any Share in the Battel, did the ſame. In ſhort, all the *Syrian* Fleet diſappeared; and the *Romans* had no more Enemies to fight with. The Hiſtorians, who diminiſh moſt the Advantage of the *Prætor Æmilius*, agree, that he ſunk thirty nine of the Enemy's Ships, and took thirteen with all their Crews. But others ſay, that the King of *Syria* loſt forty two of his Ships, excluſive of the thirteen Gallies, which either ſtruck to the *Romans*, or were taken by them. On the ſide of the *Romans*, there were only two Ships deſtroyed, and the Vanquiſhed carried a third to *Epheſus*.

§. XI. As for *Antiochus*, he had depended too much on his Fleet. He might have prevented the Paſſage of the *Scipio's* into *Aſia*, if he had guarded the Ports in *The Thracian Cherſoneſus*, and had encamped his Land-Forces round *Lyſimachia*. And after the Defeat of *Polyxenidas*, he took a mad Step. He recalled from *Europe* all the Garriſons that defended the few Places he had left there; and he cauſed *Lyſimachia* to be evacuated, though that Place alone might have ſtopped the whole *Conſular* Army for a great while. Then he complained of his hard Fate, in theſe Words. *I know not what God has infatuated me! Every thing happens contrary to my Expectations. I flattered myſelf that* Philip *of* Macedon *would* App. in Syriac.

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would join his Forces with mine. I creep on before the Romans, *and am a Cheat to them, to ſhew them the Way to ruin me.* Hannibal *is at a great Diſtance from me, and is beſieged by the* Rhodian *Fleet in* Pamphylia. *And to complete my Misfortunes,* Polyxenidas, *by his Flight, has left the* Roman *Admiral Maſter of the Seas. Heaven perſecutes me. And what can I infer from all this, but that my Ruin approaches.*

THESE Reflections exceedingly dejected him; the *Syrian* Army raiſed the Siege of *Colophon*; and the King retired, firſt to *Sardis*, and then to *Cappadocia*, to King *Ariarathes* his Son-in-Law. And there he made it his whole Buſineſs, to aſſemble all the Land-Forces he could, that were fit to make Head againſt the *Scipio's*. The Loſs of one ſingle Battel at Sea had diſcouraged him. *Polyxenidas* was forced to confeſs his Defeat. The *Roman* Fleet in vain appeared before *Epheſus*, to draw the *Syrians* to a ſecond Engagement. Their Ardour was abated by their Loſſes. *Æmilius* therefore returned to *Chio*, and there refitted his Galleys. Then he ſent away a Squadron of thirty Boats, to aſſiſt the *Roman* Army in paſſing the *Helleſpont*; and he went himſelf with the reſt of his Fleet, and appeared before *Phocæa*, on the Confines of *Æolis* and *Ionia*. This City ſtood on a Gulph, which ran up very far into the Land. It was longer than it was broad, and was ſurrounded with a Wall of about two thouſand five hundred Paces. The extreme Parts of the City towards the Sea, ſtood on a very narrow Neck of Land, which naturally formed two Ports, one to the right of it, and the other to the left. The former, which was the more ſpacious, held a great Number of Ships, and was therefore called *Nauſtathmos*. The ſecond was called *Lamptera*, becauſe a *Pharos* had been built there to light the Ships in the Night. The *Prætor* had then no Ships with him, but thoſe of his Republick. He had ſent the *Rhodians* Home. However, the latter were willing before they went to *Rhodes*, to aſſiſt in tranſporting the *Scipio's* to *Aſia:* and whilſt they were waiting for the Arrival of the Generals, *Æmilius* turned towards *Phocæa*, and ſummoned it to ſurrender. But the City did not give the *Roman* the Anſwer he deſired. Since its Engagements with *Antiochus*, it was become very ſteddy in his Intereſt. So that it was neceſſary to beſiege it; and it was battered from the two Ports, on both ſides the Neck of Land that jetted out into the Sea. It ſeemed moſt eaſy to gain the Place, on the ſide of *Lamptera*. There were none of the Inhabitants in this Quarter. Scarce any thing was ſeen there, but ſome Temples erected to ſeveral Divinities. But nevertheleſs, when an Aſſault was made on that ſide, ſo great a Number of the People ran thither to defend it, and made ſo vigorous a Reſiſtance, that the General was forced to ſound a Retreat, and call back his Troops to his Ships. However, he did not raiſe the Siege. Towards the other Port, a Breach was made in the Wall with the *Rams*, and the Enemy were ready to mount it, when a *Roman* Officer remonſtrated to the *Phocæans*, that the *Prætor* was more deſirous of ſaving their Lives and Liberty, than they themſelves were. *If you lay down your Arms*, ſaid he to them, *we are ready to grant you the ſame Terms that* Livius *formerly offered you.* Theſe Words a little abated the Fury of the Beſieged; and they deſired five Days time to conſider of it: Nevertheleſs, the only uſe they made of this Suſpenſion, was to ſend to King *Antiochus* for Succours. But what could they expect from a Prince, who was entirely diſheartened by the Loſs of his Fleet? The *Phocæans* did not bring back to their City ſo much as a general Promiſe, that they ſhould be relieved ſome time or other. Nothing therefore remained but to ſubmit to the *Roman* Yoke; and the Gates were opened. But when the Soldiers were entered into it, they ſaid that the *Phocæans* were Rebels, who deſerved the ſevereſt Puniſhments; and at theſe Words, they of their own Authority, without any Orders from the General, fell to plundering the City. It was in vain to call them back, or tell them, that a City which ſurrendered, was not to be treated like a City taken by Aſſault. The Avarice of the Soldiers prevailed over Diſcipline, and the Law of Nations. However, the *Prætor* at leaſt aſſembled all the *Phocæans* of free Condition, in the Market-Place; and in order to comfort them for the Plunder of their Houſes, he reſtored them their City, Liberty, and Territory, and gave them leave to be governed by their own Laws. And *Æmilius* choſe to winter in the Ports of *Phocæa*.

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However, all theſe Advantages gained at Sea, and on the Coaſt, by the *Prætor Æmilius*, were only Preparations for the important Expedition, which the *Scipio's* were going to enter upon in *Aſia*. But in the mean time, the eldeſt of theſe two illuſtrious Brothers, was ſenſibly affected with an Accident which had happened to his dear Son. *Scipio Africanus* had brought with him into *Greece*, doubtleſs, to form him to Arms, from his earlieſt Infancy: And he ſent him in a *Chalcidian* Ship to *Demetrias*, probably to prevent expoſing him to any Hazards in *Aſia*. But in his Paſſage, the Galley which carried him was attacked and taken by a *Syrian* Ship. When the young *Roman* was brought to *Antiochus*, he was very agreeably received. Never were any People more polite than the *Aſiaticks*. The *Syrian* ſhewed the Son of the Great *Scipio*, all the Marks of Honour that were due to his Birth, and the Reputation of his Father. The King could not have treated him with more Reſpect, if *Syria* had been at Peace with *Rome*, and Hoſpitalities had long been mutually exerciſed between the Family of the *Scipio's*, and that of *Antiochus*. But after all, the Detention of a Son, ſo tenderly beloved, was Matter of great Grief to his Father; though *Antiochus* kept him near himſelf, and careſſed him exceedingly.

Liv. B. 37. c. 34.

§. XII. In the mean time the *Conſular* Army was ſtill advancing through *Thrace*; and at length arrived at the *Cherſoneſus*, very near the *Helleſpont*. But the *Scipio's* had Reaſon to expect, that *Lyſimachia* would much obſtruct their Progreſs; and they were never more ſurpriſed, than when they found, both That the Sea was free, ſince the Victory of *Myonneſus*; and That *Lyſimachia* had opened her Gates. The King of *Syria* had juſt drawn the Garriſon out of it; and the *Syrians* had evacuated it with ſuch Precipitation, as to leave all their Proviſions behind them. So that the *Roman* Army, which was fatigued with a long March, found all ſorts of Refreſhments there; and halted there ſome Days, waiting for the coming up of the Stragglers, and the Sick. And there the *Romans* received a freſh piece of News, which was as ſurpriſing as the Deſertion of that Place. On the oppoſite Shore of the *Helleſpont*, ſtood *Abydos*, the Key of *Aſia*, and the firſt City to be taken, before a Settlement could be made there; and they were informed, That *Antiochus* had likewiſe abandoned this City, and drawn out its Garriſon; and That it was ready to receive them, as ſoon as they ſhould arrive. By this the *Scipio's* formed a Judgment of *Antiochus*'s Character; and were made very ſenſible, that when deſtitute of *Hannibal*'s Advice, he was by no means a formidable Enemy. But after all, it was in the Abſence of the *Carthaginian* General, that *Antiochus* took up the imprudent Reſolution to go and wait for the *Romans* in the Heart of *Aſia*, without diſputing their Entrance into it. Through the Aſſiſtance of the *Rhodian* Ships, and the Care of *Eumenes*, they paſſed the *Helleſpont*, with all the Order imaginable. The *Conſul Cornelius* paſſed firſt into *Aſia* with the Bulk of the Army, and left his Brother on the other Shore in *Europe*. *Scipio Africanus* was detained there by religious Duties. He was one of the *Salii*, that is, of the Prieſts of *Mars*, who every Year, after a ſolemn Sacrifice, carried through the City of *Rome* thoſe ſacred Shields which *Numa* ſaid he had received from Heaven. During this Solemnity, the *Roman* Armies never undertook any Enterpriſe, at what Diſtance ſoever they were from the Capital. And the Prieſts of *Mars*, though Generals of Armies, did not ſtir out of the Place, where they were [32] for ſeveral Days. This was a troubleſome Superſtition, for the time the Feſtival laſted. But it was an eſtabliſhed Order; and the Great *Scipio* complied with it, and continued all that time in *Europe*, whilſt his Brother and the *Roman* Troops were in *Aſia*. As ſoon as *Antiochus* received the News, that the *Romans* were

App. in Syriac. N. 105.

Liv. B. 37. c. 33.

[32] Indeed, the ancient *Romans* were not ſuffered to go upon any Enterpriſe of Importance, during the three Days which the Feaſt of the *Salii* laſted; as we have obſerved in the firſt Volume. *Ovid* mentions no more than three, in his third Book of *Faſti*. He places the beginning of the Feſtival on *The Calends of March*; and ſays, that the two firſt Days of it were ſpent in the Ceremony of carrying the ſacred Bucklers; and that on the third, the College of the *Salii* ſhut themſelves up in the Temple of *Mars*, where this *Depoſitum* was carefully kept, as a Pledge of the Duration and Proſperity of the Republick. After this, the *Roman* Hiſtorians ſay, that the *Salii* themſelves were at Liberty to go about their ordinary Buſineſs, which had been interrupted, out of regard to Religion. *Polybius* is the only one who ſays, that this Solemnity laſted thirty Days. Perhaps, there is an Error crept into the Text. Nevertheleſs, it muſt be owned, that in ſome Calendars of the time of the Emperors *Conſtantinus* and *Conſtans*, this Feſtival was prolonged to *The ſeventh of the Ides of March*, that is, the ninth Day of that Month.

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encamped near *Abydos*, he was ſeized with freſh Terror. He was fully perſuaded, that ſome Divinity, which was an Enemy to him, was contriving his Ruin; and turned all his Thoughts to Peace. He ſeldom employed any but Foreigners in his military Expeditions, and moſt important Negociations; and he now pitched upon one *Heraclides*, who was born at *Byſantium*, and of *Thracian* Extraction, to go to the Camp of the *Scipio's*, and carry them new Propoſals for a Peace. His Inſtructions were theſe. *You ſhall firſt addreſs yourſelf to the eldeſt of the* Scipios, *and do your utmoſt to gain his Good-will.* Publius *is an Hero of great Humanity, who captivated the Hearts of all the People in* Spain *and* Africa. *You ſhall make your Court to him with great Aſſiduity; and when you find him diſpoſed to hear you, you ſhall aſſure him, that I will reſtore him, without Ranſom, the Son whom he* 33 *ſo tenderly loves, and whom I entertain at my Court, with all the Reſpect that he deſerves. To this you ſhall add, That all my Treaſures are at his Service, and That I am ready to ſhare my Dominions to him, and almoſt every thing elſe, but the Title of King. But theſe Offers ſhall be made in ſecret, when only the Great* Scipio *and You are preſent. The Propoſals you ſhall make to the* Roman *Council, in my Name, are theſe. You ſhall tell them, that I am ready to deliver up to them, the Cities of* Lampſacus, Smyrna, *and* Alexandria 34, *which are the Places the Reſtitution of which they have moſt inſiſted on. To which you may add, That I am not averſe to evacuating certain Places in* Ionia, *and* Æolis, *which the* Romans *are ſollicitous to get from me. And laſtly, You ſhall promiſe in my Name, That I will pay* Rome *half the Expence ſhe has been at, in bringing the War into* Aſia. Then *Heraclides*, ever faithful in executing his Maſter's Orders, when he had received theſe plenary Inſtructions, immediately ſet out for the *Roman* Camp, on the Banks of the *Helleſpont*. He was extremely ſurpriſed not to find the eldeſt *Scipio* there, and therefore deferred having his Audience; and prolonged his ſtay at *Abydos*, under different Pretences. At length, as ſoon as *Publius* arrived, *Heraclides* was admitted into the Council of War; and his Speech was agreeable to his Inſtructions. *Remember* Romans, ſaid he, *the Viciſſitudes of Fortune. If Men extend their Deſires beyond reaſonable Bounds, they expoſe themſelves to the Danger of loſing all. Is not* Europe *a Field large enough for your Conqueſts? Or can you preſerve them, with as much Eaſe as you made them? Muſt* Aſia *likewiſe be the Object of your Ambition? If it muſt, determine only how far you will go, and my Maſter is ready, for the ſake of Peace, to deliver up ſome Parts of it to you. The Places in diſpute between us at preſent, are* Smyrna, Lampſacus, Alexandria, Troas, *and* Lyſimachia *in* Europe. *The laſt of which* Antiochus *has already given up, that he might not be ſaid to have any thing in* Europe. *And he is likewiſe ready to give up thoſe in* Aſia, *and any others to which the* Romans *have any Claim. And laſtly, he offers to bear half the Expence of the War.*

Polyb. in Legat. c. 23. Liv. B. 37. c. 34. App. in Syriac. N. 105.

Livy B. 37. c. 35.

Livy. ibid.

Livy, ibid.

Livy, ibid.

Livy, ibid.

But though the Ambaſſador thought theſe very low and ſervile Conditions, they were not ſufficient to ſatisfy the *Roman* Council. All the Anſwer he received was, that a Peace would not be granted to *Antiochus* on any, but the following Conditions. 1. *That ſince he had drawn the War upon himſelf, he ſhould pay the Republick all her Expences in it.* 2. *That he ſhould reſtore Liberty to all the Cities in* Aſia, *in general, which he kept in Subjection to him.* 3. *That in order to ſecure his Fidelity, and guard againſt his Hoſtilities, his Dominions ſhould for the future reach no farther than to Mount* Taurus 35; that is, *that Chain of*

33 Some affirm, ſays *Livy*, that *Scipio*'s Son was ſurrounded by one of *Antiochus*'s Squadrons, which was cruiſing along the Coaſts of *Eubœa*, as he was paſſing from *Chalcis* to *Oreos*. Others pretend, That the young *Roman* was in *Aſia* with his Father, and That having advanced at the Head of a ſmall Body of *Fregellan* Horſe, to *reconnoitre* the King of *Syria*'s Camp, he was purſued in his Retreat, by a great Body of *Syrian* Horſe, and either fell from his Horſe, or as others, his Horſe fell under him, and he was ſeized in this Condition by a Troop of the Enemy, and carried to *Antiochus*.

34 We have already ſpoken of *Alexandria*, a maritime City of *Troas*. *Appian* places it on the Banks of the River *Granicus*, in *Myſia*, which riſes in Mount *Ida*, and diſcarges itſelf into the *Propontis*. Some call it *Granico*, to this Day; and others *Lazzara*.

35 The Ancients gave the Name of *Taurus* to that long Chain of Mountains, which divides *Aſia* in two Parts, much as the *Apennines* do *Italy*. This vaſt Body of Rocks reached from *Pamphylia*, near Cape *Selidoni*, to the extreme Parts of *Aſiatic Scythia*, and had different Names according to the different Countries they ran through. But the Name of *Taurus* belonged, ſtrictly ſpeaking, only to that Chain of Mountains, which ſeparated *Pamphylia* and *Cilicia*, from *Armenia the Leſs*, and *Cappadocia*.

Mountains

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Mountains, which begins towards the Weſt of Lycia, *and ſeparate* Cilicia, *from the North Parts of* Aſia. But the Ambaſſador thought the Pretenſions of the Council intolerable; and therefore had no Reſource left, but in the private Treaty he had Orders to attempt with *Scipio Africanus*. He was very aſſiduous at his Tent; and found ready Acceſs to him. The Civilities of *Antiochus* to *Scipio*'s Son, deſerved at leaſt a good Reception for his Ambaſſador at the Father's Hands; and *Heraclides* took him aſide, and addreſſed himſelf to him, in this manner. *Judge, my Lord, of the Eſteem* Antiochus *has for you, by the Honours he pays your Son. He reſides at the* Syrian *Court; and is there as well taken care of, as if he was a Prince of the Blood Royal. And* Antiochus *has Thoughts of delivering him up to you. Nay, my Commiſſion reaches farther. My Maſter is not afraid to ſhare his Treaſures with you, and place you on the ſame Throne with him. If you can be content with a Crown, without the Title of King, which you have been taught to abhor, a Throne is at your Service.* Theſe Offers both ſurprized *Scipio*, and alarmed his Virtue. He loved his Son; but he had a *Roman* Spirit. And his Anſwer was ſuitable to the two different Paſſions which divided his Heart. *If the King of* Syria *reſtores me my Son*, ſaid he, *this will be a perſonal Obligation, which as a Father, I ſhall receive with Gratitude. But if he hopes to corrupt my Fidelity by his Promiſes, his Efforts are vain. As a good Citizen, I can neither receive any thing from an Enemy, nor promiſe any thing to him. But let me give him a little Advice, ſince that is all I can do, in the Condition to which he has reduced himſelf. He has ſuffered us to come over into* Aſia; *whereas,* Lyſimachia *might have ſtopped us. Had he appeared on the Banks of the* Helleſpont *with an Army, and diſputed our paſſing it with us, he might perhaps have obtained more favourable Terms. But now, we are entered into* Aſia; *and are as it were* [36] *Maſters, both of the Horſe and his Rider. So that, I can do nothing more for* Antiochus, *than pray the Gods, that he may never be in the Situation of my Son, and want that Protection, which he ſo generouſly gives the Child. And if he would preſerve himſelf from ſo great a Misfortune; let him avoid coming to a pitched Battel with the* Romans, *on any Account, and accept of a Peace with them, on any Terms. This Advice is the ſtrongeſt Teſtimony I can give him, both of my Eſteem, and Gratitude.* Liv. B. 37. c. 36.

§. XIII. The ill Succeſs of his Embaſſy ſunk the King into a deep Melancholy. *Though I have never fought with the* Scipio's, ſaid he, *they treat me as if they were my Conquerors. They baniſh me beyond Mount* Taurus. *What could they do more, if they had ſeen my* Phalanx *broken, and my Army fly before them? Let us then try the Fate of Arms; and not ſuffer imaginary Dangers to extort from me, what Fortune may preſerve for me!* And theſe Reflections made him turn all his Projects of a Peace, into ſerious Preparations for War. He encamped near [37] *Thyatira*, and there aſſembled all his Forces. On the other hand, the *Roman* Army left the Banks of the *Helleſpont*, and advanced farther into *Aſia*. It firſt entered *Myſia*, and encamped towards [38] *Dardanum*, and then towards Cape *Rhæteum*. Theſe Cities readily ſurrendered to the *Romans*. [39] *Ilium*, in *Troas* eſpecially, opened her Gates with Pleaſure, to receive the Deſcendents of *Æneas*, and rejoiced to ſee her Children return with ſo much Glory to their Mother-City. The *Conſul* went and offered Sacrifices in the Temple of *Minerva*. From thence he marched, in ſix Days, to [40] *Elæa*, towards the Mouth of the *Caicus*. As this City was ſubject to the Kings of *Pergamus*, *Eumenes* endeavoured to get thither before the *Romans*; but contrary Winds retarded his Fleet. However he landed,

36 *Scipio* alludes to the Fable of the Horſe, which is mentioned by *Ariſtotle*, in the ſecond Book of his *Rhetorick*.

37 *Thyatira* was one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in *Lydia*. It is ſtill in being, and is called *Tyra*, or *Tyra*, if we believe *Leunclavius*. Time has preſerved ſeveral ancient Monuments among its Ruins. *Pliny* alſo gives the Name of *Thyatira* to one of the *Æchinades* Iſlands.

38 We have already ſpoken of *Dardanum*, which was built by *Dardanus*, a King of the *Trojans*, on the *Aſiatick* Coaſts of the *Helleſpont*.

39 The City of *Ilium*, which took its Name from *Ilus*, a King of the *Trojans*, its Founder, ſtood in *Phrygia Minor*, between the Coaſts of the *Helleſpont* and Mount *Ida*. After it had been deſtroyed by the *Greeks*, it was rebuilt in the ſame Place. There are yet to be ſeen, thirteen Miles from the Sea, the Ruins of this ancient City, which ſtill retain the Name of *Troy*.

40 *Elæa*, a City of *Æolis*, bordered upon *Great Myſia*, on the Coaſts of the *Ægean* Sea, twenty five Miles from *Pergamus*. From the Name of this City, that part of the Sea, which reaches from it, to the Iſland of *Lesbos*, was called *The Gulph of Elæa*, now *The Gulph of Gueresſio*.

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came to the Camp of the *Scipio's*, returned immediately to *Pergamus*, and brought Provisions from thence for the Army. But *Eumenes*'s Care did not secure the eldest *Scipio* from the Disease which seized him near *Elæa*. *Antiochus*'s Camp was not far from thence; and as soon as this Prince heard at *Thyatira*, that *Scipio* was sick, he immediately sent his Son to him. A most noble Instance of Generosity, in an Enemy so lately provoked! *Scipio* received the Present from the King with all the Gratitude that was due to him; and set no Bounds to his Joy. He embraced his Son a thousand times; and his Transports at seeing him, gave a turn to his Distemper, and cured him. After he had strictly charged the Person who brought his Son to him, to return his Thanks to *Antiochus*, he added, That he could no otherwise shew his Gratitude at present, than by giving him one piece of Advice, which was, That the King would by no means hazard a Battel, till he heard, that *Scipio* was perfectly recovered, and returned to the *Roman* Camp. Indeed we cannot say, whether this Advice was given purely to serve the King of *Syria*. May we not suspect, that the Great *Scipio* was apprehensive, that his Brother would make an ill Use of the time in which he lay sick, to give Battel without him? Had he no Regard in it to his own Glory, or the Interest of *Rome*? But be that as it will, the *Consul* appointed *Cn. Domitius* to be his Lieutenant-General, in the room of his Brother, and marched towards the Camp of *Thyatira* without him. Perhaps the younger Brother did not doubt but he should be able to conquer, without sharing the Glory of the Victory with the elder.

Livy, B. 37. c. 37. App. in Syriac. N. 106.

ANTIOCHUS had in his new Army seventy thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse; which were more than enough to have destroyed the *Roman* Camp. Nevertheless, the King paid so much Regard to the Advice of the Great *Scipio*, that he would not wait for the *Consul*, in the Plain of *Thyatira*. He moved from thence; left the River [41] *Hermus*, between him and the *Romans*; came and encamped near [42] *Magnesia*, within reach of Mount [43] *Sipylus*; and nothing could be more formidable, than the Entrenchments, with which he covered himself, to prevent his being attacked in this new Post. He dug a Ditch round his Camp six Cubits deep, and twelve broad. This Ditch was guarded on the Outside with a double Row of Pallisades; and the second Row was defended, at proper Distances, by good Walls and Towers, to keep off the Enemy. So that *Antiochus* thought himself free from all Danger, in so well fortified a Post. In the mean time the *Consul* left the Banks of the *Caicus*, and advanced, by great [44] Marches, towards *Thyatira*, where he presumed the King was yet encamped. But being at length informed of the new Situation of the *Syrian* Army, he turned towards the Banks of the *Hermus*, and posted himself at first about four Miles from the Enemy. And whilst he was laying out the Dimensions of his Camp, and giving Orders concerning it, about a thousand *Gauls*, mixed with some *Scythians*, first appeared in sight of the *Romans*, and came to attack them. We have already observed, that the *Galatians*, originally *Gauls*, had followed the Standards of the King of *Syria*; and it may be affirmed, that they were the first Aggressors, that made any Attempt against the *Roman* Army. How dearly they paid for embarking in a War against *Rome*, will appear hereafter. Even this first Battel did not end to their Advantage. The *Romans* repulsed the thousand *Gauls*, and whilst they were endeavouring to repass the River, some of them lost their Lives. Then both Parties continued unactive for some Days. After which the *Romans* passed the River, and came and posted themselves about two thousand five hundred Paces from the Enemy's Trenches. Three thousand *Syrians* attacked them, whilst they were fortifying

41 According to *Appian*, *Antiochus* removed his Camp into the Neighbourhood of Mount *Sipylus*, on this side the River, which waters *Phrygia*. The Question therefore is, what River he means. And some conjecture, that he meant the *Hermus*, which rises in that Country, and discharges itself into the Sea, near *The Gulph of Smyrna*, after it has run through part of *Æolis*, and *Lydia*.

42 The City of *Magnesia* here spoken of, is now the Capital of the Province. It belongs to *Lydia*, and borders on *Phrygia Major*. There was in *Caria* a City of the same Name, of which we shall speak hereafter.

43 There were two Mountains called *Sipylus*, one in *Peloponnesus*, according to *Plutarch*, and the other in *Lydia*. *Livy* and *Appian* must be understood of the latter. *Pliny* also speaks of a City of *Lydia*, called *Sipylus*, which was swallowed up in an Earthquake. Near it was a Salt Pool, which the same Author calls *The Pool of Tantalus*.

44 *Livy* says, the *Consul* arrived in the Territory of *Hircania* in five Days time. This little Canton was bounded by the Rivers *Hermus*, and *Caicus*.

their new Camp; but these were likewise repulsed, and lost two hundred Men, partly killed upon the Spot, and partly taken. Both Parties marched out of their Camp every Morning, and drew up in Order of Battel; but so near their Trenches that they did not seem very willing to fight. Till at length, the *Romans* first marched into the Plain, and seemed to offer a Challenge. But *Antiochus* would not accept it. He still continued near his Entrenchments. So that these Delays tired out the Patience of the *Consul*. He, doubtless, dreaded his Brother's Arrival, as much as *Antiochus* desired it. In case of any Misfortune, the Great *Scipio* was a *dernier Resort* for the King. As the *Syrian* had deserved his Good Will, he depended on his Affection. In the mean time, *Cornelius* called a Council of War in all Haste; and remonstrated, that they could not be too quick in entering upon Action. *The Winter approaches*, said he, *and the Season will soon force us either to take other Quarters, or spend the Winter in Tents. Let us then delay fighting no longer. Let us walk over the Bellies of this Multitude of effeminate* Asiaticks, *and make a Breach in their Entrenchments.* And all were unanimous. Every Man present was for attacking the Palisades, and Walls, of these timorous Troops, if they still continued to decline a Battel.

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§. XIV. As for *Antiochus*, he was piqued in Point of Honour. Whether *Hannibal* was then in the Camp, or in *Pamphylia*, is uncertain. But be that as it will, the King considered that it would be shameful for him to fear the *Romans*, whose Army was less numerous than his own, in a Friend's Country, and in the midst of his Allies, whose Esteem he was nearly concerned to cultivate; and he preferred a Battel, to a timorous Defence of his Trenches. The *Roman* Army did not consist of more than between twenty eight and thirty thousand Men; that is, of more than four *Legions* [45], of five thousand five hundred Men each, partly *Romans*, and partly *Latins*; and of seven thousand Men with which the Kings of *Macedon* and *Pergamus* had re-inforced the *Legions*: And two thousand of these *Romans* were ordered to guard the *Roman* Camp, during the Action. There were Elephants on both Sides; but the greatest Number of them, and the strongest, were in the *Syrian* Army. *Antiochus* also presented to the Enemy Men mounted on Camels, Animals then unknown to the *Roman* Troops. It was likewise customary with the *Syrians*, to place at the Head of their *Phalanx*, a Line of Chariots which had long Halberts fastened to their Poles, and sharp Hooks to their Axle-trees. So that the former were about the Height of a Man's Head, and the latter almost swept the Ground, and cut the Legs of the Enemy's Soldiers. The *Romans* were drawn up, as usual, in three Lines; the *Hastati* in the first, the *Principes* in the second, and the *Triarii* in the third, with Spaces between each *Manipulus*, and each Line. The Auxiliaries, which consisted of *Achæans*, *Macedonians*, and *Pergamians*, formed a Body by themselves, which was commanded by the *Achæan* General, and the King of *Pergamus*. It was posted in the same Line with the *Hastati*, and lengthened their Front. In the right Wing, the *Consul* posted a Body of Cavalry. The *Romans* had not brought above two thousand Horse into *Asia*; *Eumenes* had furnished them with eight hundred; and the *Triballes* [46] and *Cretans* with five hundred more. *Cornelius* did not think any Cavalry necessary in the left Wing; the Point of it abutted upon the River, the Banks of which were steep. So that only four Squadrons were posted there. As for the Elephants, the *Romans* would scarce vouchsafe to make use of them. They had but fourteen; whereas the *Syrian* had fifty four. Besides, the Elephants the *Consul* had, came from *Africa*; and those of *Antiochus*, from *India*. The latter vastly excelled the former, in Strength, Height, and Courage. So that young *Scipio* only made his Elephants a Sort of *Corps-de-reserve*, which he placed behind his Army.

As for the *Syrian* Army, all the Nations of the East seemed to be assembled together in it, to maintain *Antiochus*'s Quarrel. But after all, the main Strength of his Army consisted in ten thousand *Phalangites*; that is, ten thousand Men armed with long Pikes, who faced every Way. This Body of Men were taught to fight

[45] Two of these four *Legions* consisted of Auxiliaries. Tho' the Term *Legion*, strictly speaking, signified only the *Roman* Soldiers.

[46] In most MSS. of *Livy* we read *Tralli*, that is, the *Trallians*; which was the Name given to certain Nations in *Illyricum*, which bordered upon *Thrace*. But *Stephen of Byzantium* seems not to distinguish them from the *Triballes*, who inhabited the Country of the *Bulgarians*.

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in cloſe Order, as the Soldiers of *Alexander the Great* had formerly been. Ne vertheleſs, *Antiochus*'s *Phalanx* was not drawn up as uſual. All the Ranks of i were not united together. The King divided it into ten Parts, ſeparated from eac other by Spaces, and in each Space he poſted an Elephant loaded with a Tower The *Phalanx* was in the Center of the Battel; fifteen hundred *Galatian* Horſ were placed next to it, to the right; and next to them were three thouſand Horſ more, barbed and capariſoned; and their Riders armed with *Cuiraſſes*, *Braſſets* and Steel *Cuiſſes*. At ſome Diſtance from theſe followed the Cavalry of the King' Houſhold, richly dreſſed; and wearing Bucklers adorned with Silver. In the ſam Line appeared twelve hundred *Scythians* on Horſeback, armed with Bows an Arrows. The light-armed Troops, to the Number of three thouſand, partly *Tral lians* 47, and partly *Cretans*; with about ten thouſand five hundred *Myſian* Archers and four thouſand Men more, partly *Cyrtæans* 48 armed with Slings, partly *Per ſians* armed with Bows, and partly *Arabians* mounted on Dromedaries; cloſed th right Wing. *Antiochus* commanded it in Perſon, in the midſt of a Body of Sy *rians* and *Lydians* well mounted, and not very heavily armed. The left Win was commanded by Prince *Seleucus*, and *Antipater*; the former the Son of the King, the latter his Nephew. The Diſpoſition of it was this. At the Side of the *Phalanx* were poſted fifteen hundred *Galatians*, and two thouſand *Cappadocians*, which King *Ariarathes* 49 had ſent to his Father-in-law's Aſſiſtance. Next to theſe were poſted two thouſand ſeven hundred Auxiliaries, ſent from different Places. Next them were three thouſand *Cuiraſſiers*, mounted on barbed Horſes. And laſt ly, in the Point of the left Wing, were placed two thouſand other Horſe, more lightly accoutered. In order to cover this Wing, the light-armed Troops, partly Foot, and partly Horſe, hovered about the Point of it. Among theſe there were two thouſand five hundred *Galatian* Horſe, ſome of thoſe Horſe which were called *Tarantines* 50, ſome *Cretans* newly landed, ſome *Carians*, ſome *Cilicians*, and laſtly, ſome Soldiers raiſed in the moſt diſtant Provinces of *Aſia*. The *Phalanx*, which was, properly ſpeaking, the main Body of the Army, was commanded by three Officers, one of which was named *Minio*, another *Zeuxis*, and the third was one *Philip*, who was Maſter of the Elephants. It may be affirmed, that the *Romans* never ſaw a more numerous Army, or one more finely adorned; the Elephants eſpecially, which carried Towers with ſeveral Floors, full of Slingers and Archers, were a very formidable Sight. Beſides, the Chariots armed with Hooks, which were drawn up in good Order before the firſt Line, and the *Arabs* mounted on Dromedaries, which were to ſupport them, had a terrible Aſpect. Nevertheleſs, the *Legionaries* never had ſo great a Contempt of any Army, as of this they were now going to engage.

The Heavens ſeemed to favour the *Romans*. The Day of the Battel was cloudy and moiſt. The Fog which roſe very early in the Morning, ſlackened the Strings of the Bows and Slings. So that the *Aſiaticks* who uſed them, could ſhoot their Darts, and throw their Stones, but faintly. Whilſt the more heavy Arms of the *Romans* received no Damage from the Moiſture. Beſides, as the *Conſular* Troops took up but little Ground, the Fog was not thick enough to prevent their General's ſeeing the *Manipuli* which were at the greateſt Diſtance from the Center. Whilſt the *Syrians*, on the contrary, extended ſo far, that it was not poſſible for their Commanders to have all the *Corps* in view, and ſend them Orders in time. The whole Dependance of *Antiochus* in the firſt Attack was on thoſe murdering Chariots which were to cut their Way into the *Roman Manipuli*. But *Eumenes* undertook to hinder their having any ill Effect; and even to render them fatal to the *Syrians*. This Brave Prince put himſelf at the Head of the Dartmen and Slingers, and in a word, of all the light-armed Soldiers in the *Roman* Army, and ordered them to aim only at the Horſes in the Chariots. As ſoon as the Drivers

App. in Syriac. N. 108.

47 It is uncertain whether *Livy* means by the Word *Tralles*, the Inhabitants of *Trallis* in *Lydia*, or the *Trallians* ſpoken of in the preceding Note.

48 *Pliny the Naturaliſt* places the Nation of the *Cyrtæans* near the Mounts *Zagrus* and *Niphates*, towards the Confines of *Media* and *Armenia*. Theſe People had made themſelves famous by their Robberies.

49 The *Ariarathes* here mentioned, was the fifth King who reigned in *Cappadocia*, from *Pharnaces* the firſt.

50 *Ælian* ſpeaks of the Horſemen called *Tarantines*, who beſides the Horſes they rode, led every Man another, to be ready in caſe they wanted it.

Ha

The Battle of Magnesia
over Antiochus the Great
King of Syria, in
the Year of Rome
563.

The River Hermus

A. *The* Roman *Camp*. BB. A Corps de reserve *left to guard the* Roman *Camp*. CC. *The* Roman *Army*. DD. Antiochus's *Army*. E. Antiochus's *Camp*.

had made the Air ring with their Whips, a Detachment of the *Roman* Army quitted their Ranks, came before the Horſes, widened in the Plain, ran to meet the Chariots, frighted the Horſes with their Shouts, threw Darts and Stones at them, and kept moving round the Machines, to avoid meeting them. And this Way of fighting ſucceeded; and the King of *Pergamus* had all the Honour of it. The Horſes, when they ſaw and felt the Darts and Stones ſo thick about them, held the Bits faſt in their Teeth, turned about, and fell on the *Arabians* who ſupported them. Theſe, who were mounted on Dromedaries, and armed with long Broad-Swords, to cut thro' the Infantry, were routed by the Chariots, and cut in Pieces by their Hooks; and the heavy armed Cavalry ſuffered yet more by them. So that great Out-cries were heard, and there was great Confuſion in that Quarter. Thoſe in the *Syrian* Army, who were poſted at a Diſtance, heard confuſed Groans; but knew not the Cauſe of them. So that the Prelude to the Action only ſtruck Terror into the *Syrians*, and the Chariots did no Damage to any but thoſe who uſed them.

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After this firſt Advantage, the *Romans* were at Liberty to fight in the ſame Order as uſual. Their Cavalry moved firſt, and attacked the Side where the Chariots had cauſed ſome Diſorder. The intimidated *Syrians* but faintly ſuſtained the firſt Onſet of the Enemy. Their Cavalry gave way, and the *Romans* made a great Slaughter of their Men and Horſes, which were borne down with the Weight of their Armour. *Eumenes* preſſed the left Wing, in which *Seleucus* commanded, with ſuch Vigour, that he put it to the Rout; and the Fugitives were in ſuch Confuſion, that they diſordered the main Body. The *Phalanx* of which it conſiſted was put into ſome Confuſion, by the great Number of the Fugitives, who returned upon it, and ſought for Refuge in it. So that, by this Reflux of the affrighted *Syrians* the *Phalanx* was diſ-united; but the Pikes with which it was ſo thick ſet, ſtill ſeemed formidable. *Domitius* advanced up to it with his *Legionaries*, but could not break it. He therefore only threw ſome Darts at it, which all did ſome Execution. Theſe *Phalangites* were drawn up in too cloſe Order. They neither had Room enough to march up to the Enemy, or to ward off their Darts. They could only preſent their Pikes, which were an impregnable Rampart for them. There was no way of breaking into them but by attacking the Elephants in the Spaces of the *Phalanx*. The *Romans* had now long learnt, in their Wars with *Pyrrhus* and *Hannibal*, not to fear theſe Monſters which were formerly ſo terrible; and they either attacked them in Flank with their Darts, or cut off their Trunks with their Swords. So that the *Phalanx* was put into Diſorder on the Side which faced the *Romans*, by thoſe very Animals which were poſted in it for its Defence.

Livy, B. 37. c. 41.

App. in Syriac. N. 109.

Liv. B. 37. c. 42.

But in the mean time, *Antiochus* ſeemed to have the Advantage in his right Wing. The left Point of the *Romans*, which he was to fight with, was open towards the Banks of the River. The four Squadrons which flanked it, had joined the reſt of their Cavalry, to go and fall upon the Vanquiſhed in the left Wing. *Antiochus* therefore with the Cavalry of his Wing, attacked and ſurrounded that Point of the *Roman* Army; and the Side where the King engaged, was hard preſſed. The Infantry there disbanded themſelves, and ran, as faſt as they could, to their Camp. A *Legionary Tribune* had been left in the Camp with two thouſand Men under his Command, to defend it. The *Tribune*'s Name was *Æmilius*, and the Glory he acquired will never die. He went at the Head of his Men, and met the Fugitives of his Party, turned his Arms againſt them, reproved them for their Fearfulneſs, rallied them, and led them back to their Poſt. Nor was this all. He taught them, by his own Example, not to fear the Enemy any more. And then, the Arrival of *Attalus* the Brother of King *Eumenes*, at the Place where the *Romans* had appeared diſheartened, gave them Courage. As ſoon as this Prince had perceived that the *Romans* gave way, he come from the right Wing to the left, with two hundred Horſe; and this Motion determined the Fate of the Battel. As ſoon as *Antiochus* perceived that the Troops he had put to flight, returned to the Battel, with new Forces, and that the victorious Wing was coming to fall upon him, he thought only of Flight. He turned his Horſe about; and this Signal determined the reſt of the Troops to follow his Example. The whole *Syrian* Army immediately turned their Backs. *Eumenes*

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only, at the Head of the Cavalry purſued them, and made a terrible Slaughter of them. As for the *Romans*, they walked over Heaps of dead Bodies, eſpecially in the Place where the *Phalanx* had been broken; and went and attacked the *Syrian* Camp, and plundered it. The Riches they found there in Gold, Silver, Ivory, Horſes, and Camels, are not to be deſcribed. Indeed, the taking of this Camp coſt the *Romans* a new Battel. But then it was alſo a more bloody one to the *Syrians*, than that in the open Field. The latter ſhut their Gates againſt the Conquerors, who broke them open, and gave no Quarter to Men obſtinately bent on their own Deſtruction. The Hiſtorians ſay, that in the Battel of *Magneſia* (for that was the Name of the City which was famous for this great Action) *Antiochus* loſt fifty thouſand Men, [51] including the Priſoners of War. Almoſt all the Elephants were killed or taken by the Enemy. But the *Romans* took only fifteen alive. In the *Conſular* Army there were but three hundred Foot killed, and twenty five Horſe; and *Eumenes* is ſaid to have had only fifteen of his Men killed. The Victory was ſo complete, that it ſeemed a Prodigy to all the Nations, both of the Eaſt, and Weſt. All were ſurpriſed to hear, that Foreigners, who came from ſuch a Diſtance ſhould, with ſo much Advantage, fight with Men in their own Country, where all about them were their Friends. Even the Friends of *Antiochus*, imputed the Misfortune wholly to him. *In the firſt Place*, ſaid they, *it was Raſhneſs in him to enter into a War with the* Romans; *and in the next, it was his Imprudence gave the* Romans *this Advantage over him. If he had reſolved to fight them, why did not he guard his* Cherſoneſus, *and his City of* Lyſimachia, *in* Europe? *Why did he not Line the* Helleſpont *with his formidable Army? Why did he not defend* Abydos, *and hinder the* Scipio's *from entering* Aſia? *Nay, why did he even in the Action itſelf, as it were, bury that formidable* Phalanx, *in which the whole Strength of his Army conſiſted? Why did he ſhut it up in the Center of his Army? Why did he lead to the Battel only foreign Troops, and new Levies, which were terrified and diſperſed themſelves at the bare Sight of the* Romans? Indeed, this ſingle Overthrow, robbed *Antiochus* of all his paſt Glory. *He formerly aſſumed the Title of* The Great, ſaid the *Romans, but we have taken it from him.* And indeed, the King of *Syria* durſt not appear any more before a *Conſular* Army. He retired to [52] *Sardis* for Shelter; but ſoon left it to rejoin his Son *Seleucus*, who was retired to [53] *Apamea*. And this was his laſt Retreat. He carried thither his Wife, the beautiful *Chalcidian*, with whom he was yet deſperately in Love, in an advanced Age.

* *Livy, B.* 37 *§.* 44.

§. XV. As for the *Conſul*, he made the beſt Uſe of the Defeat and Flight of the Enemy. He made himſelf Maſter of all the neighbouring Nations, which ſurrendered themſelves up to him. There came Deputies to him from *Thyatira*, *Magneſia*, [54] *Trallis*, another [55] *Magneſia* on the Borders of *Caria*, and laſtly, from all [56] *Lydia*. *Epheſus* itſelf, which was ſo dear to the vanquiſhed King, went over to the *Romans*. *Polyxenidas*, upon the News of the King's Defeat, left the Port of *Epheſus*, and carried his Fleet to *Patara*. There the Admiral landed, and, with a very ſmall Guard, returned by Land into *Syria*. Thus *Antiochus*'s Affairs were in a very bad Situation, both at Sea and Land. As for *Cornelius*, he took the Road to *Sardis*, which had ſurrendered to him. The Great *Scipio* his Brother came and joined him there, as ſoon as his Health would give him Leave. He loved *Lucius* too well to be jealous of the Glory he had ſo lately acquired. And indeed it

51 *Livy* ſays there were fifty thouſand of *Antiochus*'s Foot, and four thouſand of his Horſe, killed on the Spot; and that fourteen hundred more of the Horſe, and fifteen Elephants with their Guides, were taken by the Conquerors.

52 *Sardis* was the Capital of *Lydia*, from the time of King *Craſus*, who made it his Place of Reſidence. It ſtood near Mount *Tmolus*, where the *Pactolus* riſes, between the *Meander* and the *Hermus*.

53 There were ſeveral Cities in *Aſia* called *Apamea*. That here ſpoken of was ſurnamed *Cibotos*, and *Celæna*. It ſtood in *Great Phrygia*, near the Place where the River *Marſyas* runs into the *Meander*.

54 *Tralles*, or *Trallis*, was a City of *Lydia*. The Geographers place it between the River *Cayſter*, and the *Meander*. *Pliny* calls it *Seleucia*, and *Evantia*. *Stephen of Byſantium* calls it *Eurymnæ*. *Cicero*, in his *Oration for Lucius Flaccus*, and *Strabo*, *B.* 14. boaſt much of the Wealth of this City. There now remain no Footſteps of its former Grandeur. The Place where it ſtood is now called *Chora*.

55 This City of *Magneſia*, which was different from that ſpoken of above, belonged to *Caria*. *Strabo* places it near the *Meander*, towards the Confines of *Ionia*. The Moderns now call it *Mangreſia*.

56 *Lydia*, (anciently called *Mæonia*, according to *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolomy*) contained that Country which was bounded by *Great Phrygia*, to the Eaſt and North; by *Lycia*, to the South; and by *Ionia*, to the Weſt.

may

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may be affirmed, that the *Conſul* had but a ſmall Part in the Victory which the *Romans* had juſt gained, in his Name. The Hiſtorians who relate the Affair of *Magneſia*, don't mention any valiant Action, or prudent Orders, by which the *Conſul* ſignalized himſelf, during the Battel. They aſcribe all the Succeſs of it to *Eumenes*, King of *Pergamus*, and Prince *Attalus* his Brother. But be that as it will, young *Scipio* took the Surname of *Aſiaticus*, as his elder Brother had done that of *Africanus*. Nevertheleſs, there was a great deal of Difference between the Civil and Military Virtues of one and the other. *Publius* loved Glory only for the ſake of the publick Good; *Lucius* ſaught it, only to aggrandize himſelf. The one was deſirous of fighting, only to increaſe his Fame. The other had nothing in view but the Welfare of his Country; and was ever ready to ſacrifice the Glory which attends Victory, to a Peace which was uſeful to his Republick.

THE King of *Syria* knew this to be the amiable Character of the Great *Scipio*; and after his Rout, placed all his Dependence upon him. He had ordered the Ambaſſadors he had ſent from *Apamea* to the Camp at *Sardis*, to treat chiefly with the elder Brother. And accordingly, *Antipater* and *Zeuxis*, the Heads of the Embaſſy, had addreſſed themſelves to *Scipio Africanus*, and intreated him to pave the Way for a perfect Reconciliation between their King and *Rome*. *Upon what Terms*, ſaid they to him, *may we be admitted into the Friendſhip of the Senate and People of* Rome? And theſe Words ſoftened the Heart of the Great *Scipio*. *It was* Antiochus's *own Fault*, ſaid he to them, *that he embarked in this deſtructive War. How fatal has his Ambition been to him! He was Maſter of a great Empire, and might have ruled it in Peace, without being troubled by any Fear of our Arms. But what did he do? The Love of Conqueſt made him take* Cœlo-Syria *from* Ptolomy, *our Friend, Ally, and Ward. He revived ſome old Pretenſions to* Europe. *He ſeized the* Cherſoneſus; *and raiſed* Lyſimachia *out of its Aſhes. Nay, he took a bolder Step than all this.* Greece *had juſt been ſettled in the full Enjoyment of her Liberty, by* Flamininus; *and* Antiochus *took it into his Head to bring it again under the Yoke of Slavery. He broke the Union ſettled between the Republicks; and ſollicited the Kings to diſturb the Tranquillity of it. Nay, tho' overcome at* Thermopylæ, *he did not reſtrain his Deſires. He raiſed his Hopes, and multiplied his Hoſtilities, after his Loſs. He purſued us, both by Sea and Land. And when even his Sea-Fights were unſucceſsful, he ſtill depended on overcoming us in* Aſia. *How many Nations did he aſſemble together? How many Enemies has he raiſed up againſt us? And after all this, he neglected my Advice; and hazarded a Battel, during my Abſence. Has he not then deſerved the Misfortunes which he has raſhly drawn upon himſelf?* Antiochus *is the ſole Cauſe of all he ſuffers. Nevertheleſs, we will not abuſe our Victory, ſo as utterly to deſtroy him. I will intercede with my Brother for him.* Theſe Words gave the Deputies ſome faint Glimmerings of Hope; and *Antipater* and *Zeuxis* laboured to appeaſe *Eumenes*, whom they looked on as the moſt implacable Enemy of *Antiochus*. And at laſt, at the Deſire of *Scipio Africanus*, a Council of War was called, and the *Syrian* Ambaſſadors introduced into it. They ſpoke with all the Submiſſion that became a vanquiſhed People, and ſaid, *It is to you yourſelves that we apply, to know, by what Expiations we may appeaſe the Anger of the Republick. All the Kings your Enemies have hitherto experienced your Clemency, after their Defeat. Shall we then be the only People whom you will ſacrifice to Vengeance? There is no Victory you ever gained before, has given you ſo much Reaſon to favour the Vanquiſhed as the laſt. It aſſures you of the Conqueſt of the whole World. It raiſes you up to a Level with the Gods. Learn then to be, like them, ſlow to puniſh, and ready to forgive!* App. in Syriac. N. 111.

BUT this ſubmiſſive Speech made no Alteration in the Anſwer which the Council of War had drawn up, before the Ambaſſadors were called in. The *Conſul* deſired that *Scipio Africanus* would make known his Pleaſure to the Deputies; and he is ſaid to have expreſſed himſelf in this manner. *We are ſenſible that it is to Heaven that we are indebted for the Victories with which it has favoured us. And therefore we are not puffed up with Proſperity; neither does Adverſity dejects us. Your Friend* Hannibal *can do us Juſtice in that Matter. He has ſeen us in good and bad Fortune. And we ſhall now obſerve the ſame Conduct, with regard to* Antiochus. *He ſhall be treated with Moderation. We ſhall demand little more* Polyb. in Legat c. 4. Livy, B. 38. c. 45.

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* 2906 l. 250 *Sterl. Arbuth.*

† 7750 l. *Sterl. Arbuth.*

of him now, than we did at our Entrance into Aſia, *before he was routed at* Magneſia. *Let him give up his Pretenſions to* Europe; *confine his Dominions in* Aſia, *within Mount* Taurus; *pay us fifteen thouſand* 57 Euboic Talents *, *for the Expence of the War*; *five hundred down, two thouſand five hundred when the Senate and People ſhall have confirmed the Articles, and one thouſand more every Year for twelve Years together*; *and we will give him his Life, Liberty, and the reſt of his Dominions. But we alſo inſiſt, that he ſhall ſatisfy King* Eumenes, *pay him the four hundred* Talents † *he owes him, and what remains due for the Corn which the King of* Pergamus *his Father had ſent to the King of* Syria. *We likewiſe inſiſt, that he ſhall deliver up to us* Hannibal *the* Carthaginian, Thoas *the* Ætolian, Mnaſilochus *the* Acarnanian, *and* Philo *and* Eubulis, *two* Chalcidians. *They are the Incendiaries who have been the Authors of our Diviſions. And laſtly, as a further Proof of the Fidelity of the King of* Syria, *he ſhall give us twenty ſuch Hoſtages as we ſhall chuſe, of whom* Antiochus *his youngeſt Son ſhall be one. The vanquiſhed King has already been but too dilatory in cloſing with the Offers we have made him. And if he ſtill delays, utter Ruin hangs over his Head. It is much eaſier entirely to deſtroy a King, when once reduced; than to reduce him at firſt from a flouriſhing to a low Condition.* To which we muſt add, if we credit ſome Hiſtorians 58, many Articles which were much more ſevere. But *Scipio* had too lately received Obligations from the King of *Syria*, to puniſh him with the utmoſt Rigour; and the beſt Authors confine themſelves to the Conditions already mentioned.

App. in Syriac. Juſtin, B. 31. and *Plut.* in his *Life of Scipio*; if that Life be *Plutarch*'s.

The Ambaſſadors of *Antiochus* had Orders to refuſe no Conditions which were preſcribed them; and all were accepted, and the whole Affair concluded. So that the *Syrian* Ambaſſadors having now nothing more to do, but to ſet out for *Rome*, and get the Conditions of Peace propoſed by the *Scipio's*, ratified there; they prepared for that Voyage. Soon after them, *Eumenes* ſet ſail for the Capital of the World, there to receive the Rewards due to his Virtue, and for the Services he had done the Republick. Many of the *Greek* Nations in *Aſia* alſo ſent Deputies thither, to return the Senate Thanks for the Recovery of their Liberty. And whilſt all theſe People were coming to *Rome*, to proclaim her Glory, the *Conſul* left *Sardis*, put his Army into Winter-Quarters, and divided it into three Parts. One Part continued at *Magneſia*, on the Banks of the *Mæander*; another was ſent to *Trallis*; and a third to *Epheſus*, where the *Scipio's* had their Quarters. And there they received a new Embaſſy from *Antiochus*, with the Hoſtages he had promiſed, the *Roman* Priſoners and Deſerters, and thoſe ſeditious Strangers which *Rome* had demanded. As for *Hannibal*, he probably fled, after the King's Defeat, and took Refuge in *Aſia*, or elſewhere. He was the Sport of Fortune! The eldeſt of the *Scipio's* had forced him to leave *Italy*, eclipſed him in *Africa*, and obliged him, in ſome Sort, to baniſh himſelf from *Carthage*. And now young *Scipio* deprived him of the Protection of the *Syrians*, and forced him to fly for Refuge to ſome King, who perhaps had not Courage enough to eſpouſe his Quarrel. The Name of the *Scipio's* was every where fatal to him. Tho' the greateſt General in the World, his Succeſſes left him, with his Youth; and his old Age was clouded with continual Misfortunes.

§. XVI. All *Aſia* was now in Peace. But *Greece* was not yet pacified. The *Ætolians*, who had more than once in vain attempted to move the Senate of *Rome*, were obſtinately carrying on the War in their Continent, whilſt the *Scipio's* were employed in *Aſia*. *Amynander* had been driven out of his Dominions, which *Philip* had ſeized; and when become Maſter of *Athamania*, the *Macedonian* governed it with Rigour, and made the People lament the Loſs of the peaceable Adminiſtration of *Amynander*. This Prince was in a forced Baniſhment

Polyb. in Legat. c. 26.

57 If, as we have elſewhere obſerved, the *Euboic Talent* was equal to the *Attick*, theſe fifteen thouſand *Euboic Talents* will amount to no leſs than forty five Millions *French*, according to our Reduction of the *Greek* and *Roman* Money.

58 According to *Appian*, in his *Hiſtory of the Syrian Wars*, *Antiochus* engaged by the Treaty, not to breed above a certain Number of Elephants, and to deliver up the reſt to the *Romans*. Neither was he ſuffered, ſays that Hiſtorian, to equip numerous Fleets any more. He was forced to deliver up moſt of his Galleys into the Hands of the Conquerors. And what the Abridger of *Trogus Pompeius* ſays, is as uncertain. He pretends, contrary to *Livy*, and *Polybius*, that *Antiochus* was obliged to confine himſelf to the Kingdom of *Syria*, and to give up to the Republick all the Provinces he poſſeſſed in *Aſia*.

among

among the *Ætolians*, whose Party he had embraced; and being invited by his old Subjects to return home, and take Possession of his Crown, he made use of the Assistance of the *Ætolians*. His People conspired together in Favour of their true King; *Ætolia* lent him a thousand Men; and *Philip* was driven out of a Country which he had usurped, and heavily oppressed with Tributes. This Revolution happened at the time when the *Scipio's* were making War in *Syria*. *Philip* was then a Friend and Benefactor to the *Romans*. So that it seemed very difficult to dispossess him of any thing, without incurring their Displeasure. But nevertheless, *Amynander* found Means to prevent it. He sent an Embassy to *Rome*, and another to the *Scipio's* at *Ephesus*. And after all, his Case was a pardonable one. He had only recovered his own Estate; with the Assistance indeed of the Enemies of *Rome*, but without Injustice. Besides, he offered to become a Friend to the *Romans*, and put his Dominions under their Protection. And *Rome* proceeded with great Equity on this Occasion. She shewed Favour to the King of the *Athamanes*, without pardoning the *Ætolians*. These *Greeks*, after they had settled *Amynander* on his Throne, entered *Amphilochia*, a Province in the East of *Epirus*, formerly subject to them, but now subject to King *Philip*, and almost reconquered the whole Country. From thence they proceeded to *Aparantia*, and subdued it. Nor was this all. They entered *Dolopia*, a Country which had always belonged to the King of *Macedon*; and the Example of their Neighbours prevailed on the *Dolopes* to shake off *Philip*'s Yoke, and submit to the *Ætolians*. All these Conquests were so many Insults on the *Roman* Name, in the Person of a King who was faithful and well-affected to them. But we shall soon see *Rome* revenge herself, and force the *Ætolians* to become subject to her.

Year of *ROME* DLXIII. L. Cornelius Scipio, C. Lælius, Consuls.

§. XVII. The Winter, and the Treaties of Peace which were on foot, had now put a Stop to Hostilities in all Places. *Rome* had never had a more successful Campaign than the last. Nevertheless, News was brought from *Spain*, That the *Pro-Consul Æmilius* had been beaten by the *Lusitanians*, in the 59 Country of the *Vascetani*, towards the City of 60 *Lycon*; That six thousand of the *Romans* had been killed, and the rest forced to fly for Covert to their Entrenchments; and That after their Trenches had been forced, they had fled for Refuge into a Friend's Country. But the Uneasiness of this News was drowned in the Joy which the *Romans* had at the Defeat of *Antiochus*, and the Conquest of *Asia*. As for *C. Lælius*, he rather wanted Matter, than Courage, to signalize his *Consulship*. Being confined to keep quiet the *Gauls* in *Italy*, who were already reduced, he could only bring from thence the Reputation of being a wise Governour. He re-established the *Colonies* of *Placentia* and *Cremona*, which the Neighbourhood of the *Gauls*, and the Accidents of War had extremely diminished; and he founded two others in the Country of the *Gauls*, which was lately subdued. *Lælius* caused six thousand *Roman* Families to be transplanted into *Cisalpine Gaul*, and prevailed on the Senate to name their Conductors. Then he returned to *Rome*, to preside at the Great Elections. They were made during the Absence of *Cornelius Scipio*, who was only waiting at *Ephesus* for a Successor, that upon his Arrival he might return to the City, where he expected to triumph. The *Centuries* were assembled in *The Field of Mars*, to elect *Consuls* for the Republick; but these *Comitia* were not so peaceably held as usual. There were four Competitors, who contended for the *Consulate*. One was *M. Æmilius Lepidus*; another, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*; a third, *M. Valerius Messala*; and the fourth, *Cn. Manlius Vulso*. The first highly enraged the People against him. He was then *Prætor* of *Sardinia*, and in order to canvass for the *Consulship*, he left his *Province*, and returned to *Rome*, without the Consent of the Senate. He was therefore absolutely excluded the *Consular*

Livy B. 37. c. 46.

59 In some ancient Copies of *Livy*, we read *In Vasletanis*, as if the Country here spoken of was that of the *Vasletani*, or *Basletani*, who inhabited the Country that bordered upon *East Andalusia*, and *New Castille*, near the Springs of the *Boetis*, and *Vacca*, a City anciently called *Basti*. Others have thought that *Livy* meant the *Vaccæi*, a *Spanish* Nation, which possessed the Country lying between the *Pisuerga* and the *Duero*, in the Kingdom of *Leon*. Others make them the same People as the *Vascetani*, and *Vescitani*; who were anciently so called from *Vesci*, their chief City, which belonged to the Country of the *Turduli*. But it is more natural to believe, that these *Vascetani* were the same People as the *Vaccetani*, who took their Name from a River in *Portugal*, which *Pliny* calls *Vacca*, and the Natives of the Country *Vouga*.

60 The *Spanish* Geographers say, that the City of *Lycon* stood four Leagues from *Merida*, Westward, near *Loben*, a little City of *Estramadara*.

Dignity,

Year of *ROME* DLXIV.

M. Fulvius Nobilior, Cn. Manlius Vulso, Conſuls.

Dignity, and his Ambition was puniſhed by the People's refuſing to give him their Suffrages. Then there remained only three Candidates; and the Suffrages were ſo equal between them, that the People could only agree upon one, all the Day. *M. Fulvius* only was nominated by a Majority of Voices. And he, early the next Morning, did the Office of *Conſul*, preſided in the *Comitia*, and got *Cn. Manlius Vulſo* to be choſen for his Collegue. *Meſſala* ſeems to have declined. After the *Conſuls*, *Rome* alſo choſe *Prætors*. Two *Fabii*, one ſurnamed *Labeo*, and the other *Pictor*, were firſt elected; and after them *M. Sempronius Tuditanus*, *Sp. Poſtumius Albinus*, *L. Plautius Hypſæus*, and *L. Bæbius Dives*. And then nothing remained but to allot the new *Conſuls* and *Prætors* their reſpective Provinces. *Italy* was in Peace, and the *Gauls* pacified. The Senate therefore thought it neceſſary to ſend the two *Conſuls* to the *Levant*; one to make War on the *Ætolians*; the other to ſettle *Aſia* in Peace, and ſecure that Conqueſt. The two *Conſuls* drew Lots; and *Manlius* had *Aſia* for his Lot; *Fulvius*, *Ætolia*. As for the *Prætors*, *Poſtumius* continued at *Rome*, and had Juriſdiction there, both over the Cauſes of the *Citizens*, and thoſe of Foreigners. *Sardinia* fell by Lot to *Fulvius Pictor*; *Sicily* to *Sempronius*; *Hither Spain* to *Plautius*; *Further Spain* to *Bæbius*; and *Fabius Labeo* had the Command of the *Roman* Fleet in the Eaſtern Seas. The Armies were recruited, and the *Prætors* deſigned for *Sicily* and *Sardinia* were ordered to furniſh the Troops deſigned for *The Levant* with Corn. And theſe good Orders and numerous Troops diſperſed in all Places where the *Romans* had yet any Enemies, ſoon made the Republick flouriſh more than ever.

§. XVIII. *ROME* was now become the Reſort of all the Potentates in the World. Kings, Princes, and Deputies, from the Republicks, and Cities in *Aſia*, *Africa*, and *Greece*, all appeared there; and were very ſollicitous to make their Court to the *Roman* Senate. They at Pleaſure ruined, or eſtabliſhed, Nations and Sovereigns. The firſt to whom *The Conſcript Fathers* now gave Audience, were the *Ætolians*. The News of the Defeat of *Antiochus* had not yet reached *Rome*; and the *Ætolian* Ambaſſadors had ſpread a falſe Report about the City. But this Story, tho' artfully invented by the *Greeks*, to make their Cauſe the better, did not at all abate the old Pride of the Senate, or bring them to ſhew any Indulgence to *Ætolia*. The artful Ambaſſadors had reported in *Rome*, That the two *Scipio's* were made Captives by the King of *Syria*; That the eldeſt of the two Brothers had, in Concurrence with the *Conſul*, deſired an Interview with *Antiochus*, to treat of the Deliverance of young *Scipio*, who was detained at the *Syrian* Court; That this Conference had been granted; and That the King had then ſeized them; and laſtly, That the *Conſular* Army, as ſoon as deprived of its Generals, was attacked by the *Syrians*, routed, and driven out of their Camp. Upon the Credit given to theſe falſe Reports, the *Ætolian* Ambaſſadors addreſſed themſelves to the Senate with Inſolence, and ſeemed rather to demand a Peace, than ſue for one. They boaſted of the Services they had done the Republick in her Wars with *Philip*; and gloried in the Protection of King *Antiochus*, who, they ſaid, was Conqueror in *Aſia*, and would ſoon return into *Europe*. They were asked, whence they had this News; and anſwered with a Confidence very ill becoming their Character, That it had been ſent them by ſome Deputies of their Nation, who were with the *Roman Conſul*. But notwithſtanding all theſe bad Appearances, *Rome* acted with as much Magnanimity as ever. *The* Ætolians, ſaid the Senators, with one Conſent, *are yet Friends to* Antiochus; *which is a ſufficient Reaſon for us to refuſe them a Peace. Let them be gone! Let them be ſent out of* Italy! *and let them never return hither again, without the expreſs Conſent of our Generals, who ſhall then be making War in their Country!* This Decree was the Foundation of the new War which the *Romans* were going to carry on in *Ætolia*. Beſides, the *Ætolians* had ravaged the Country of the *Athamanes*, and had poſſeſſed themſelves of *Dolopia*, which was contrary to the Intereſt of *Rome*, and her Allies. But in a little time the falſe Report of the Detention of the *Conſul* and his Brother, was contradicted. Letters arrived from *Scipio*, giving an Account of the Victory of *Magneſia*. And then, all Diſquietudes were removed, and the Apprehenſions which aroſe from a Belief that *Antiochus* was victorious, and that *Hannibal* was his Guide and Counſellor, vaniſhed.

Val. Antias. apud Liv. B. 37.

§. XIX. T

Year of ROME DLXIV. M. Fulvius Nobilior, Cn. Manlius Vulso, Conſuls.

§. XIX. The City was in perfect Tranquillity, when *Aurelius Cotta*, the Meſſenger ſent by the *Scipio's*, arrived at *Rome*, and brought with him the Ambaſſadors of *Antiochus*. King *Eumenes* alſo, and ſome Envoys from *Rhodes*, ſoon appeared in the Capital. And now, how important were the Affairs which were to be determined by the *Roman* Senate. They were to pronounce, concerning the Peace which the King of *Syria* deſired; concerning the Rewards *Eumenes* had deſerved; and concerning the Pretenſions of the *Rhodians*, after ſo many Services done the Republick. *Eumenes* was firſt admitted to audience; and the young King addreſſed himſelf to *The Conſcript Fathers*, with all the Politeneſs of an *Aſiatick*, and with a Modeſty which charmed them. *How many Thanks*, ſaid he, *have I to return you; and what Congratulations have I to make you. With regard to the former*, Pergamus, *my* Capital, *was beſieged; and I owe the Deliverance of it to the* Romans. *And as to the latter, by how many Exploits has your Republick immortalized her Name in* Aſia? *Both Sea and Land proclaim your Victories. Thoſe over* Polyxenidas *at Sea, and* Antiochus *by Land, have left you Maſters of the richeſt Part of the World. As for myſelf, it would ill become me to ſay, what part I bore in ſuch memorable Exploits; that I leave to your Generals. All I ſhall pretend to, is, to eſteem you, to admire you, and to be ever faithful to you.* So much Modeſty in a young Prince, to whom *Rome* was indebted for part of her Glory, charmed the Senators. They offered Violence to his Reſervedneſs; and preſſed him to relate his own Exploits, to give them a particular Account of his Services, and point out himſelf what *Rome* could do, to ſhew her Gratitude in the moſt acceptable manner. *Perhaps*, ſaid they, *notwithſtanding our earneſt Deſires to gratify you, our Preſents may not be ſuch, as you will like, or as are equal to the Services you have done us. Speak, Explain yourſelf, and don't by your Silence lay us under a Neceſſity of being ungrateful, contrary to our Intentions.* But theſe moſt obliging Entreaties did not at all abate the young King's Modeſty. *If any other People in the World*, ſaid he, *had left me to chooſe what Rewards I would have for ſome important Services, I would have conſulted you*, Conſcript Fathers, *about it. Your Wiſdom would teach me to keep my Deſires within Bounds, and reſtrain my Avarice. And ſince then it is you that now make me the Offer; is it not juſt that I ſhould refer the Determination to yourſelves? Does it become me to fix your Bounties? I ought to think myſelf ſufficiently rewarded, with having had the Honour to ſerve you.* Thus ſpake the King of *Pergamus*; and it was in vain to deſire him to ſay what he liked beſt. Nothing but Compliments could be extorted from him; and after this Conteſt of Civilities, the King went out of the Senate, and left *The Fathers* undetermined. But theſe Proceedings of a King, who was ſo diſintereſted, as faithful in his Friendſhip, determined the Senate to call him in again, and force him to declare what would be moſt agreeable to him. *Shall he be ſuffered to go from* Rome, ſaid they, *till he is gratified in the manner he likes beſt? Who can judge which of the conquered Provinces will contribute moſt to aggrandize his Dominions, ſo well as himſelf? He is much better acquainted with the State of the Provinces of* Aſia, *than we.* The *Prætor* therefore came to the King of *Pergamus*'s Lodgings, and deſired him to return to the Temple, where the Senate was aſſembled. When he came, *The Conſcript Fathers* inſiſted on his giving them an Account of his Exploits, and all his Services to the Republick, and in hinting at leaſt, how *Rome* could beſt ſhew her Gratitude to him. And then *Eumenes* complied with the Injunctions of the Aſſembly, and ſpake thus. *I ſhould ſtill have continued ſilent on thoſe Topicks, if I did not think it neceſſary to guard the Senate beforehand againſt the Pretenſions of the* Rhodians. *But I find their Ambaſſadors will ſoon appear before you; and I know they will do their utmoſt to oppoſe my Intereſt. They are indeed Allies to* Rome, *as well as myſelf; but they are Republicans, and* Greeks *by Deſcent, and they will ſay all they can, againſt the Monarchick State, upon the Danger of extending the Territories of Kings, and in favour of the Liberty of the* Greek Colonies *ſettled in* Aſia. *Their whole Deſign in this will be, to prevent your giving me, for my Services, the Poſſeſſion of the Greek Cities you have conquered; and to take from me thoſe which have always been tributary to me. They will inſinuate, that it will be glorious for* Rome *to have delivered the* Aſiatick Greeks *from Slavery to Kings, as you already have thoſe in* Europe. *And if they ſucceed in this, the Cities which have been moſt obſtinate*

Liv. B. 37. c. 53.

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in maintaining the Cauſe of your Enemies, will be better rewarded, than I ſhall be for my Zeal to ſerve you. If the Rhodians *ſhall be ſo happy as to perſuade you to this, what an Increaſe of Power will it bring to them! They will then be Maſters of the* Provinces *the* Greeks *have lately peopled in* Aſia. *The latter will think they owe their Freedom to them; and under the Name of Liberty, they will become Slaves to their Deliverers. Then you will raiſe ſome of your Allies, to the Prejudice of others; and my Intereſts will be ſacrificed to thoſe of the* Rhodians. *Yet who can contend with me, for Fidelity and Attachment to* Rome? *An Affection for her was tranſmitted to me, with my Blood. I inherited it from my Father* Attalus. *He was the firſt Sovereign in* Aſia, *that entered into Engagements with her, and he ever faithfully performed them. He continually ſerved you, with his Fleet, and Land-Forces, and in Perſon. He attended you in the Wars you made in* Boeotia; *and he was ſeized with the Diſtemper which killed him, whilſt he was ſpeaking for your Intereſts. Nor have I degenerated from my Father, in this Particular. And I may venture to ſay, that I have had more favourable Opportunities to ſhew my Zeal, than* Attalus *my Father had.* Antiochus *offered me his Daughter* Laodicea. *He was then a powerful King; whoſe Offers were not to be deſpiſed. But nothing could make me change; I was more zealous than ever, in fitting out great Fleets, and raiſing great Armies, for your Service. And what Dangers have I run, in maintaining my Engagements with you! I have been continually, either on board my Fleet, or at the Head of my Troops, and have never left your Standards. In order conſtantly to attend your Generals, I left my Capital, and my Dominions, at the Mercy of* Antiochus *and his Son. And as to the Battle of* Magneſia *in particular, your* Conſul *and your* Legionaries *were Eye-witneſſes of my Conduct there. They ſaw my Brother* Attalus, *and myſelf, charge the Enemy at the Head of my Cavalry, and ſecond the Valour of the* Romans. *Has not ſo conſtant an Attachment deſerved at leaſt as great Rewards as* Maſiniſſa *received in* Africa, *for leſs Services? The* Numidian *had been your Enemy; and his Intereſt made him change. And yet the greateſt part of* Syphax's *Kingdom was the Reward of his Fidelity. What Recompence then have I not Reaſon to expect from ſo equitable a Senate? As to my Deſires, ſince I muſt declare them, they are theſe. You have confined the King of* Syria *within Mount* Taurus. *And if* Rome *keeps for herſelf the Country which reaches from that Mountain to the Sea, I ſhall make no Pretenſions to it. It will be both a Pleaſure to me, and a Security to my Dominions, to have you for my Neighbours. But if you ſhould deſpiſe ſo diſtant a Conqueſt, and think it will not anſwer the vaſt Expence of keeping it, I will venture to ſay, that none of your Allies has better deſerved to be gratified with it than myſelf. It will no doubt be ſuggeſted, that it is very glorious to reſtore enſlaved Cities their Liberty; and I grant it would be ſo with reſpect to theſe, if they had not borne Arms againſt you. But ſince they have joined with* Antiochus, *does it not better become your Prudence and Equity to conſult the Intereſt of Allies, who have deſerved well at your Hands, rather than thoſe of your Enemies?*

Livy, ibid.

Livy, ibid.

Livy, ibid.

§. XX. The *Conſcript Fathers* received the Propoſal with Approbation, and were diſpoſed to gratify the King of *Pergamus*. He withdrew to give place to the *Rhodians*, who were to ſpeak after him. But ſome of the *Rhodian* Ambaſſadors were not yet come to the Senate, and therefore Audience was next given to thoſe from *Smyrna*, who were ſoon diſmiſſed. They gave the Senate an Account of the inviolable Attachment of their City to the *Romans*; and *The Fathers* declared themſelves ſenſible of it, and commended their Conſtancy in withſtanding the Solicitations of King *Antiochus*. And then laſtly, the *Rhodians* were introduced into the Senate, and ſpake as *Eumenes* had foretold. *Nothing gives us more Uneaſineſs*, Conſcript Fathers, *than that we ſhould enter into a Conteſt with* Eumenes. *Not only as private Perſons, but as* Rhodians, *our whole City is united to him by the ſacred Ties of Hoſpitality. But it is not ſo much our Opinions, as the Nature of things that divides us. We are Republicans. He is a King.* Rhodes *ſeeks only to ſecure to her People the Liberty they enjoy. The Point* Eumenes *has in view, is to ſubject the Nations to a monarchick Government. It is this alone that divides us. And it is very eaſy for you,* Conſcript Fathers, *both to gratify our Republick, and reward the Sovereign of* Pergamus, *at the ſame time. All we deſire is only to keep the free Cities of* Aſiatic Greece *from all kind of Slavery. And in*

Livy, B. 37. c. 54.

Livy ibid.

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that vaſt Extent of Land, from which you have driven Antiochus, *there are Regions enough beſide theſe, to give* Eumenes. *You are Maſters of* Lycaonia [61], *the two* Phrygia's, *and all* Piſidia, *in* Aſia; *and of the* Cherſoneſus, *and adjacent Countries, in* Europe. *Any of which would double his Kingdom, and all would equal him to the greateſt of Kings. So that you have room enough to enrich your Allies, without deviating from your firſt Deſign. We ſhall not envy* Eumenes's *large Dominions; only let him be indebted to your Bounty for them. Theſe People are uſed to bear the Yoke of Kings; and if they change their Maſters, they will not think that any change in their Condition. But the* Greek *Provinces and Cities have ever aſpired after the Liberties of a Republick. Remember,* Conſcript Fathers, *what Motives induced you to carry the War into the Eaſt. Other Nations indeed, who have a leſs Regard for true Glory, would have had nothing in view but to conquer Cities, and ſubdue Nations. But* Rome's *only Aim was to procure the Liberty and Happineſs of* Greece. *Theſe were the Sentiments which you inſtilled into your Generals, when they began the War with* Philip. *Will you then forget them, after the Defeat of* Antiochus? *You have broken off the Chains, which kept the* European Greeks *in Slavery; and delivered them from their Tyrants. What then remains to complete your Glory, but to free the* Aſiatick Greeks *likewiſe? The latter are as worthy of your Regard, as the former. The* Greeks, *whereſoever tranſplanted, have ſtill preſerved that Superiority of Genius, which has diſtinguiſhed them for ſo many Ages. They retain the ſame Conſtancy in maintaining their Laws, the ſame Wiſdom in the Government of their Cities, the ſame Diligence in cultivating Arts, and the ſame Penetration for the moſt profound Sciences. The* Ionians [62], Æolians, *and* Dorians *in* Aſia, *have the ſame Qualities, as thoſe in* Greece, *or* Peloponneſus. Marſeilles *itſelf, though ſurrounded with* Gauls, *has kept herſelf free from the Contagion of her ſavage Neighbours. She ſtill ſhews the Nobleneſs of her Deſcent: And we are told, is therefore as much honoured by* Rome, *as if ſhe ſtood in the Heart of* Greece. *Since then your Victory has made you Maſters of a great Number of* Greek Colonies, *on this Side Mount* Taurus; *ſhall they alone not partake of that general Regard for Liberty, which has made you the Deliverers of all* Greece? *Subject as many of the other Nations in* Aſia *to* Eumenes, *as you pleaſe. They don't know the value of Liberty. They have been ſo long accuſtomed to Kingly Government, that it is ſcarce any Burden to them. But the* Greeks *are full of the ſame Spirit, as the* Romans. *They love, nay they adore, Liberty. And they expect to receive from you this invaluable Preſent, for which they will be eternally indebted to your glorious Arms. It may indeed be ſaid, that theſe* Greek *Cities declared for* Antiochus. *And ſo likewiſe did many others of the* Greek *Nations in* Europe, *enter into a League with* Philip *againſt you. Did not* Tarentum *in* Italy *go over to* Pyrrhus? *Yet you reſtored them their Laws and Liberties. And this is all we ask for the* Aſiatick Greeks. *Cannot you deny* Eumenes, *what you denied yourſelves? This,* Conſcript Fathers, *is our only Requeſt. Have not the paſt Services of the* Rhodians *been meritorious enough to procure your Favour for a People, who came originally from* Greece, *as well as themſelves? Beſides, to grant our Deſires, is to give the higheſt Inſtance poſſible, of that true Magnanimity, which is peculiar to* Roman *Minds.*

Thus ſpake the Chief of the *Rhodian* Ambaſſadors. *Rome* acknowledged in their Diſcourſe, the Traces of her own Magnanimity, and inſuparable Averſion to Dependence: And from that time, the Senate became enclined to oblige the *Rhodians* in this Inſtance, rather then *Eumenes*. They had enough in their Power to ſatisfy the Deſires of both.

61 *Lycaonia* was a ſmall Province in *Aſia Minor*. Mount *Taurus* divided it from *Cilicia*. *Iconium*, its ancient Capital, is now called *Cogni*.

The Ancients gave the Name of *Great Phrygia* to the Country, which reaches a hundred and twenty five Leagues in length, between *Piſidia* and *Myſia*. It is the Country which *Caſtaldus* calls *Germania*. As for *Little Phrygia*, it contained the moſt Weſtern Part of all *Aſia*, which was next to the *Hellespont*.

Piſidia was bounded to the Weſt and North by *Galatia*, and *Phrygia Major*, on this ſide Mount *Taurus*; to the Eaſt, by *Lycaonia*; and to the South by *Pamphylia*.

62 We have already ſpoken of *Æolis* and *Ionia* in this Volume. *Doris* was a Canton of *Caria*. It took its Name from ſome *Greek Colonies* from *Doris*, which fought for new Habitations in *Aſia Minor*. This Country was a Peninſula, lying between the *Ægean*, and *Rhodian* Seas.

§. XXI. After

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§. XXI. After the Allies and Friends of *Rome* had been heard, the Senate gave Audience to the King of *Syria*'s Ambaſſadors. *Antipater* and *Zeuxis* appeared before *The Conſcript Fathers*, in that humble State, which became the Vanquiſhed; and they ſaid, Antiochus *ſends us purely to offer Entreaties, and declare his Repentance to you. His Ambition has carried him too far, and his Defeat obliges him to have recourſe to your Clemency. But your Victories have ſufficiently puniſhed him already. All he deſires of you, is to ratify the Articles which* the Scipio's *have offered him.* The Senate conſidered of the Propoſal, and ordered, That the Treaty of Peace with *Antiochus* ſhould be concluded, and the Articles of it written in Braſs, and fixed up in the *Capitol.* They only added one Clauſe to it, which was, *That the* Syrians *ſhould every Year change all their Hoſtages, except the Son of King* Antiochus, *who ſhould continue at* Rome *as long as the Republick thought fit.* And then, the Senate finiſhed this long Seſſions, with receiving Petitions from ſeveral Nations, and Cities of the Eaſt; to whom they gave general Anſwers. They promiſed all, That the Republick ſhould ſend ten Commiſſioners to the *Levant*, to ſettle all Diſputes there, and determine what was to be done with the new Conqueſts. But they declared beforehand, That all the two *Phrygia*, and *Myſia*, ſhould for the future be ſubject to King *Eumenes*; and That *Lycia*, that part of *Caria* which was next to *Rhodes*, and a part of *Piſidia*, ſhould be ſubject to the *Romans*; excepting only, in both Caſes, the Cities, which enjoyed their Liberty before the War. The Diſpoſal of *Soli* [63], raiſed a Diſpute between the *Rhodians*, and the Ambaſſadors of the King of *Syria*. It was a City of *Cilicia* beyond Mount *Taurus*; had been founded by *Greeks* who came from *Argi*; and the *Rhodian* Republick would fain have procured its Liberty, as well as that of the other *Greek* Cities. But *Antipater* claimed it, and ſupported the Rights of his Uncle, by the Treaty concluded with the *Romans*. Nevertheleſs, as this Treaty was not yet publiſhed, the Senate were inclined to oblige the *Aſiaticks* to give way to the *Rhodians*; but the latter ſacrificed their Pretenſions to Peace, and the Honour and Reputation of the *Romans* for Equity. So that *Soli* was allotted to King *Antiochus*.

App. in Syriac. N. 112.

Liv. B. 37. *c.* 56.

§. XXII. As for the *Conſuls* of the Year, they ſeem to have enjoyed the Pleaſures of ſeeing ſo many Ambaſſadors come to *Rome* from all theſe Eaſtern People, to receive the Determination of the Senate, concerning their Fate. And it is probable, that they aſſiſted at the Election of two new *Cenſors*. This Office had never been canvaſſed for by greater Men. *Flamininus* who had conquered *Philip*, *Scipio Naſica*, who had been declared the moſt virtuous Man in the Republick, *Valerius Flaccus*, who had ſignalized himſelf in ſeveral Wars, *Porcius Cato*, famous both for his Bravery and Severity of Life, and *Acilius Glabrio*, who was lately returned from *Greece*, after he had overcome *Antiochus* at *Thermopylæ*, were the Competitors. The People inclined to favour *Acilius*. His Triumph was freſh in their Minds. He had diſtributed great Bounties among the Commons, after his return; and *Cato* was moſt jealous of this formidable Competitor. He therefore raiſed up two *Tribunes of the People* againſt him, and they accuſed him of applying to his own Uſe, many of the rich Spoils brought from *Greece*, which had neither been ſhewn at his Triumph, nor ſent to the publick Treaſury. Nay, which is indeed very ſtrange, *Cato* himſelf, though a Candidate for the ſame Dignity, became Informer againſt him. He ſwore, that he had ſeen in *Antiochus*'s Camp, after his Defeat, ſeveral Vaſes of Gold and Silver, which *Acilius* had privily conveyed away. The Depoſitions reflected great Diſhonour upon *Cato* (who indeed was a Man, whoſe Ill-Nature, and Sourneſs of Mind, paſſed for Virtue) and he was ſeverely puniſhed for ſo ſhameful a Proceeding. Neither he, nor *Acilius* were raiſed to the *Cenſorſhip*. The Suffrages of the *Comitia* fell on *Flamininus* and *Marcellus*.

And now, the *Conſuls* left *Rome*. They ſet ſail, (full of the Majeſty of their Republick, now become the Arbitreſs of Sovereign Princes, and abſolute Miſtreſs of the Fate of Kingdoms, which ſhe gave to whom ſhe pleaſed) *Manlius*, [illegible]

[63] *Soli*, or *Soloe*, as *Strabo* and *Mela* call it, was formerly a maritime City of *Cilicia*. It is now only a Village called *Paleſoli*. In After-times, from the Barbariſm and Unpoliteneſs of its Inhabitants the *Solœciſare*, and *Solœciſmus*, came to be uſed, to ſignify an Impropriety of Speech.

complete the Reduction of *Asia*; *Fulvius*, to bring the *Ætolians* to Reason. And *Fabius Labeo*, who was ordered to take upon him the Command of the Fleet, which was to act in the *Levant*, embarked with them. When these Generals arrived in their Provinces, *Manlius* received from the *Scipio's* the Command of the *Roman* Army in *Asia*; and *Fulvius* put himself at the Head of the Troops, which were appointed to reduce the *Ætolians*. Then the *Scipio's* returned to *Rome*, but a little later than *L. Æmilius*, who had conquered *Polyxenidas* at Sea, and preserved the Coasts from the Hostilities of the *Syrian*.

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Upon his Arrival, this General demanded a Triumph; and the Senate met in the Temple of *Apollo*, and heard his Account of his Battels. They examined into the Number of the Ships he had taken, or sunk; and at length granted his Request. *Æmilius* entered the City in a triumphant Manner, on the first Day of *February*. But his Triumph had nothing of the Magnificence of those which were granted the other Generals for their Victories at Land. However, *Æmilius*'s Procession was more extraordinary, and affected the People more. A Guard of Seamen, and Representations of Ships and Gallies, were a new Sight. Forty nine Crowns of Gold, thirty four thousand and seventy *Attick* [64] *Tetradrachmæ* [a], and a hundred thirty one thousand three hundred *Cistophori* [b] were carried before the Victor. Nevertheless, the Triumph of *Lucius Scipio*, was more glittering. As soon as he had landed, he came immediately to *Rome*, lodged in the Suburbs, and according to Custom, demanded that the Senate might assemble, and decree him a Triumph. But as strange as it may appear, it was not without some Opposition, that the Request of the Great *Scipio*'s Brother was granted. Some of the Senators thought his Victory had been gained too easily, to deserve a Triumph. *Antiochus*'s Forces had, according to them, been so much weakened at *Thermopylæ*, that the least Efforts were sufficient to overpower him. But these Prejudices were soon removed. It was considered, that it was not so much *Antiochus*, as the *Ætolians*, which had been conquered at *Thermopylæ*. And indeed, in *Europe*, the King of *Syria* had scarce opposed the *Roman* Armies, with ten thousand Men. But in *Asia*, he appeared at the Head of an innumerable Multitude of *Asiaticks*, brought from all Nations. Indeed, it was granted, that the Victory of *Magnesia* was more owing to the Favour of the Gods, than the Conduct or Valour of the General. But then it was allowed to be but just, to honour the Gods, in the Person of the Conqueror, whom they had protected. So that the Senate ordered a Triumph for *L. Scipio*; who, to vie with his Brother *Africanus*, had from the time of his Victory assumed the Title of *Asiaticus*. The Procession was made at the end of the Intercalary [65] Month, on *The Eve of the Calends of March*; and it must be owned, that the Triumph of *Scipio Asiaticus* was much more magnificent, than that of *Scipio Africanus*. The former had carried before him two hundred and thirty four Standards, which were taken from the *Syrians*; a hundred and thirty four Representations of conquered Cities; twelve hundred and twenty Elephants Teeth; two hundred and twenty four Crowns of Gold; a hundred thirty seven thousand four hundred and twenty Pounds [c] weight of Silver in Bars; two hundred twenty four thousand [d] *Attick Tetradrachmæ*; three hundred thirty one thousand and seventy *Cistophori* [e]; and lastly, a hundred and forty thousand Gold *Philippus's*. The Number of the chased Vases of Gold and Silver, was thought excessively great by *Pliny*. He says, that the Silver Plate [66] only, which was then produced, weighed fourteen hundred and fifty [g] Pounds, and the Gold [h] fifteen hundred

[a] 4400 *l.* 14 *s.* 2 *d. Arbuth.*
[b] 2261 *l.* 5 *s.* 6 *d.* ⅔. *Arbuth.*
[c] *Worth* 412260 *l. Sterl. at* 5 *s. per Ounce.*
[d] 28933 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d. Arbuth.*
[e] 5701 *l.* 15 *s.* 2 *d.* ½. *Arbuth.*
[f] 126583 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d. Plin. B.* 33. *c.* 4.
[g] *Worth* 43501. *Sterl. at* 5 *s. per Ounce.*
[h] *Worth* 72000 *l. Sterl. at* 4 *l. per Ounce.*

64 See what we have said above, *p.* 190. *Note* 44. of this Volume, of the Value of the *Attick Tetradrachma*, and the *Cistophorus*. According to our Computations, these thirty four thousand and seventy *Tetradrachmæ*, amount to sixty eight thousand one hundred and forty *Livres*; and the hundred thirty one thousand three hundred *Cistophori*, to about the Sum of thirty four thousand *Livres*.

65 See what we have said of the Intercalary Month called *Mercedonius*, according to *Numa*'s Appointment, *Vol.* 1.

66 *Livy* differs very little from *Pliny*, in his Account of the Gold and Silver Plate. He reckons it amounted to a thousand and eighty Pounds [i] weight of Gold; and fourteen hundred and eighty of Silver [k]. To which the *Roman* Historian adds, that thirty two of the principal Officers or Lords of *Antiochus*'s Court, were led in triumph before the Victor's Chariot. And lastly, the same Author says, that after the Distribution of Money which the triumphant Victors used to make among the victorious Troops, *Lucius Scipio* ordered double the usual Quantity of Wheat, to be given to each Soldier for his Subsistence. He had bestowed the same Bounty on his Army, before the Battel of *Magnesia*.

[i] 51440 *l. at* 4 *s. per Ounce.*
[k] 4440 *l. at* 5 *s. per Ounce.*

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hundred. And the ſame Writer aſſures us, that by this firſt Conqueſt of *Aſia*, Luxury and Profuſeneſs were brought to great Exceſs at *Rome*. But though the Triumph of *Lucius* dazzled the Eyes of the People more than that of his Brother *Publius*, the *Romans* had a much greater Deference and Eſteem for the latter. They thought *Scipio Africanus* a General as much ſuperior to *Scipio Aſiaticus*, as the valiant *Hannibal* was to the weak *Antiochus*. And therefore the new Cenſors nominated the eldeſt *Scipio*, *Prince*, that is, *Preſident of the Senate*, a third time.

§. XXIII. Whilst *Rome* was entertained with Triumphs, and the Senate employed in giving theſe Orders; the two *Conſuls* prepared to make War, one in *Ætolia*, the other with the People who had moſt openly declared for *Antiochus*. We will begin with *Fulvius*'s Exploits in *Greece*; and conclude, with the Reduction of the *Galatians* in *Aſia*, which was the Work of *Manlius*. *Fulvius* landed his Troops at *Apollonia*, a City of *Macedon*, near the extreme Parts of *Epirus*; and there aſſembled the Council of the *Epirots*. Theſe told him, what was the moſt ready way to reduce *Ætolia*; and affirmed, That [67] *Ambracia* being the neareſt City to them, which had ſurrendered to the *Ætolians*, he ought to begin with reducing that Place, and then penetrate into the Heart of the *Ætolian* Dominions. The *Epirots* were intereſted in the Reduction of *Ambracia*. It anciently belonged to *Epirus*, and was to be reſtored to them again. And therefore they employed all their Eloquence to perſuade the *Conſul* to lay Siege to it. Ambracia, ſaid they, *will not long detain the* Roman *Army. Though ſtrong, its very Situation will facilitate the taking of it. It is ſurrounded by large Plains. And if the Enemy come to relieve it in the open Field, there will be room enough to form the* Legions *What an Advantage will it be, to be able to finiſh the War immediately by one general Action. Beſides, the Plains will furniſh the Beſiegers with Trees of all ſorts, for Machines, and Towers. The River* [68] Arethno, *which waſhes the Walls of the City, will be of great uſe, in carrying Proviſions to the* Roman *Camp. The Seaſon is good. In ſhort, every thing invites you to undertake this glorious Enterprize.* *Fulvius* therefore, upon theſe Aſſurances of the *Epirots*, croſſed *Epirus*, and led his Army before *Ambracia*. At firſt Sight, he plainly perceived it would be difficult to reduce it. The City ſtood half way up an Hill [69], and there was an eaſy Deſcent from it to the River. Upon the Top of the Hill, againſt which the City ſtood, there was a ſtrong Citadel. This Citadel lay to the Eaſt, and the River to the Weſt. The *Arethno* was noiſy and rapid, and diſcharged

Livy, B. 38. c. 3.

Add to this, that the Memory of the Triumph of *Lucius Scipio Aſiaticus*, is conveyed down to us, on the reverſe of a Medal, of the *Cornelian* Family. We there ſee the Conqueror in a triumphal Chariot, with a Scepter in his Hand. Under him is this Inſcription, L. Scipio Asiag. The Surname of *Aſiaticus* is expreſſed by the four initial Letters of the *Greek* Word Asiagetes, inſtead of the *Latin* Term *Aſiaticus*, as *Anthony Auguſtin* has very well obſerved. *Cicero* tells us, in his *Oration for Caius Rabirius*, that there was, in his time, a Statue erected in the *Capitol*, in honour to *Lucius Scipio*; who was repreſented in a military Habit.

67 *Ambracia* was formerly one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in *Epirus*. It ſtood towards the Mouth of the River *Arachtus*, near the Gulph to which it gave its own Name. The Situation of *Arta* in *Upper Albania*, agrees well enough with that of this ancient City. Nevertheleſs, ſome think it was the ſame Place as *Ambrakia*, another City of this Canton.

68 It is now no longer doubted that *Livy*, by the Word *Arethon*, meant the River *Arachthus*, which watered the Territory of *Ambracia*. *Du Noir* ſays, the Natives call this River *Spagnagoriſi*. Nevertheleſs, if the *Arethon* roſe in *Acarnania*, which *Livy* ſays, in expreſs Terms, it muſt be granted, that the River here ſpoken of was not the *Arachthus*, which riſes at the Foot of Mount *Pindus*, in *Weſt-Macedon*.

69 *Livy* ſays, this Hill was called *Peſanthes*.

itſelf a little beyond the City, into a Gulph, to which the City gave its Name. And beſides that *Ambracia* was defended on one ſide by a great River, and on the other, by high Hills; it was alſo ſurrounded with a thick Wall, which was above three Miles in Compaſs. Year of ROME DLXIV. M. Fulvius Nobilior, Cn. Manlius Vulso, Conſuls.

But though the *Conſul* thought the Enterpriſe a difficult one, yet ſince he had embarked in it, he reſolved to finiſh it: Though he did not then know, that the Reduction of this ſingle Place, would bring the *Ætolians* to their Duty. The *Roman* General began with pitching two Camps, one on this ſide, and the other on the farther ſide of the River, with a Communication between them. The *Epirots* were poſted in the former; and the *Romans* in the latter. Then *Fulvius* threw up two Lines, one of Circumvallation, and the other of Contravallation; and built over-againſt the Citadel, a wooden Tower, like a Caſtle. The Appearance of a Siege terrified the *Ætolians*. *Ambracia* was a Key to their Dominions. They therefore immediately aſſembled their Troops, and marched to relieve the Place. Their *Rendezvous* was at *Stratos*, a City of *Acarnania*, on the Banks of the *Achelous*. *Nicander*, the Chief of the *Ætolian* Nation, came thither, and held a Council of War. The Council were at firſt for attacking the *Romans*. But being afterwards informed, that though the Camp was fortified, the Works round the Place were not finiſhed, it was therefore thought more proper to throw Troops into the Place, and ſtrengthen the Garriſon. Accordingly this Deſign ſucceeded. *Eupolemus* entered *Ambracia* with a thouſand *Ætolians*, by the Place where the Line of Circumvallation was not finiſhed. As for *Nicander*, he wiſhed he could have fallen on the *Epirots*, who were encamped ſeparately on one Bank of the River; but he thought the Attack would prove dangerous. The *Romans* underſtood the Art of War too well, to expoſe their Allies to the Enemy, without providing for their Defence. So that the *Ætolian* Army could do nothing better, than march into the Fields of *Acarnania*, and lay them waſte. In the mean time the Beſiegers began to batter the Place. The *Conſul* ordered five Attacks to be made at once, three on the ſide of *Pyrrheum*, a fortified Place without the City, one over-againſt the Temple of *Æſculapius*, and one on the ſide of the Citadel. The *Rams* ſhook the Walls on all ſides. From the Tops of their *Moveable Towers*, the *Romans* beat down the Parapets, and pulled down the Battlements with a kind of *Scythes*, faſtened to long Beams. The Shocks they gave the Wall made the Citizens tremble; and the good Appearance of the Garriſon, did not much keep up their Spirits. But at length they took Courage. Finding that their Walls were ſtrongly built, and the Maſonry good, and that the *Rams* had not yet made any Breach in them; they ſet heartily about hindering the ill Effects of the *Rams* and *Scythes*. As to the former, they invented a kind of Pullies, by which they let down Beams, Free-Stones, and Lumps of Lead, upon the *Rams*, as they were in Motion, and thereby deadened their Strokes. And they guarded themſelves againſt the Scythes, by fixing Braces along the Parapets at certain Diſtances, and by Hooks, with which they pulled the Beams, to which the *Scythes* were faſtened, into the City. So that theſe Inventions prolonged the Siege.

As for *Nicander*, he had time enough, after he had pillaged *Acarnania*, to carry his Troops back to *Stratos*, and there form new Deſigns againſt the Beſiegers: And they in part ſucceeded. The *Ætolian* General found means artfully to convey into *Ambracia* five hundred freſh Troops, under the Command of *Nicodamus*. And *Nicander* promiſed this Commander, that he would, at a time appointed, come and fall upon the *Roman* Camp in the Night; not doubting, but if the Garriſon made a Sally at the ſame time, great Effects would follow from this unexpected Attack and Battel in the Night. The Subaltern therefore obeyed his General, and narrowly watched the time, in which he was ordered to ſally; but was not ſeconded. *Nicander* broke his Word, and did not attack the *Roman* Camp; which ſome imputed to timorouſneſs. Whilſt others ſaid, that he was obliged to lead back his Troops inſtantly to *Dolopia*; *Perſes*, the Son of the King of *Macedon*, being come to fall on the *Ætolians* on that ſide. But be that as it will, the Beſieged ſtill entertained hopes of being relieved by *Nicander*. They marched out in the Night, armed with Torches, Firebrands, and Vine-branches, dipped in Tow; and this Sight ſurprized the Beſiegers. Their firſt Guard ſuffered by this ſudden Salley, and the Alarm ſpread through the *Roman* Camp. The Soldiers roſe,

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roſe, took their Arms, and marched to meet the Enemy, in ſmall Bodies. A Battel was fought at the three Places, where the three Attacks were made on the ſide of *Pyrrheum*; and the Enemy were repulſed in two of them. In the third the *Ætolians* were more formidable. Two of their Generals were in the Fight, and encouraged them. They ſtill depended on *Nicander*'s Approach. And when they deſpaired of it, they retreated in time, after having burnt part of the *Roman* Tents, and killed more of the Enemy's Men, than they had loſt of their own. But the Vexation of not having been ſeconded, much ſunk their Courage. They were no longer ſo very earneſt to make Sallies. They now attempted nothing more, than to repel Attacks, and throw Darts from the Tops of their Ramparts and Towers. In the mean time, *Nicander* left the Beſieged to prolong the Siege themſelves. He had enough to do elſewhere. On one hand, he had *Perſes* to drive out of *Dolopia*; and on the other, the Coaſts of *Ætolia* to defend, from the Ravages of *Pleuratus*. This King of *Illyricum* aſſiſted the *Romans* with a Fleet, conſiſting partly of *Brigantines*, and partly of *Achæan* Ships. It muſt be owned, that the *Ætolians* behaved themſelves with great Bravery, whether they fought in the open Field, or defended themſelves behind Ramparts; and they ſhewed their Activity in a remarkable manner, at the Siege of *Ambracia*. The *Rams* of the *Romans* had ſcarce made a Breach in any of their Walls, before another was built up behind it. This Vigilance broke the *Conſul*'s Meaſures. No *Roman* Battalion had yet been able to enter the Place. *Fulvius* therefore endeavoured to throw down a great part of the Wall at once, by Sap. The Miners began the Work, under cover of the *Mantelets*; and the Beſieged did not perceive it, till they ſaw from the Top of the Walls, the Heaps of Earth that were brought out of the Mine. But then they thought it proper to countermine. They dug a Ditch in the City of the Depth they ſuppoſed the Mine to be, and run it along by the ſide of the Place, where they heard the Strokes of the Pick-axes of the *Roman* Miners. This was neither a long, nor a difficult Work. They, in a few Hours, came to that part of the Wall which the Miners had ſapped, and which was yet ſupported by Props of Wood, which the *Romans* had put under it. When the two Mines met, a Battel enſued under-ground, firſt with Pick-axes and Spades, and then with Swords and Lances. But this Attack did not laſt long. Each Party made themſelves a Rampart with the looſe Earth. Then, in order to drive the Enemy out of their Hole, the *Ætolians* invented a Machine, which they brought to the Place where the two Mines met. It was an hollow Veſſel, the Bottom of which was made of Iron, but bored through in ſeveral Places, and armed with Spikes at proper Diſtances, to prevent Perſons coming near it. This Veſſel they filled with Down, which they ſet on Fire, and with Bellows, drove the Smoke on the Beſiegers. The *Romans* were ſuffocated with the Stink of burning Feathers, left their Work, and the Wall hanging upon its Props, and gave the *Ætolians* time to repair the Foundations of it.

§. XXIV. Nevertheless, even this vigorous Reſiſtance neither ſunk the Courage of *Fulvius*, nor raiſed that of *Nicander*. The taking of *Ambracia* was only delayed; and *Ætolia* ſeemed to be on the Brink of Ruin. This Republick was attacked by Land, by the Son of the King of *Macedon*; and by Sea, the *Illyricans* and *Achæans* made Deſcents on the Coaſts, and laid them waſte. Beſides, the *Romans* as ſoon as they were eaſed of this Siege, would join with the *Epirots*, and fall on *Ætolia*. How then could ſhe defend herſelf againſt ſo many Enemies? The Head of the Nation thought it neceſſary to aſſemble the chief Lords of it, that they might together take ſuch Reſolutions, as were moſt proper in the preſent Poſture of Affairs. They were not long deliberating, or divided in Opinion. All were unanimous, That a Peace was to be obtained on equal Terms, poſſible, if not, That it was not to be rejected on ſuch, as were barely tolerable. *Our chief Dependence in maintaining this War, was*, ſaid they, *on the Power of* Antiochus. *That is now brought to nothing. He is confined to the other ſide of Mount* Taurus, *and is now only the Shadow of a King. Let us then avert the Torrent, that after him, threatens to overwhelm us.* Accordingly a Reſolution was immediately taken to ſend *Phæneas* and *Damoteles* to the *Conſul*, with full Powers to conclude a Peace. Theſe diſcharged their Truſts, like proud Men, but with Circumſpection. *We come*, ſaid they to *Fulvius*, *to deſire Favour for a City*

Polyb. in Legat. c. 28. & ex eo. Liv. l. 38. c. 8.

which is ready to fall into your Hands, and for a Nation formerly your Ally. A Nation compelled, I won't say by Injuries, but by Misery, madly to oppose you. We have indeed now deserved as much ill at your Hands, on account of the War with Antiochus, *as we formerly deserved good, in that with* Philip. *But as* Rome *was not very liberal of her Bounties to us, after the Services we then had done her. We hope she will be the more moderate in punishing us, for the Offences we have now committed against her.* At these Words the *Consul* assumed more Haughtiness than ever, but did not reject their Request. *The* Ætolians, replied he, *have often desired a Peace, but never with Sincerity. Let then the Fidelity of* Antiochus, *be for this time at least a Pattern for them! When brought to the Brink of Ruin by your Councils, he has escaped it by his Submission. He has surrendered up to us all the Cities on this side Mount* Taurus. *And as for you* Ætolians, *first lay down your Arms. This we insist on, by way of Preliminary. Then deliver up to us all the Horses in your Army, and pay us a thousand* Talents; *one half in ready Money upon the Spot, and the other at different Payments. And then, when we come to settle the Articles of the Treaty, this shall be one, That your Enemies shall be ours, and ours yours.* These the Deputies thought heavy Terms; and could not upon the Spot resolve to accept them. They went and consulted the Heads of their Nation upon it. The Council of *Ætolia* was always held at *Stratos*; and there the Plenipotentiaries were Witnesses of the Ardour with which the Lords desired a Peace. They reprimanded them for leaving the *Consul*, without concluding one. *We must have one*, said they, *whether good or bad; conclude it therefore without giving* Fulvius *time to reflect.* So that the Assembly forced them to return without delay. But an unforeseen Accident retarded the Negociation. As they were upon the Road to the *Roman* Camp, a Party of *Acarnanians* surrounded them, and carried them to [70] *Tyrrheum*, as Prisoners of War. But they were not long detained there. The *Consul* demanded them, and had them. And in the mean time, as it was *Fulvius*'s Interest to finish the War; and he was very desirous of the Honour of settling *Ætolia* in Peace; he heard the Intercessions [71] of the *Athenians* and *Rhodians*, and of *Amynander* King of the *Athamanes*, in behalf of the *Ambracians*, favourably. This Prince had long resided in *Ambracia*, and thereby gained an Interest there; and *Fulvius* made use of him, to persuade the Inhabitants to capitulate. *Amynander* found means to get into the City, and by his Advice and Entreaties, prevailed on the *Ambracians* to surrender, upon the following Terms. That the *Ætolian* Garrison should have Leave to march out of *Ambracia*; That the City should * pay five hundred *Talents*, two hundred down in ready Money, and the rest at six equal Payments; That the City should deliver up to the *Consul* all her Prisoners and Deserters; and That no Alteration should be made, as to the Jurisdiction of this City, or the present Right of Possession of the Places which had surrendered to the *Romans*, or which they had taken during the War. Only the Island of *Cephalonia* was excluded from the Privileges of the Treaty. This Treaty was carried to the Council of the *Ætolians* to be confirmed; and they made some Difficulties about giving up their Claim to some Places, which formerly had belonged to *Ætolia*. But at last all was agreed to. *Ambracia* made *Fulvius* a Present of a Crown of Gold, and delivered up to him a hundred and fifty Pounds † weight of that Mettle. But of all the Riches in the City, the *Consul* took nothing for himself, but the Marble, and Brass Statues, and some fine Pictures. They were no where to be found in greater Plenty, or of greater Value. *Pyrrhus* had long made *Ambracia* his Capital, and had enriched it with many valuable Monuments.

§. XXV. After the Surrendry of this Place, which opened a Way into *Ætolia*, *Fulvius* penetrated into that Province, and came and encamped at *Argi* [72], the Capital of *Amphilochia*. There *Phæneas* and *Damoteles*, being released

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* 9687 l. Sterling. Arbuthnot.

† Worth 7200 l. Sterl. at 4 s. per Ounce.

70 *Tyrrheum* was a City of *Acarnania*, situated at an equal Distance from the *Ionian* Sea, and the River *Achelous*.

71 *Livy* says, that *Caius Valerius* interceded with the *Consul*, who was his Brother, to obtain more favourable Terms for the *Ætolians*. They remembered, that *Lævinus*, the Father of *Valerius*, had concluded the first Treaty of Alliance between them, and the *Roman* Republick; and this Induced them to leave all to the Arbitration of *Valerius*.

72 This Capital of *Amphilochia* was then subject to the *Ætolians*, who had made themselves Masters of the Province. The Ancients place it between the River *Achelous* to the East, and *The Gulph of Ambracia*. It is called in modern Maps *Amphiloca*.

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out of their Confinement at *Tyrrheum*, came to him, and told him, that the *Ætolians* accepted of the Conditions he had offered him. So that nothing remained, but to ſend Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, to get the Articles ratified there; and ſome Deputies from *Rhodes* and *Athens* ſet out with *Nicander* and *Phæneas*, to intercede with the Senate. In the mean time the General granted the *Ætolians* a Truce, and retired to the Iſland of *Cephalonia*. Indeed, the *Ætolians* much wanted Interceſſors with *The Conſcript Fathers*. When they came to *Rome*, they found the People highly exaſperated againſt them. *Philip of Macedon* had left nothing undone, to defame them. He complained bitterly, that they kept *Dolopia*, *Athamania*, and *Amphilochia*, unjuſtly from him. But what moſt tenderly affected him was, that his Son *Perſes* had been ſhamefully driven from *Amphilochia*. And theſe Intrigues had ſuch an Effect, that the Senate would ſcarce hear the firſt Entreaties of the *Ætolians*. However, the *Athenian* Deputies who ſpoke in their Behalf, were more favourably received. They had an eloquent Man named 73 *Damis* at the Head of them, and he ſpoke thus. *States, are like the Sea. Its natural Situation is a Calm. But it receives Impreſſions from other things, which move, and agitate it. As ſoon as the Winds blow, it moves. As ſoon as they ceaſe, its Waves ſubſide. Thus* Ætolia *was very quiet, till the Winds of Diſſention diſturbed it. She complied with your Deſires, and lent you her Forces to reduce* Macedon. *But now the Weather is changed. One* Thoas *and one* Dicæarchus *have raiſed a Storm in* Aſia, *and one* Maneſtas, *and* Damocritus, *in* Europe; *and preſently the Tempeſt, put every thing into a Commotion. What then will you blame? The Waves which did not ſtir, till they were put in Motion by other things? Subjects, who did not take up Arms till they were forced? No*; Romans. *Search the Evil to the Bottom, and puniſh the Authors of it; but ſpare the Multitude, who are very willing to be at Reſt and Tranquillity. In ſhort, let not one Storm divert you from rowing on a Sea, which, by promoting your Commerce, may enrich you.* This Diſcourſe 74 abated the Rage of *The Conſcript Fathers*. Nevertheleſs, they ſuffered *Phæneas* and *Nicander*, to languiſh a great while in Uncertainty, whether they ſhould obtain a Peace, or not. But at length, they made ſuch Application, that they ſucceeded. The Terms *Rome* offered them were theſe. 1. *The Majeſty of the* Roman *People ſhall be revered in all* Ætolia. 2. *She ſhall not ſuffer the Army of any Perſon that is an Enemy to* Rome, *to paſs through her Dominions; and all our Enemies ſhall be her's likewiſe.* 3. *She ſhall, in the Space of a hundred Days, put into the Hands of the Magiſtrates of* Corcyra, *all the Priſoners and Deſerters ſhe has, whether of the* Romans, *or their Allies; except ſuch as ſhall have been taken twice, and ſuch as ſhe took from the Enemy, during the time that ſhe was in Union with* Rome. 4. *The* Ætolians *ſhall pay down in ready Money, to the* Roman *General in* Ætolia; *two hundred* * Euboic Talents, *of the ſame Value as the* Athenian Talents, *and ſhall engage* 75 *to pay fifty* Talents † *more, within the ſix Years following.* 5. *They ſhall put into the Hands of the* Conſul, *for ſix Years, forty ſuch Hoſtages as he ſhall chooſe; none of which ſhall be under twelve, or above forty, Years of Age; neither ſhall the* Prætor *of the Nation be one, or the General of Horſe, or any Perſon that has already been a Hoſtage at* Rome. 6. Ætolia *ſhall renounce all Pretenſions, to the Cities and Territories, which the* Romans *have conquered ſince the* Conſulate of Flamininus, *though thoſe Cities and Territories had before belonged to the* Ætolians. 7. *The City of* Oenias 76, *and its Diſtrict, ſhall continue ſubject to the* Acarnanians. 8. Cephalonia *ſhall not be included in this Treaty.*

* 38750 *l. Sterling. Arbuthnot.*
† 9687 *l.* 10 *s. Sterling.*

Livy, B. 38. *c.* 12. *ex Polyb. in Legat.* 28, 29. *& ſequentibus.*

§. XXVI. Whilst *Fulvius* was thus reducing and pacifying *Ætolia*, by the taking of one ſingle City, his Collegue *Manlius* was not idle in *Aſia*. He had received, at *Epheſus*, from *Scipio*, the Command of the Army which had been victorious at *Magneſia*; and ſoon reſolved what to do. The *Aſiatick Gaul* had openly

73 *Livy* calls this *Prætor Leon.*

74 The good Offices of *Valerius*, who accompanied the *Ætolian* Deputies, did not a little contribute, according to *Livy*, to give the Senate a favourable Opinion of the Nation.

75 *Livy* ſays, that the *Ætolians* were left at Liberty to pay in Gold, rather than Silver, if they pleaſed; provided each Gold *Drachma*, was reckoned at no more than ten Silver *Drachmæ*. This was the Proportion then allowed among the *Romans*.

76 Before the *Ætolians* ſeized *Oenias* it belonged to *Acarnania*. It ſtood at the Mouth of the River *Achelous*, on the Coaſts of the *Ionian* Sea. It is now called *Dragameſto*, according to *Sophianus*.

declared

declared themſelves againſt *Rome*, no Nation having lent *Antiochus* more powerful Succours, during the War. The *Roman* Republick had no Enemies in the *Levant*, that were more formidable. The *Gallo-Greeks* were alſo become inſupportable to their Neighbours. They extended their Hoſtilities and Ravages as far as to *The Thracian Boſphorus*. Beſides, the bare Name of *Gauls* was odious to the *Romans*, wherever they found it. And theſe therefore were the Enemies *Manlius* propoſed to ſubdue. The only Obſtacle he found to this Expedition, was the Length of the Way that he was to march, in order to come at theſe new Enemies. *Galatia* was an Inland Country, beyond *Caria*, and *Phrygia*; and in order to ſubdue it, it was neceſſary to march a numerous Army thither, thro' a Country where the *Roman* Name was reverenced indeed; but where the *Conſul* could not abſolutely depend on the Good-will of the Natives. But what Difficulties will not the Deſire of Revenge, and the Love of Glory, ſurmount! *Scipio* had given the *Conſul* a great Example; and *Fulvius*'s Succeſs was a powerful Incentive to *Manlius*. He aſſembled his *Legionaries*, purified them with Luſtrations, and made them one of thoſe military Harangues which Generals uſed to make, juſt as they were going to enter upon ſome important Expedition. *What Neceſſity is there*, ſaid he, *for exhorting the Victorious to purſue the Remains of the Vanquiſhed! The* Galatians, *in Conjunction with the* Syrians, *have already been defeated by you; and it is theſe Enemies who are uſed to flee before you, which you muſt go and ſeek for in their Retreats. You have in vain driven* Antiochus *beyond Mount* Taurus, *if the* Galatians *are left untouched.* Aſia *will never enjoy any Repoſe till we have ſubdued this barbarous and untractable Nation. As for me, I am not a Stranger to you. You have ſeen my Behaviour in Battel. Follow then a* Conſul *who knows how to lead you to Victory.* The Propoſal was approved by the Army; and the Soldiers ſaid one to another. *We have no Body to contend with, but a few contemptible* Gauls, *whom we ſaw flee before us at* Magneſia. *Let us then utterly extirpate this pernicious Race, which takes not into all Places, and againſt whom the* Alpes *themſelves were not a ſufficient Barrier.* Then *Manlius* applied himſelf to get Guides, and a Reinforcement of *Aſiaticks*, in order to penetrate, with their Aſſiſtance, into the very Heart of *Aſia Minor*. *Eumenes* would have been a faithful Guide to him, but he was at *Rome*. His Brother *Attalus* therefore ſupplied his Place. This brave Prince left *Pergamus*, and came to *Epheſus*, to receive the *Conſul*'s Orders. He deſired only a few Days to prepare for his Journey; and indeed, the *Roman* Army had ſcarce left *Epheſus*, before *Attalus* joined it with twelve hundred of the King his Brother's Troops. *Athenæus* his third Brother was alſo ſoon to follow him, at the Head of all the *Pergamian* Forces. So great was the Deference the two Princes paid a *Conſul!* He gave the Word of Command; and they immediately obeyed. *Attalus* left the Adminiſtration of a great Kingdom, to follow a Stranger, in an uncertain Enterprize. So ſurprizingly great was the Aſcendant *Rome* aſſumed over all the Sovereigns in the World!

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Livy B. 38. *c.* 12.

In the mean time, the *Conſular* Army advanced by Land, and came and encamped on the Banks of the *Mæander*. This winding River was deep; and it was neceſſary to get ſome Boats together to paſs it. The firſt City in *Caria* where the *Conſul* halted, was that of [77] *Hieracomes*. At this Place there was a famous Temple of *Apollo*, where the Prieſts uttered Oracles in fine Verſes. From thence *Manlius* came, in two Days March, to the Banks of the [78] *Harpaſus*. There the Inhabitants of *Alabanda* [79] ſent to the *Conſul*, to deſire him to reduce a Caſtle, which had revolted from them; and the Caſtle was taken, and reſtored to its old Maſters. From thence the Army came to [80] *Antioch*, another City of *Caria*; and then entered *Phrygia*, and encamped near [81] *Celænæ*, at the Head of the *Mæander*.

77 The Term *Hieracomes* ſignifies, *The Sacred Village*, or Town.

78 *Pliny* ſpeaks of the River *Harpaſus*, near which there formerly ſtood a City of *Caria*, called *Harpaza*.

79 At a little Diſtance from *Magneſia*, on the Banks of the *Mæander*, ſtood *Alabanda*, a City of *Caria*, now called *Eblebanda*, according to *Leunclavius*.

80 This City was one of thoſe to which *Seleucus Nicator*, King of *Syria*, gave the Name of *Antioch*, in Memory of his Father *Antiochus*. It ſtood in *Caria*, near the River *Mæander*. The *Turks*, to whom it now belongs, call it *Tachiali*.

81 *Celænæ* had been the Capital of *Phrygia Major*, till *Antiochus Soter*, King of *Syria*, removed its Inhabitants to *Apamea*, which from that time became the moſt conſiderable Place in the Province. Near *Celænæ* is a Marſh, where the *Mæander* and the *Marſyas* riſe.

But

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But before the *Romans* arrived there, *Antiochus* ſent his Son *Seleucus* to the Conſul, with a Convoy of Corn, which he had promiſed *Scipio* to furniſh his Roman Army with, whenever it was upon a March. And upon this Occaſion, there aroſe a little Diſpute between *Attalus* and *Seleucus*. The latter pretended, that his Father had not promiſed to ſupply the *Pergamian* Troops with any Proviſions, but only the *Roman*. But *Manlius* put an End to it with an Air of great Authority. He forbad his *Romans* to take any Corn, till the *Pergamians* had firſt received their Proviſions. And the young Prince bore the Inſult with Patience. Such Impreſſions did the Fear of the *Romans* make on the Vanquiſhed! Then [82] *Gordium* opened her Gates, and received the *Conſul*; and from thence he marched, in three Days, to [83] *Tabæ*, on the Confines of *Piſidia*. And there *Manlius* firſt met with Reſiſtance. The *Piſidians* were brave; no Enemy had yet broken into their Country; and they could ill brook to ſee Forcigners draw near their Territories. Their Cavalry fell on that of the *Romans*; but it was repulſed, and returned to *Tabæ*; and the City was condemned to pay the *Conſul* twenty five *Talents* of Silver, and to give him ten thouſand * *Medimnoi* [84] of Wheat. Then the *Roman* Army, continuing their Rout thro' *Great Phrigia*, came to [85] *Cibyra*. A Tyrant, named *Moagetes*, had made himſelf Maſter of it; and the *Conſul* was offended, that he received no Embaſſy from the petty King. He therefore ſent four thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe, to diſcover his Intentions; and he acted the Part his Fears dictated. He ſent a Deputation to the *Conſul*, with fifteen *Talents* †, inſtead of the Crown of Gold, which was the uſual Preſent the Cities in the *Levant*, made to Generals, whoſe Protection they courted. The Deputies met the Detachment, and went with it to the *Roman* Camp; where they were but ill received by *Manlius*. *Your Maſter*, ſaid he, *has no Favour to expect from me. He is a Tyrant, and has made himſelf infamous by his Oppreſſions.* This filled the Deputies with Terror; and they intreated him not to refuſe the Preſent; and to give their King Leave to come in Perſon, and remove the Calumny. Then *Manlius*, with ſome Difficulty, conſented; and the next Day *Moagetes* came to his Tent. The Tyrant had no Attendants; was more negligently dreſſed, than the meaneſt of his Subjects; and his Speech was ſuitable to the low Condition in which he affected to appear. Nevertheleſs, he was Maſter of three Cities. And he promiſed to bring the *Conſul* twenty five *Talents* ‡, tho' it would be ſtripping himſelf and his Cities bare, to raiſe them. *Thou Deceiver*, replied the *Conſul*, *was it not enough for you to endeavour to impoſe upon me by your Deputies? But muſt you come in Perſon to act a ſhameful Part before me? Either procure me fifty* Talents § *in three Days time, or expect to ſee your Fields laid waſte, and your Capital beſieged.* But even this did not make the Tyrant lay aſide his Diſſimulation. He cried out, lamented his Misfortune, and ſtill inſiſted upon his Poverty. Whereas the *Conſul* ſtill roſe in his Demands upon him, in proportion to his impertinent Excuſes, till at length he inſiſted upon the petty King's paying him a hundred *Talents* ∗, and ten thouſand † *Medimnoi* of Wheat; and then he paid it. This comical Scene ſtopped the Army for ſix Days; and then they continued their March, and came and encamped on the Banks of the [86] *Caularis*. From thence they paſſed on, along the Lake [87] *Caralitis*, to [88] *Mandropolis*, and to [89] *Lagos*, a City which the Inhabitants had deſerted, but had left their Proviſions to be ſeized by the *Romans*. From

* 1425 *Quarters, 6 Buſhels and 2 Gallons, Engliſh. Arbuthnot.*

† 2906 *l.* 5 *s.* 0 *d. Arbuthnot.*

‡ 4842 *l.* 15 *s.* 0 *d. Sterling.*

§ 9687 *l.* 10 *s.* 0 *d. Sterling.*

∗ 19375 *l.* 0 *s.* 0 *d.*

† 1425 *Quarters, 6 Buſhels 2 Gallons, Engl.*

82 *Xenophon* places the City of *Gordium*, in *Phrygia Major*, near the River *Sangarius*. It was there that *Alexander the Great* cut the *Gordian* Knot.

83 The ancient Geographers mention two Cities of *Tabæ*; one in *Caria*, and the other, (which is here ſpoken of) belonging to *Piſidia*. Nevertheleſs, *Stephen of Byſantium* places it in *Lydia*, becauſe it bordered upon it. It was called *Tabæ*, according to him, becauſe built in a ſtony Soil; and he pretends, that *Marſyas*, *Apollo*'s Rival, built it.

84 See what we have ſaid of the *Medimnos*, Vol. 2.

85 *Strabo* and *Ptolomy* place the City of *Cibyra* in *Phrygia Major*. It ſtood on the Banks of the *Mæander*, near the Springs of the *Xanthus*, on the Confines of *Caria*, and *Lycia*. *Leunclavius* gives it the Name of *Baruz*.

86 No Author but *Livy* mentions the River *Caularis*. By it he is ſuppoſed to mean, the *Cataract*, a River of *Piſidia*, which falls down Mount *Taurus* with Violence, and empties itſelf into the *Pamphylian* Sea.

87 The Lake *Caralitis* was not unknown to *Strabo*. He places it near *Iconium*, the Capital of *Lycaonia*.

88 *Mandropolis*, which *Livy* calls *Mandropus*, was a City of *Phrygia Major*, according to *Stephen of Byſantium*. Its Situation is unknown.

89 The City of *Lagos* is as little known as *Mandropolis*.

the Springs of the 90 *Lycus*, they went on to the Banks of the 91 *Colobatus*; where they found the neighbouring Nations at War. The *Termeſſenſes* 92 had taken the City of *Piſinda* 93, and were beſieging its Citadel. This gave the *Conſul* a fair Occaſion to enter *Pamphylia*. He delivered the *Piſidians* from the Oppreſſion of the *Termeſſenſes*; and obliged the latter to pay him fifty *Talents* of Silver. He alſo demanded as much of the other Countries in *Pamphylia*. From thence he proceeded to *Piſidia*. 94 *Xilines* and *Cormaca* opened their Gates to him, and received him. He found *Darſa* deſerted by its Inhabitants; and gave his Soldiers Leave to plunder the Houſes. *Lyſinoe* ſubmitted to the *Conſul*; who went from thence into the fine and fertile Plain of *Sagalaſſa*. This was a beautiful Country, well peopled, and full of brave Soldiers. The Capital of it was both ſtrong by Situation, and well fortified; and it neglected to make its Submiſſions to the *Conſul*. *Manlius* therefore laid its Territory waſte; and obliged it to give him ‡ fifty *Talents* of Silver, † twenty thouſand *Medimnoi* of Wheat, and as much Barley. Then the Army entered *Phrygia*, and encamped about the Springs of the 95 *Obrima*, near a Town called *Aporidos*. There *Seleucus* came a ſecond time to the *Roman* Camp; and he was ordered to conduct the Sick to *Apamea*, and find Guides to lead the Army into *Galatia*. Accordingly, *Seleucus* obeyed the Directions of the *Conſul*, and aſſiſted him in making War on his Father's old Allies. So ſhamefully ſervile and cowardly were the *Aſiatick* Kings! When *Manlius* had ſent his ſick and uſeleſs People to *Apamea*, he came to 96 *Metropolis*, then to *Diniæ* 97, from thence to *Synnas* and *Beudi*, then to the Springs of the 98 *Alander*, and at length to *Abaſſus*, a City of *Phrygia*, on the Confines of *Galatia*. There the *Conſul* reſted his Troops for ſome Days. He had hitherto marched on like a Conqueror, and ſtruck Terror into all the Places where he came. But now he had more formidable Enemies to engage with, than the weak *Aſiaticks*.

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‡ 968*l.* 10*s.* Sterling.

† 2401 Quarters, 4 Buſhels, *Engliſh*.

Livy, B 38 c. 15.

§. XXVII. THE *Gallo-Greeks*, or *Galatians*, whether they were deſcended from the *Gauls* ſettled in *Italy*, or from the *Gallic Colonies* in *Germany*, had originally dwelt beyond the *Alpes*. Tho' it is diſputed, from what Country they came laſt, before they ſettled in *Aſia*; it is agreed, that they were deſcended from the *Gauls*. *Brennus*, one of their Kings, had firſt led them into *Dardania*; and Miſunderſtandings ariſing among them, they ſeparated. Twenty thouſand Men, under the Command of two Generals, one of which was named *Leonorius*, and the other *Lutarius*, entered *Thrace*; and there ſubſiſted by Pillage. At length they reached *Byſantium*, and ſeized the Cities of the *Propontis*, and laid them under Tribute. Then the Fruitfulneſs of *Aſia*, which was ſo near them, drew them thither. Thro' the natural Inconſtancy of their Nation, they left a certain Settlement, to ſeek a new and uncertain one, amidſt numberleſs Dangers. Theſe Adventurers ſurprized *Lyſimachia*, made themſelves Maſters of the *Cherſoneſus*, and could have paſſed the *Helleſpont*, if they had not wanted Boats. To ſupply this Defect, they had Recourſe to *Antipater* the *Macedonian*, who commanded in the Country. But he was ſo dilatory in complying with their Deſires, that he tired out their Patience; and then they ſeparated a ſecond time. The Body commanded by *Leonorius* returned towards *Byſantium*; and that which obeyed *Lutarius* continued on the Shore of the *Helleſpont*. At length *Lutarius* found Means, by an Artifice, to get two Galleys, and ſome Brigantines, from *Antipater*; and by the Help of theſe Ships his Army paſſed over into *Aſia* in ſmall Companies, and at ſeveral times.

90 In the Text of *Livy*, this River is called *Lyſis*. *Glarean* thinks that that Author means the *Lycus*, a little River of *Phrygia*, which runs into the *Meander*. It is thought to be the ſame as the *Marſyas*. *Quintus Curtius*, who calls it *Marſyam Lyci*, gives us ſome room to think ſo.

91 We neither know where the *Colobatus* riſes, or what is its Courſe.

92 The City of *Termeſſus* ſtood in the North Part of *Pamphylia*; it is now only a Village, which ſome ſay is ſtill called *Termes*.

93 *Ptolomy* places *Piſinda* in *Pamphylia*. *Livy* and *Polybius* call it *Iſionde*. But we know no City of that Name.

94 All we know of the following Cities is that they ſtood in *Piſidia*.

95 The *Obryma* was a little River of *Phrygia Major*. It ran into the *Meander*, a little above *Apamea Cibotos*.

96 The Surname of *Metropolis*, was given to ſeveral Cities: That here ſpoken of ſtood in *Phrygia*, at a little Diſtance from the *Meander*.

97 *Diniæ* bordered upon *Galatia*. The *Latins* alſo gave this Name to the City of *Digne* in *Provence*. Which makes it probable that a Swarm of the Inhabitants of the latter had removed, and ſettled in the former.

98 We know no more of the River *Alander*, than that *Livy* places it in that Part of *Galatia* which belonged to the *Toliſtoboji*.

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Then the Jealouſy of the *Gauls* which were returned to *Byſantium*, revived their former Wiſhes. They again deſired to get into *Aſia*; and *Nicomedes* furniſhed them with Means to tranſport themſelves thither. This Prince 99, a *Thracian* by Birth, who had ſeized one Part of *Bithynia*, was contending for the other Part of it, with a Rival named *Zybæus*; and he formed a Scheme to re-unite the ſeparated *Gauls*, and employ them in conquering all *Bithynia*; and ſucceeded. The *Gauls*, when united in *Aſia*, fought for him, and dethroned *Zybæus*, and drove him out of the Country. So that the Name of the *Gauls* was become formidable in the Countries where they made their new Settlement; tho' from twenty thouſand, their firſt Number, they were reduced to ten. And at length, they penetrated into the Country, which has ſince been called *Galatia*; probably becauſe the *Gauls* were whiter than the People of the Eaſt, and conſequently, nearer the Colour of *Milk*. Three *Gallic* Nations were concerned in this Expedition; the *Tectoſagi*, the *Toliſtoboji*, and the *Trocmi*; and theſe made ſo many different Cantons, in their new Conqueſt. After which, each Canton being ſtraitened in *Galatia*, broke into different Countries, and laid them under Contributions. The Coaſts of the *Helleſpont* were ſubject, if I may ſo ſpeak, to the *Trocmi*; the In-land Country fell a Prey to the *Tectoſagi*; and *Ionia*, as well as *Æolis*, became ſubject to the Incurſions of the *Toliſtoboji*. It may be affirmed, that the *Galatians* became the Tyrants of the greateſt Part of *Aſia Minor*. They were ſituated in the Center of the moſt fruitful Countries in the World, and on the Banks of the River 100 *Halys*; and as they multiplied exceedingly, their Numbers increaſed their Confidence. They ſpread the Terror of their Arms into *Syria*; and King *Antiochus* himſelf became tributary to them. *Attalus*, the Father of *Eumenes*, was the firſt Prince who durſt reſiſt theſe greedy Strangers. He gave them Battel, and defeated them in the open Field. So that *Pergamus* was free from the Exactions of the *Galatians*; but this did not leſſen their Robberies in the reſt of *Aſia*. After the Defeat of *Antiochus* by the *Romans*, the *Galatians* who were cantoned in their Mountains, ſo far up in the In-land Country, preſumed that *Rome* would never carry her Arms ſo far as to their Retreats. And indeed, any other *Conſul* would have ſuffered them to exerciſe their uſual Hoſtilities, and enjoy the Fruits of their Rapines, in Quiet.

§. XXVIII. But *Manlius* had now brought the *Conſular* Army, after the Fatigues of ſo long a March, near enough to reduce this Nation, which ſo much obſtructed the Peace of the Continent. *Rome* was willing to eſtabliſh Tranquillity in *Aſia*, as ſhe had done in *Greece*; and the *Galatians* were the only People who were capable of diſturbing it. They ſeemed to have Boldneſs enough to withſtand the Attacks of the *Romans*, it was therefore neceſſary to compel them by Force of Arms, to put a Stop to their Incurſions and Robberies. Nevertheleſs, the *Legionaries* carried with them into *Aſia* a Fear of the very Name of *Gauls*. They knew the Valour of this Nation; and had often experienced it, in *Italy*. It was therefore neceſſary for the *Conſul* to deſtroy theſe Prejudices; and he addreſſed himſelf to his Troops, in this Manner. *Shall the Reputation the* Gallo-Greeks *have acquired for Arms, in theſe Parts, be capable of intimidating* Romans? *It was eaſy for a Company of Vagabonds to force their Way thro' Nations ſunk into Effeminacy, and enervated by the Pleaſures of the Country. The* Gauls *may have ſtruck Terror into theſe timorous People, by their high Stature, fair Skins, and white Hair, as well as by their long and narrow Bucklers, and their long Swords. I am not at all ſurprized, that the* Carians, Greeks, *and* Phrygians *ſhould be afraid of them. But the Howlings of theſe Barbarians at the Beginning of a Battel, and the Clattering they make with ſtriking on their Bucklers all at a time, are not Things to ſurprize* Romans. *Our Forefathers firſt heard this Uproar on the Banks of the* Allia; *were terrified at it, and loſt the Battel. But this was the only Victory the* Gauls *ever gained over us. During theſe laſt two hundred Years, that theſe troubleſome People have infeſted* Italy, *what Havock have we made of them! Our*

99 *Nicomedes*, the firſt of the Name, and ſurnamed *the Great*, was the Son of *Zipoetes*, the Founder of this Monarchy, as we have elſewhere obſerved. The latter had another Son, who was called *Zipoetes*, or *Zybæus*, as well as himſelf; and the two Brothers were then diſputing about the Inheritance of their Father.

100 The River *Halys* is in *Phrygia*. It divides *Aſia Minor* into two Parts, the Eaſtern, and Weſtern. There was in *Lydia* a River of the ſame Name which *Herodotus* mentions.

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Generals have oftener triumphed over them, than over any other Nation in the World. We have learnt to ſtand their firſt Fire, and ſuffer it to evaporate. It is a momentary Ardour, which ſoon degenerates into Weakneſs. Not that our Armies only have gained continual Advantages over the Gauls. *We have ſeen many of our brave Men triumph over them in ſingle Combats. Our* T. Manlii, *and* Valerii Corvi, *have laid their Giants in the Duſt.* M. Manlius *threw down from the* Capitol, *a whole Battalion of theſe People, who were ready to ſcale it. And thoſe* Gauls *whom we vanquiſhed in* Italy, *had not degenerated from their ancient Valour. But theſe we are here to fight with, are nothing like their Forefathers. Having been ſoftened by the Heat of* Aſia, *and weakened by the delicious Produce of ſo fruitful a Country, they are like tranſplanted Trees, which don't retain the ſame Juices which they had in their native Soil. Thus thoſe* Macedonians *who were invincible under* Alexander, *when diſperſed in* Syria *and* Egypt, *after his Death, retained nothing of their ancient Valour. Properly ſpeaking, the Men you are to fight with, are only* Phrygians, *dreſſed after the* Gallic *Faſhion. In a Word, you have only thoſe* Galatians *to engage, whom you ſaw fly at* Magneſia: *and for my part, there is only one thing that I am afraid of; which is, that the Weakneſs of your Enemies will leſſen the Glory of overcoming them. Let us then reduce a Country whoſe Air is contagious, without Delay. To continue long in it, would be to expoſe the* Romans *themſelves to the Danger of degenerating into the Weakneſs of the* Aſiaticks.

THUS ſpake *Manlius*; and thereby prepared his Troops for any Attempt. Nevertheleſs, that he might have nothing to reproach himſelf withal, the *Conſul* thought it neceſſary to ſound the Intentions of a petty *Galatian* King, named *Epoſſognatus*. He, being more moderate than the reſt of his Countrymen, had refuſed to take up Arms againſt *Eumenes* and the *Romans*, in favour of *Antiochus*; and now, he laboured to bring about a Reconciliation between the two Nations. He intreated *Manlius* not to begin Hoſtilities too haſtily, and promiſed him to labour to procure a Peace. *I have ſome Credit in my Nation*, ſaid he, *and I don't deſpair of prevailing on them to accept your Terms, if they are but tolerable ones.* And the *Gaul* kept his Word. But he met with more Oppoſition from the petty Sovereigns in his Country, than he expected. In the mean time, the *Conſul* marched his Army towards the Habitations of the *Galatians*. In order to this, he muſt firſt croſs a Country, ſo open, and ſo ill provided with Wood, that the only Firing of the Inhabitants was Cow-Dung; and there the Army encamped, near a Caſtle which was guarded by ſome *Gallo-Greeks*. Out of this Caſtle marched a Squadron of Cavalry, and fell ſuddenly on the *Romans*; but they were repulſed, with Loſs. This made the *Conſul* ſenſible that he was in an Enemy's Country, and he purſued his March with Caution. At length he came and encamped on the Banks of the [101] *Sangaris*; at a Place where it was not very broad, but very full of Fiſh. A Bridge was built over it, to paſs it; and as ſoon as the Army was got on the oppoſite Bank, a Company of the fanatical Prieſts of *Cybele* appeared. They were come from *Peſſinus*, to declare to the *Romans*, that their Goddeſs would crown them with Victory. *Manlius* thankfully received the Prediction; and then came to *Gordium*, where he had been once before. The City was large, well peopled, and a Place of great Trade. There the *Conſul* received the Envoys of *Epoſſognatus*; who informed him, That the Prince their Maſter had uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to ſoften the Minds of the *Galatians*; but That their Pride had got the better of their Reaſon. He was likewiſe told, That the *Gallo-Greeks* in all Parts were leaving their Towns and Cities in the Plain, to go and fortify themſelves on the Top of Mount [102] *Olympus*. And this News was afterwards cleared up by the following Particulars. Advice came to the *Conſul*, That the *Toliſtoboji* had retired by themſelves to Mount *Olympus*; That the *Tectoſagi* had fortified themſelves on the Top of Mount *Magaba*; and That the *Trocmi* had divided themſelves between the *Toliſtoboji* and *Tectoſagi*. The *Trocmi* had committed their Wives and Children to the Care of the former; and the Warriors of that Clan had reinforced the Army of the latter. The Name of the King of the *To-*

Polyb. in Legat. c. 33.

Livy, B. 38. c. 18.

App. in Syriac. N. 115. Livy, B. 38. c. 19

[101] The *Sangaris* is a River in *Aſia Minor*, which riſes in *Phrygia Major*. After it has run through a Canton of *Bithynia*, it falls into the *Euxine* Sea. It is now called the *Sangari*, or *Zangari*.

[102] The *Olympus* here ſpoken of was a Mountain in *Myſia*. There was in *Lycia* another Mountain of the ſame Name, which ſometimes vomited out Flames.

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liſtoboji was *Ortiagon*; that of the King of the *Tectoſagi*, *Combolomarus*; and that of the King of the *Trocmi*, *Gaulotus*. The Deſign of theſe Princes in poſting themſelves on ſo high Mountains, and removing their Effects and Proviſions thither, was to tire out the Patience of the *Romans*, by leaving them to languiſh away their time in their deſolate and ravaged Plains. And beſides that the *Gauls* had the Advantage of the Ground, they had likewiſe entrenched themſelves in their Retreats; and had made wide Ditches and Entrenchments in thoſe Parts of the Mountains which were leaſt ſteep. They had likewiſe provided themſelves with Darts to throw at the Enemy, in caſe of an Attack. They thought the Stones, which were in great Plenty in theſe dry and light Places, would not be ſufficient Weapons to repulſe the *Romans*.

§. XXIX. Such was the Situation of the *Gallo Grecks*, when the *Conſul* entered their Territories. He was ſenſible that he muſt fight a new Way; and therefore prepared himſelf rather as for Sieges, than for pitched Battels. His *Legionaries* loaded themſelves with great Bundles of Arrows, and all Sorts of Darts which were thrown with the Hand, or Sling. Thus provided, the *Conſular* Army drew near Mount *Olympus*, and encamped only five Miles from it. The Day after the *Conſul* arrived, he, attended by *Attalus*, and five hundred Horſe, came to *reconnoitre* the Enemy's Poſts. But the *Galatian* Cavalry fell upon them, and obliged them to retire. The Day after, *Manlius* appeared at the Foot of the Mountain, with all his Squadrons. So conſiderable a Body affrighted the *Gauls*, and their Fear kept them behind their Trenches. So that *Manlius* had time to march quite round the Mountain, and obſerve all the Ways to it. He remarked that the Ground was not ſo ſteep at the South Side of it, as at the North. It was here almoſt perpendicular, and conſequently leſs acceſſible, than on the Eaſt, Weſt, and South Sides. It was indeed every where very ſteep, but it was not unſurmountable, at leaſt in three Places. Upon theſe Obſervations, *Manlius* formed his Scheme; and came and poſted himſelf almoſt at the Foot of the Mountain. Then he immediately divided his Army into four Bodies, and aſſigned each its Duty. One Part continued in the Plain, to guard the Camp with the Cavalry and Elephants, which ſurrounded the whole Mountain. The *Conſul* himſelf undertook to command in Perſon, at the principal Attack on the South Side. His Brother *Manlius* had Orders to lead up the Body which was to climb up on the Eaſt Side; and *C. Helvius* that which was to mount the Hill on the Weſt Side. The Orders given to theſe two Lieutenant-Generals were, not to force their Soldiers to ſtrive to march up unpaſſable Places, or attempt Ways which were too difficult; but to turn ſhort about, if they found any Way too ſteep, and come and fall in with the *Conſul*'s Rear. And theſe Orders were punctually obeyed. *Manlius* followed the Road he had pitched upon; and *Attalus* kept cloſe by his Side. The Advance-Guard conſiſted of the light-armed *Roman* Troops, the *Cretan* Archers, and the Slingers of the *Pergamean* Army. Theſe were followed by the *Legionaries*, who were more heavily armed, and not ſo fit for climbing. As the Declivity of the South Side of Mount *Olympus* was the moſt eaſy, and the Ground was there leſs encumbered, they at firſt advanced up to a certain Height, without much Difficulty. No Enemy yet appeared to oppoſe the *Conſul*'s March. But at length, *Manlius* perceived about four thouſand *Gallo-Greeks* poſted on a Rock which he muſt climb over, in order to come at the Camp of the *Gauls*. The Difficulty therefore was, how to take this Poſt, where the Enemy was ſo very advantageouſly placed. And perhaps never was any Enterprize more bold in itſelf, or more wiſely put in Execution.

The Battel began between the *Galatians* on the Hill, and the light-armed *Romans*, of whom the firſt Line of the *Conſular* Forces conſiſted. It was not a pitched Battel, or fought Sword in hand. Stones and Darts were the only Weapons uſed on both Sides. As long as the *Gauls* had Flints by them, they threw down ſuch prodigious Quantities of them, that it was not poſſible to approach them. But theſe Weapons ſoon failed them. They had taken no Care to gather Heaps of them together; depending on finding enough for their Defence upon the Place. But the Caſe was different, as to the *Romans*. The Stock they had provided, of Darts, Arrows, and Javelins, was almoſt inexhauſtible. They threw ſo many of them at the Enemy, that they overwhelmed them with them. The longer the Action laſted, the more Advantage the *Romans* had. The *Gauls* had nothing

nothing to ward off these Darts with, but flat Bucklers, which were too narrow to guard the whole Body. And they had nothing to defend themselves with, but their long Swords, which were of no Use in a Fight where the Enemy were at so great a Distance. The Darts reached them on all Sides, and they could not avoid either Wounds, or Death. Besides, they were not used to this Way of fighting. The *Gauls*, when they came to fight Sword in hand, and Man to Man, were formidable for some Hours. But now, the Bravery and Arms of the *Romans* reached and wounded them, at a considerable Distance; and when they saw their Blood run, they were like wild Beasts. It was indeed a frightful Sight. As they fought naked to the Waste, the Blood which trickled down their fair Skins made them hideous. They were all so disfigured, that they created Horror in each other. Some, in order to get the Darts and Arrows out of their Flesh, made large Incisions, and thereby their Wounds looked the more ghastly. Others, out of all Patience to see themselves cruelly wounded by so little a Piece of Iron as that of an Arrow, laid down upon the Ground, rolled about in the Sand, and trembled with Rage. Others left their Posts, and came furiously to attack the *Romans*, who soon stabbed them with their Swords. So that there were but few of the four thousand *Gauls* left on the Rock, to defend that Pass. All those that escaped Death fled, and regained their Camp; where the Alarm, and the Consternation, was general. The Cries of Women and Children were heard mixed with the Noise of the Warriors, who were hurrying to seize their Arms. In short, every one took his Post, and the whole *Galatian* Army appeared in Order of Battel, on the Ridge of the Mountain.

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Nevertheless, the *Romans* still went forward, and found no fresh Detachment to engage. The *Consular* Army was then united all in one Body. The two Lieutenant-Generals, one of which had taken the East Side, and the other the West, had not found any Ways that were passable, and had returned to the *Consul*'s Corps, and made a third Line, which was of Service to the two first. This Rear-Guard made the *Manipuli* before them advance, took up those that fell, and supplied the Places of those that the Enemy beat down. At length, the *Romans* arrived all together, on the Rock from whence they had dislodged the Enemy; and there the *Consul* halted for some Hours. The great Number of *Galatians* he found dead on the Place, gave him Occasion to harangue his Troops; which he did in this manner. *These Heaps of Dead, and this fine Beginning of Victory, are the Fruits of the Valour of our light-armed Soldiers only. Our Darts only have made all this Slaughter. What then will be the Consequence when our* Legionaries *come to a close Fight, and break into the Enemy's Battalions? This is what remains to be done next. The Booty in the Camp of the* Galatians *will make you amends for your Fatigues.* Then he ordered his Soldiers to gather together on the Field of Battel, the numberless Darts, Arrows, and Javelins, which they had thrown at the Enemy. Nay, they tore them out of the dead Bodies, in order to throw them a second time And this was not an useless Work.

When the *Romans* had taken Breath, they began climbing again; and at length, they arrived near the Summit of *Olympus*. All the Top of the Mountain seemed to be every where covered with *Galatians*, who were come out of their Camp, and ready to defend the Approaches to it. The light-armed Soldiers still marched at the Head of the *Roman* Army; and when they came within Reach of the Enemy, they discharged their Darts with more Fury than at the first Attack. The *Gauls* were confined to a little Space of Ground. So that every Dart did some Execution. This Shower terrified the *Gauls*. Being most of them wounded, they retired for Refuge within their Camp; and then the *Romans* were soon able to come to a close Fight. The *Galatian* Generals who were forced to retreat, only placed great Bodies of Men before their Posts, to cover them; and it was then, properly speaking, that the *Legionaries* entered upon Action. They attacked these Advanced Guards pretty near, with the heavy *Partizans*, which were their usual Weapons; and nothing was Proof against these Arms. As the Shafts of them were long, they often pierced thro' more Bucklers than one, and sometimes fastened two Soldiers together. After this, the *Legionaries* fell upon the Enemy, Sword in hand, and stabbed them. In short, the *Gauls*

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could not hold out againſt the *Roman Legions*. They broke thro' the Gates of the Camp; or rather, the *Galatians* opened them, and fled. What mighty Effects has Fear on a confuſed Multitude, who give themſelves up to it! They run into the Jaws of Death, whilſt they endeavour to avoid it. The *Gauls*, to avoid the Enemy's Swords, were not afraid to leap down from the Tops of the Rocks. The Depth of the Precipices did not ſurprize them. The *Conſul* ordered his *Romans* to purſue them; but they came up with but few, in Compariſon of thoſe whom they forced to take theſe fatal Leaps. The Top of the Mountain was ſtrewed with dead Bodies, and all the Paths down it, full of the flying, or dying. In the mean time, the Body *Helvius* commanded, fell on the Enemy's Camp, and began to plunder it. Indeed it was not juſt, that this Detachment, which had had no Share in the Action, ſhould ſeize the firſt Part of the Booty. But how can Diſcipline be preſerved, in theſe Times of Diſorder? On ſuch Occaſions, the greedy Soldiers won't hearken to the Voice of their Commanders.

During the Battle, the *Roman* Cavalry continued at the Foot of the Mountain; and now they had their Turn. They fell on the Remains of the Fugitives, and either killed them, or made them Priſoners of War. It is not poſſible to ſay exactly what Number of Men the *Galatians* loſt in this unfortunate Action. Some make them amount to forty thouſand; and others reduce them to ten thouſand. But it is more generally agreed, that there were at leaſt forty thouſand Captives taken, including Men, Women, and Children. The *Conſul* made a Sacrifice to *Vulcan*, of all the Arms taken from the Enemy. The other Spoils he ordered to be brought together; and ſuch of them as of Right belonged to the Republick, the *Quæſtor* ſold, and diſtributed the reſt among the Soldiers. And laſtly, after the *Conſul* had highly extolled the Behaviour of his Troops in general, he diſtributed the Rewards of Valour. And *Attalus* was not forgotten. This Prince had behaved himſelf with as ſignal Courage and Prudence as he had done in the Affair of *Magneſia*.

Plut. de Virt. Fœmin. Liv. B. 38. c. 4. Auth de Vir. Illuſt. Val. Max. B. 6. c. 1. Exter §. 2.

§. XXX. As for the King of the *Toliſtoboji*, he retired, after his Defeat, into a Corner of his Dominions; and found, to his great Grief, that he had loſt the beſt Part of Himſelf, the Queen his Wife. The Name of this Heroine, whom Hiſtory has immortalized, was *Chiomara*. This Princeſs had all thoſe good Qualities which are the Ornaments of her Sex, and had a ſuperior Degree of Merit, to that of the moſt accompliſhed Women. *Polybius*, who afterwards ſaw her, and entertained her at *Sardis*, ſays, that her Beauty was excellent, her Imagination lively, her Underſtanding ſolid, and her Courage worthy of the greateſt Heroes. *Chiomara*, among the great Number of Captives which the *Romans* made on Mount *Olympus*, was put into the Hands of the *Conſul*. But the General being engaged in numberleſs Affairs, on ſo diſtracting a Day, committed her to the Care of a *Centurion*, whoſe Name the *Romans* have been aſhamed to tranſmit to us. During the Licentiouſneſs of the Soldiers, the *Roman* ſuffered himſelf to be led to commit the moſt brutal Action. He was ſtruck with the Queen's Beauty; and, without any Regard to her Royal Dignity, offered Violence to her: And then the ſame Paſſion of Love which had made the *Centurion* thus raſh, led him to ſeek out proper Means to appeaſe her, whom he had ſo much injured. Or perhaps Avarice ſucceeded Luſt in the *Centurion*'s Breaſt. He gave *Chiomara* Hope, that ſhe ſhould ſoon be releaſed from her Captivity, provided ſhe would pay him the Sum he demanded. He gave her Leave to ſend one of the *Galatian* Priſoners to her Husband *Ortiagon*, to negotiate the Ranſom of his Queen with him; and it was agreed, That two Relations of the Princeſs ſhould come by Night to the Banks of a neighbouring River, bring thither the Sum ſtipulated, and there have the Queen delivered up to them. And both Parties kept their Words. The *Centurion* led *Chiomara* to the Water-ſide by Night, and at the Hour appointed the two *Galatian* Lords came thither with the Ranſom. But whilſt the greedy *Centurion* was wholly intent upon weighing or counting the Money, the Brave Princeſs ſaid to her two Relations, in the Language of her own Country, which the *Roman* did not underſtand, *Strike! and purge the Earth of a Monſter whom I deteſt.* They did ſo; and with one Stroke of a Sabre cut off the *Centurion*'s Head. *Chiomara* took it up, put it into a Corner of her Robe, carried it with her, and threw it down at her Husband's Feet.

strange Salutation! which might well surprize *Ortiagon*; and he said to her, *Have you done Justice to my Bed?* To which the virtuous Queen replied, *I call the Gods to witness, that if my Body has suffered the Violences of a servile State, I have revenged them. That is the Head of the infamous Ravager, who robbed us of our Honour.* The King was charmed with the Virtue and Courage of his Wife; and had a greater Affection and Esteem for her than ever. Did *Rome* ever produce a Heroine comparable to the generous *Gaul?* *Lucretia* indeed has been more celebrated; but was the Loss of her Honour repaired with as much Prudence, and Greatness of Soul, as that of *Chiomara?* But to return.

Year of ROME DLXIV. M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR, CN. MANLIUS VULSO, Consuls.

Livy, B. 38. c. 25.

§. XXXI. THE War with the *Galatians* was not yet finished. *Manlius* had subdued only the *Tolistoboji.* The united *Tectosagi* and *Trocmi* were yet untouched. Indeed the *Romans* were at the Gates of *Ancyra*, the Capital of *Galatia*; but the Remains of the Nation were on Mount *Magaba*, and were resolved to try all Means, both of Artifice, and open Force. Whilst the *Consul* was in the Plains of *Ancyra*, there came an Embassy to him from the *Tectosagi*, who intreated him to advance no farther, but put a Stop to all Hostilities, till a Peace should be concluded, which the whole Body of the *Galatians* would accept on what Terms he pleased. *Manlius* consented to appear at the Place appointed; but the *Galatians* were not there, and excused themselves under several Pretences. The *Consul* therefore returned to his Camp, and tho' invited to return to the Place of Conference the next Day, he excused himself, and sent only *Attalus*, with a Guard. There some Steps were taken towards a Peace; but because neither the *Consul*, nor the *Galatian* Kings were present, nothing was signed; the Conclusion of the Affair was postponed to the next Day. A Promise was made the Prince of *Pergamus*, that all the Kings of *Galatia* should appear at the first Conference, and put an End to the Affair. The *Tectosagi* affected these Delays to gain time. Whilst they were amusing the *Romans*, they removed their Wives and Children, and the best of their Effects, beyond the River *Halys*. And they had likewise a more important Point in View. They designed to surprize the *Consul*, and either seize, or kill him. *Manlius* was not suspicious. He came to the Place appointed with *Attalus*, at the Head of five hundred Horse, too inconsiderable a Number to secure him. And therefore the Officers of the *Roman* Army, who thought the Confidence of the *Consul* too great, ordered six hundred Horse more to be gathering Forage, near the Place where the *Consul* was to meet the Enemy; and this proved to be a very useful Precaution. The Enemy had posted a thousand of their best Troops in the Road *Manlius* was to take, to come to the Conference; and no sooner was he out of sight of the Army, but the *Galatian* Squadrons fell with great Impetuosity on his Guard. The *Consul* sustained this unforeseen Attack with Intrepidity. But at length, he was forced to give way to Numbers, and he retreated fighting, and in good Order. However, the Enemy pressed hard upon him, and began to surround his Detachment; and then these *Romans* had no Resource, but in Flight. It is said that several of them were killed on the Spot; and they would all have been cut in Pieces, if the *Roman* Forragers had not, upon hearing the Noise, immediately come up. Then both Parties were equal in Number, and the Success different. The Fugitives rallied, and fell on the Enemy with this Reinforcement of fresh Troops, which seemed to have come accidentally to their Assistance. The *Galatians* fled, and not one of them escaped. The *Romans* would not give any Quarter, or lose Time in making Prisoners. These perfidious Men were treated with the utmost Rigour, as Infringers of the Law of Nations, and their Defeat was entire. As for the *Consul*, it is easy to judge of his Resentment, after his Life had been in such imminent Danger. The more Gentleness he had shewn the Traitors, the more he thought they deserved Punishment. And therefore he prepared for a Battel without Delay, and came and posted himself at a little Distance from the Mountain which was the *Asylum* of the *Tectosagi*.

Polyb. in Legat. c. 34.

NEVERTHELESS, his Anger did not blind him. Before he began his Attack on Mount *Magaba*, he took two whole Days, to make his Observations: and he observed, That the Army of the *Tectosagi*, and *Trocmi*, was regularly formed on the Top of the Mountain which he must climb up; and That their main Body was flanked with two Wings. The first consisted of ten thousand Horse, which were dismounted, because of the Inequality of the Ground. In the second were four thousand

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M. Fulvius Nobilior, Cn. Manlius Vulso, Conſuls.

Liv. B. 38. *c.* 26.

thouſand Auxiliaries, which [103] *Ariarathes*, King of *Cappadocia*, and [104] *Morzes*, King of *Paphlagonia*, had ſent to aſſiſt the *Gauls*. According to this Diſpoſition therefore the *Roman* General divided his Troops into four Parts, as if he had been to ſtorm a Town. *Manlius* in Perſon, with two fourths of his Army, marched directly up the middle of the Mountain, and made Head againſt the main Body of the *Galatians*. The two other Columns of *Roman* Troops marched, one to the right, and the other to the left, in order to attack the Enemy's Wings. On all ſides, the heavy-armed Troops were preceded by the light-armed, who were furniſhed with vaſt Numbers of Darts of all ſorts. In that Particular, the firſt Onſet here was much the ſame as that of Mount *Olympus*; and it had the ſame Succeſs. A Shower of Darts was thrown at the *Gauls*; and none of them durſt leave his Rank, for fear of being wounded. On the contrary, they all cloſed their Ranks, and thereby expoſed themſelves the more to the *Roman* Darts. Then the uncertain Motions of the Enemy, made the *Conſul* believe, that if he ordered his *Legionaries* to advance, the *Gauls* would not be able to bear their Shouts, or Preſence. And therefore he ordered his light-armed Soldiers to fall into the Spaces in his *Legions*, and ſuffered only the Infantry, who were uſed to fight without ſtirring off their Ground, to fall on the Enemy. Then the *Tectoſagi* and *Trocmi* remembered the Defeat of the *Toliſtoboji*; and not being able to bear the Sight, or reſiſt the Swords of the *Legionaries*, who were climbing up towards them, they haſtened back to their Camp. Some indeed fled down thoſe Parts of the Hill, which the *Romans* had not ſeized. But the *Legionaries*, without amuſing themſelves with purſuing the moſt deſponding, ſtuck to thoſe only, who fled to their Tents; they were greedy of Plunder, and entered the Camp of the *Galatians*, mixed with them. Thus began the Rout of the main Body of the *Gauls*, which the *Conſul* oppoſed. However, the two Wings of the *Gauls* ſtill made a good Appearance. They were not attacked till laſt, becauſe they were the moſt difficult to be come at; but when they came to engage, they made leſs Reſiſtance, than the main Body. Upon the firſt Onſet they were put into Diſorder. And the *Conſul*, angry that he could not draw off thoſe of his Soldiers from the Plunder, whom he had himſelf led on to the Battel, ordered thoſe who vanquiſhed the two Wings to purſue the Enemy. But as earneſtly bent as they were upon Slaughter, they killed but eight thouſand of them. The reſt eſcaped by the Paths of the Mountain, croſſed the River *Halys*, and ſecured themſelves. As to the *Roman* Troops, one part of them ſpent the Night in the Enemy's Camp; the other returned to their own. They did not find any conſiderable Booty in the Camp of the *Galatians*, the Fugitives had removed their beſt Effects beyond the River. But in the Cities of *Galatia*, which were all plundered, the *Roman* Army found many valuable Spoils. The *Galatians* had been famous, ever ſince their Settlement, for their Robberies in all Countries of *Aſia*; and in theſe two Battels, they loſt all the immenſe Riches they had amaſſed together. In ſhort, being now reduced to their primitive Poverty, their Pride abated. Their Kings ſent a Deputation to *Manlius*'s Camp, to intreat him to give Law to them, and grant them a Peace upon his own Terms. But the *Conſul* was not inclined to continue long enough in that Country, to ſpend much time in Conferences with the Vanquiſhed. Autumn was far advanced, and it already began to be cold, at the Foot of the high Mountains of *Galatia*. He therefore ordered the *Galatians*, and other *Aſiatick* Nations, to ſend their Ambaſſadors to *Epheſus*, whither he led back his Troops. And nothing better ſhews the low State of theſe *Gauls*, and the Terror of all the Nations in *Aſia*, than the blind Obedience they paid the *Conſul*. Even after his Departure, the *Gauls* ſubmitted to ſend their Deputies to him, to obtain a Peace of him upon what Conditions he pleaſed.

MANLIUS no ſooner arrived at *Epheſus*, but Ambaſſadors came thither from almoſt all the Kings, free Cities, and petty Sovereign Princes, in *Aſia*. It was alſo expected, that the ten Commiſſioners appointed by the *Roman* Senate to

[103] *Ariarathes*, the fifth of that Name, of whom we have already ſpoken, was the Son of another *Ariarathes*, King of *Cappadocia*, and of *Stratonice* the Daughter of *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *The God*. He had married *Antiochis*, the Daughter of *Antiochus the Great*.

[104] *Strabo* ſpeaks of one *Morzes*, a King of *Paphlagonia*, who had made the City of *Gangra* the Capital of this Kingdom. And this Geographer adds, that this Monarchy ſubſiſted till the time of *Deiotarus Philadelphus*, who was the laſt King of this Country.

repreſent

represent the Republick, and settle the Affairs of the Country, would soon arrive there. Hence the great Numbers of *Asiaticks* that crowded to the *Consul* at *Ephesus*; and there were few of the Princes, or Cities, that sent their Deputies to him, which omitted to make him the usual Present. They laid a great Number of Crowns of Gold at his Feet; which was to shew their Satisfaction in his Expedition, and the Reduction of the *Galatians*. The Nations of *Greece*, and the Cities beyond Mount *Taurus*, received more Benefit from the Defeat of the *Tolistoboii* and *Tectosagi*, than from that of *Antiochus*. The Government of the King of *Syria* had been moderate. But the Incursions and Robberies of the *Gallo-Greeks* were intolerable. *Manlius* graciously received the sincere Congratulations of so many Nations; but was chiefly employed in giving Audience to the Ambassadors of the Chief of the Sovereigns. The first who was admitted into his Presence was *Musæus*, who came from *Antiochus*. This Ambassador told him, That his Master was ready to pay the two thousand five hundred *Talents* *, and the Corn with which he was obliged to furnish the *Roman* Armies for some Years; and *Manlius* answered, that he would soon set out for *Pamphylia*, and there receive the Tribute. The Envoys of *Ariarathes* were next introduced. This Prince was under great Uneasiness, on account of the Punishment he had deserved, for having assisted King *Antiochus* and the *Galatians*. Nevertheless, his Conduct in this Matter was very excusable. Could he, in Decency, withstand the Sollicitations of the King of *Syria* his Father-in-Law? And this Consideration affected the *Consul*. Though the King of *Cappadocia* was rich and powerful, *Manlius* demanded of him only two hundred † *Talents*. At length the Ambassadors of the *Gallo-Greeks* appeared as Supplicants; and the *Consul* took Pleasure in letting them languish in Uncertainty, what their Fate would be. He gave them only this short Answer. *We shall not determine what is to be done in your Affair, till King* Eumenes *is returned from* Rome. This Prince had tarried there during the whole Campaign that *Manlius* had made in *Galatia*. But at length he returned to *Ephesus*, with the ten Commissioners, appointed by the *Romans* to dispose absolutely and finally, of the several Conquests which the Republick had made in *Asia*. And by them *Manlius* received an Account from *Rome*, of the State of Affairs in the Capital.

Year of ROME DLXIV.
M. Fulvius Nobilior, Cn. Manlius Vulso, Consuls.
Polyb. in Legat. c. 35.
* 48437 *l. Sterling. Arbuthnot.*
† 3875 *l. Sterling. Arbuthnot.*

§. XXXII. As the War with the *Gauls* in *Asia* was just finished, a new War was going to be begun with the *Gauls* in *Italy*, and the *Ligures*. The latter, notwithstanding the Peace, had assassinated a *Roman Prætor*, who thought himself safe in their Dominions. *L. Bæbius* was the *Prætor*'s Name. After the last Elections, the Government of *Further Spain* had fallen to his Lot. He was going to take Possession of his Province, carrying with him a thousand *Legionaries*, fifty *Roman Knights*, six thousand Auxiliary Foot, and two hundred Horse. These were to reinforce the *Roman* Armies in *Spain*; but the *Ligures* opposed his March. As these Troops were passing very peaceably through their Country, these treacherous People surrounded them, fell upon them, killed a good Number of them, and dangerously wounded the *Prætor*. *Bæbius* escaped with Difficulty out of the Battel; got to *Marseilles* without Guards, or *Lictors*; there expired at the end of three Days; and his Death was a just Cause for a new War for his Republick. The Senate filled up his Place, and nominated *D. Junius Brutus*, to command in his room in *Further Spain*, in quality of *Pro-Consul*. The *Spaniards* still persevered in their Revolt; and the Success was often doubtful between them and the *Romans*. The last Year *Æmilius Paulus* had been shamefully beaten by the *Lusitanians*; but he had very lately recovered his Credit. He had beaten the *Lusitanians* in a pitched Battel, killed eighteen thousand of them on the Spot, and made three thousand three hundred Prisoners of War. By this Succession of good and bad Success, *Æmilius Paulus* was formed to be one of the greatest Generals in the Republick. By his last Victory he had in some Measure restored Tranquillity in *Spain*.

Livy, B. 57. *c.* 57.

But these were not the only Advices the ten Commissioners, and King *Eumenes*, brought from *Italy* to *Ephesus*. They brought *Manlius* another piece of News, which touch more nearly affected him. The Elections had been made at *Rome*. His Colleague *M. Fulvius* had been recalled from *Greece*, to preside in them. The

Year of ROME DLXV.

M. VALERIUS MESSALA, C. LIVIUS SALINATOR, Conſuls.

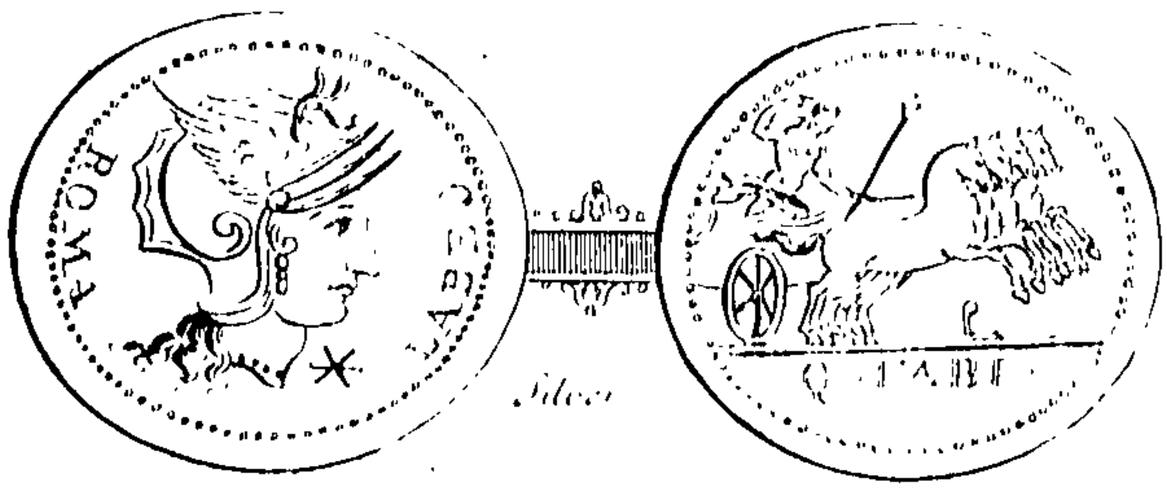
Centuries had promoted *M. Valerius Meſſala*, and *C. Livius Salinator* to the Conſulate, and had excluded *L. Æmilius Lepidus*. And what gave *Manlius* Pleaſure was, that they had continued him, in his Province in *Aſia*, for another Year, in quality of *Pro-Conſul*. Beſides, the Republick had alſo continued *Fulvius* in his Province, in *Greece*. Theſe Appointments detained the new *Conſuls* in *Italy*. Beſides, the War with the *Gauls* and *Ligures* ſeemed ready to break out again. It was therefore determined by Lot, that *Meſſala* ſhould go and reſide at *Piſa*, to watch the *Ligures*; whilſt *Salinator* marched an Army to *Ciſalpine Gaul*, to keep the Natives there to their Duty. So that neither of the Commiſſions of the *Conſuls* could procure them much Glory; whilſt thoſe of the two *Pro-Conſuls* in the *Levant* gave them more Luſtre.

§. XXXIII. AFTER the Election of *Meſſala* and *Salinator*, and before they entered upon the Exerciſe of their Office, *Rome* applied herſelf wholly to Works of Religion, Juſtice, and Policy. In the Temple of *Hercules*, a Statue was erected to this Demi-God: *Scipio Africanus* made a Preſent to *Jupiter Capitolinus* of a Chariot, drawn by ſix Horſes; and the *Curule Ædiles* hung up in his Temple twelve Bucklers of Braſs. They were bought by the Fines, levied upon the Corn-Merchants, who, out of Covetouſneſs, had raiſed the Price of Bread. One of theſe Uſurers, was condemned ſeparately to pay as much Money, as would purchaſe two Braſs Statues gilt. The Fines raiſed at *Rome*, were then wholly applied to the Service of the Gods, and the Decoration of their Temples. To which we muſt add, that by a Decree of the *Decemviri*, all the Temples were now opened, and frequented by the People, for three Days; in order to avert the ill Effects of certain Prognoſticks, whether true or falſe, which the credulous People had turned into Miracles.

Livy, B. 38. c. 36.

AFTER theſe Decrees concerning the publick Worſhip, ſome political Regulations were made. It was ordered, That for the future, the *Roman Citizens* tranſplanted into *Campania*, who had no particular *Cenſors* of their own, ſhould be included in the *Cenſus* of the Inhabitants of *Rome*. They were alſo ſuffered to marry *Roman* Women, and their Children were to be deemed *Romans*. By another Decree of the People, made at the Motion of *Valerius Tappa*, their *Tribune*, the Right of Suffrage in the *Comitia* was granted to the Inhabitants of *Formiæ*, *Fundi*, and *Arpi*. Theſe *Municipia* had till that time, only the bare Right of *Citizenſhip*, without any Votes at all in the Aſſemblies of the People. But now, thoſe of *Formiæ* and *Fundi* were incorporated into *The Æmilian Tribe*, and thoſe of *Arpi* into *The Cornelian*. This was a neceſſary Formality, in order to their enjoying a Right of Suffrage. And almoſt at the ſame time, the *Cenſor*, *Claudius Marcellus*, preſided at a new *Cenſus* of the People. This Preference before his Collegue *Flamininus* fell to him by Lot. In this Enumeration of the *Roman Citizens* fit to bear Arms, there were reckoned up two hundred fifty eight thouſand three hundred and twenty eight. This was reckoned to be the forty eighth *Luſtrum* ſince their Inſtitution. And before the *Conſuls* ſet out for their Provinces, they aſſiſted at ſeveral Shows. The *Curule Ædiles* cauſed *The Roman Games* to be preſented no leſs than three times; and the *Plebeian Ædiles* entertained the People with other *Games*, no leſs than five times.

BUT nothing made a finer Sight, than the naval [105] Triumph of *Q. Fabius Labeo*. This *Prætor* had been appointed the laſt Year to command the *Roman* Fleet on the



[105] The Triumph of *Quintus Fabius Labeo*, is atteſted by a Silver Medal. The *Prow* of the Ship on the Reverſe, points out the Naval Expedition, which this General undertook againſt the Iſland of *Crete*, and performed to the Advantage of his Re- publick.

Coaſts

Coasts of the *Levant*. He had convoyed the *Conſul Manlius*, to *Epheſus*: And there found, that he had nothing to do. The Peace was concluded with *Antiochus*; and the *Conſul* was going to carry on the War in the inland-Countries. That therefore he might not continue idle, he ſailed towards the Iſland of *Crete*, where he thought he might employ his Fleet, to the Advantage of his Republick. Ever ſince the Wars with *Philip*, *Antiochus*, and the *Ætolians*, almoſt all the Priſoners that were taken from the *Romans*, had been ſold to the *Cretans*; and to deliver ſo many unfortunate Men from Slavery, was a Deſign worthy of the Generoſity of a *Roman*. *Labeo* had therefore appeared off *Crete*, and filled it with Terror. The Iſlanders, without his fighting a Battel, or offering them any Violence, upon his bare Summons, put into his Hands four thouſand *Romans* and *Latins*; and *Labeo* conducted them back to *Italy*, and demanded a Triumph. The Motion was new. The Admiral had neither fought any Fleet, or taken any City. Nay, he had not found any Enemies to oppoſe him. Some of *The Tribunes of the People* therefore oppoſed the granting his Requeſt; but the Senate were too equitable to deny it. They thought that *Labeo* had done the Republick as much Service, by delivering a Multitude of faithful Subjects out of Captivity, as if he had covered the Ground with the dead Bodies of many Enemies. There was nothing magnificent, but ſomething very affecting, in his Proceſſion. The four thouſand Captives which were reſtored to their Country, followed the triumphal Chariot, wearing *Pilei*, as Marks of their obtaining their Freedom, and making the Air reſound with their Shouts. The Proof of this Triumph, is the Medal, on which the Memory of it is conveyed to us. The Reverſe is a *Jupiter* in a Chariot, holding a Thunderbolt in his Hand, and under him, the *Prow* of a Ship. Nothing could be a more proper Repreſentation of the Conqueſt of *Crete*, where, according to Fable, this God had been brought up.

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§. XXXIV. THE *Conſuls* were preſent at all theſe Shows, and then ſet out, each for his Province. And one Hiſtorian ſurprizes us, with an Account of a conſiderable Event, which ought to immortalize the *Conſulſhip* of *Meſſala* and *Salinator*. In the Campaign they made, ſays this ancient Author, one in *Liguria*, the other in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, they drove all the *Gauls* beyond the *Alpes*. But the Silence of other Writers, and the Courſe of the Hiſtory, makes us at leaſt ſuſpect the Truth of this Fact. And therefore we rather chooſe to ſay with *Livy*; that in *Italy*, the preſent Year produced no conſiderable Exploits. So that our Attention muſt now be fixed wholly on *Greece* and *Aſia*. We will begin with what *Fulvius* did after his return from *Rome*, to govern *Greece* in quality of *Pro-Conſul*.

IN the Treaty he had concluded with the *Ætolians*, he had excepted the Iſland of *Cephallenia*. He had in his *Conſulſhip* eſtabliſhed all the other free Cities of the Continent in their ancient Freedom. But the Caſe was otherwiſe as to *Cephallenia*. *Fulvius* had a Deſign to conquer it, and add it to the *Demeſns* of the Republick. He therefore carried over his Troops thither, and ſummoned all the Cities and Towns in the Iſland to ſurrender to the *Romans*; and Fear made the *Cephallenians* tractable. They gave Hoſtages, and the Iſland ſeemed to be entirely reduced. But in the mean time, the Inhabitants of [106] *Sama* were ſeized with a ſudden Panick, which made them fall off from the *Romans*. Their City being the moſt advantageouſly ſituated of any in the Iſland, they fancied they ſhould be driven from their Country, as ſoon as the *Romans* got Poſſeſſion of it. Perhaps ſome *Roman* had dropped this Deſign in Converſation. But be that as it will, the Inhabitants of *Sama* choſe rather to ſuſtain a Siege, than to be condemned to Baniſhment, after a voluntary Surrender. They had already given their Hoſtages; but they ſacrificed them to the Common-Good, and ſhut their Gates againſt the *Roman* Army. *Fulvius* in vain ſhewed them at the Foot of their Walls, thoſe of their fellow-Citizens and Relations, which they had delivered up to the *Romans*, in order to raiſe their Compaſſion. The Death or Slavery which awaited

[106] *Sama* was the chief City in the Iſland of *Cephallenia*. *Strabo* mentions it, as well as three other Cities, which were formerly in being there. But he ſays, that in his time, there were only two left. Nevertheleſs, *Pliny* ſays, that there were three, which continued to be inhabited in his time; and adds, that only the Ruins of *Sama* were then remaining, ſince it had been deſtroyed by the *Romans*. *Pliny* alſo makes this City a different Iſland from *Cephallenia*; and *Thucydides* ſeems to have been of the ſame Opinion. Nevertheleſs, it is certain, that *Sama* was only a part of the Iſland of *Cephallenia*. This City ſtood in the Place which the *Italians* now call *Porto Guiſcardo*.

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theſe Hoſtages, did not move the *Samans*. They prepared to ſuſtain the Attacks of a *Conſular* Army. *Fulvius* brought before the Place all the Machines of War, which he had employed in the Siege of *Ambracia*; and the Walls were battered with *Rams*, in two Places. The Beſieged were animated with a Deſire of preſerving the Liberty of their Country, and they thought nothing difficult, which was neceſſary to that end. If one part of the Wall was battered down, another was immediately built behind the Breach. The Beſieged often made Sallies, ſometimes to repulſe Attacks, and ſometimes to deſtroy the Machines of the Beſiegers. And the *Samans* had almoſt always the Advantage in theſe ſeveral Battels. Inſomuch, that his Loſſes and Fatigues almoſt diſcouraged *Fulvius*. But at length he found out a new Method of attacking; which indeed ſeemed inconſiderable, but it produced the Reduction of the City. He knew that the Inhabitants of [107] *Ægium*, and ſome other neighbouring Cities, were uſed to ſling the little round Flints, which were found on the Sea-ſhore. Theſe *Greeks* had made this Exerciſe their Diverſion from their Youth, and had the Reputation of being better Slingers, than any in the *Baleares* Iſlands. *Fulvius* therefore ſent for a hundred of them to reinforce his Army. A few in Number indeed; but enough to drive back the *Samans* behind their Walls, whenever they ventured to make a Sally. Theſe Slingers threw their Flints ſo dexterouſly, that the Beſieged could not raiſe their Heads above the Parapet, without being wounded. They were ſometimes heard to ſay, on the Tops of the Rampart; *If the* Ægians *would let us alone, we ſhould manage the* Romans *eaſily enough*. Nevertheleſs, the Siege laſted four Months; and then the *Romans* ſcaled the Walls at an Eminence, which overlooked the Sea, and penetrated into the Heart of the City. The *Samans*, with their Wives and Children, retired into the Citadel, and deſired to capitulate. But *Fulvius* forced them to ſurrender at Diſcretion, ſold them to the beſt Bidder, and they were all reduced to Slavery.

And ever after the taking of *Cephallenia*, *Greece* had only an Appearance of Liberty. When this Iſland was become *Roman*, it opened a Way for the *Legions* into *Peloponneſus*, which was only divided from it, by a ſmall Arm of the Sea, about twenty four Miles over. *Fulvius* had made himſelf Maſter of *Cephallenia*, during his *Conſulſhip*; and now that he was only *Pro-Conſul*, he made it his Place of Reſidence, and from thence gave Laws to all *Greece*. All Diſputes that aroſe between any of the *Greek* Cities, or Republicks, were brought to the *Pro-Conſul*'s Tribunal; and *Fulvius* was ſole Arbiter of them. Under the Character of a Peace-maker, he was in reality the Sovereign of the Country. A Difference aroſe in *Achaia*, concerning the Places where the National Diets ſhould aſſemble for the future. The immemorial Cuſtom had been for them to aſſemble at *Ægium*, a City which had been preferred for its Ancientneſs and Situation. *Philopœmenes* was then the ſupreme Magiſtrate in *Achaia*, and his Deſign was, to divide the Honour and Advantages, that thoſe Aſſemblies brought to the Places where they were held, between all the Cities in the Country. But when *Philopœmenes* was ready to have made this Regulation, he found an Oppoſition made to it by the chief Men in ſome Cities. Theſe inſiſted, that the Diet ſhould be aſſembled at *Ægium*, according to Cuſtom. Whereas *Philopœmenes* had named *Argi*, for the Place of the next Diet. Upon Information of this, *Fulvius* came into *Peloponneſus*; and the Diſpute was referred to his Determination. He therefore came to *Argi*, where moſt of the Deputies were already aſſembled. Nevertheleſs, though he inclined to favour the *Ægians*, after he had heard both Parties, he would not pronounce. It was enough for him to ſhew, that *Rome* had an abſolute Authority in *Greece*.

§. XXXV. But *Fulvius* thought the Diſpute between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achaians* of more Conſequence. Since the Defeat of the former, *Flamininus* had given all the Places on the Coaſt of *Laconia* to the latter. The Perſons of Diſtinction, whom the Tyrants had driven out of *Lacedæmon*, returned thither; and there enjoyed their Repoſe, under the Protection of *Achaia*. But at length the *Lacedæmonians* were out of all Patience, to ſee themſelves deprived of thoſe Sea-

107 We have already ſpoken of *Ægium*, a City ſituated on the Coaſt of *The Gulph of Corinth*, between *Patræ* and *Sicyon*. It is now called *Voſtiza*.

Ports,

Ports, which formerly had belonged to them; and were very uneasy not to have one single maritime City, from whence they could send their Ambassadors to *Rome*, or to which they could bring any Traders. To deliver themselves therefore from this Slavery, they attacked in the Night, a little City on the Coast named [108] *Las*; but the Attempt was unsuccessful. The Townsmen of the Place, and the *Lacedæmonian* Exiles, took up Arms, and repulsed the Aggressors. In the mean time, upon the Noise, that this vile Attempt made in the Country, all the Cities and Towns brought their Complaints to the Council of the *Achaians*. *Philopœmenes* was the President of it; and he had always had a Design to humble the Pride of the *Lacedæmonians*. Besides, he was an avowed Friend and Protector of the *Lacedæmonian* Exiles. He therefore represented to the Diet, that the nocturnal Attack of the Inhabitants of *Las*, was an open Attempt upon all *Achaia*. *It is to us*, said he, *that* Titus Flamininus *committed the Care of guarding the Sea-Coast which has been attacked. And it is our Business to revenge the Injury. Let us demand of the* Lacedæmonians, *that they deliver up to us the Authors and Promoters of the Enterprize, by way of Satisfaction.* Accordingly the Decree passed, agreeably to *Philopœmenes*'s Motion. An Embassy was sent from *Achaia* to *Lacedæmon*; but this served only to exasperate the Minds of a proud People. They would instantly have taken up Arms, if their Strength had been equal to their Pride. What the *Lacedæmonians* most resented, was the Authority and Power the *Achaians* assumed over them. *What will they not venture upon hereafter*, said they, *if we suffer their first Attempt on our Liberty, to escape unpunished? Shall we sit still, till* Philopœmenes *has restored the Exiles he protects; and the* Achæans, *by his Interposition, are become Masters of our Deliberations!* These Discourses, sown among the People, irritated the *Lacedæmonians* against *Achaia*. The latter indeed was well known to have Friends among the former; and thirty of them being discovered, they were sacrificed to the publick Resentment. This was done to renounce the Alliance, and break the Peace. A violent Step indeed; and such a one as could not be maintained, without the Interposal of the *Romans*, and the Assistance of *Fulvius*. The *Lacedæmonians* therefore sent Deputies to *Cephallenia*, where the *Consul* was then residing; and were so strangely inconsiderate in their Resentment, that they gave up their own Liberty, out of Hatred to *Achaia*. They offered *Fulvius* to surrender themselves up to him, and become Subjects to his Republick; and entreated the *Consul* to come and take Possession of their City. Nevertheless, these Proceedings at *Lacedæmon* did not surprise the *Achæans*. Notwithstanding the powerful Protection this mad City was gone to implore at *Cephallenia*, *Philopœmenes* thought it necessary to declare War with *Lacedæmon*; and it would have been immediately declared, if the Season had not been so far advanced. But the *Achaians* contented themselves with only committing some Hostilities during the Winter, and harrassing the *Lacedæmonians* with Incursions.

AT the return of the Spring, the two Enemy-Republicks made all Preparations for War. The Disputes ran so high, that they forced *Fulvius* to leave *Cephallenia*, and come into *Peloponnesus*. However, he did not forget his Character of Peacemaker; and ordered an Assembly to be held at *Elis*, there to discuss the Pretensions of *Achaia*, over *Lacedæmon*. And never was Cause pleaded with more Animosity. The *Greeks* are naturally captious and subtle; and all kinds of Evasions and Chicanery, and all the Arts of Eloquence, were practised by both Parties. Whence it is easy to judge of the Perplexity of *Fulvius*, when he came to pronounce. He used all means to appease their Minds, and effect an hearty Reconciliation; but they were too untractable to come to any Accommodation. The Mediator therefore had nothing to do but to order both Parties to send Ambassadors to *Rome*; to have the Cause tried in the Senate; and to suspend all Hostilities, till the Decision of the Affair. Thus *Rome* ordered the Causes, even of the Nations she had set at Liberty, to be brought before her Tribunal. She had only enfranchised them, in order to enslave them. The Deputies of *Greece* set out, and with them some Agents for the *Lacedæmonian* Exiles. The Embassy from *Achaia* consisted of only two Great Men, who had often been of different Opinions, as

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[108] *Las* was a Town, or at least a little City, situated on *The Laconic Gulph*, South of *Sparta*. The *Lacedæmonians* borrowed its Name from the *Greek* Word Λᾶας; because it stood in a *stony* Soil, and a Country full of Rocks.

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to the Affairs of the Republick. One was *Diophanes*, a Man of Moderation, and of a tractable Diſpoſition. The other was *Lycortas*, the Father of *Polybius* the Hiſtorian; a Man entirely devoted to *Philopœmenes*. *Diophanes* referred the Intereſts of *Achaia* to the Arbitration of the Senate. *Lycortas* maintained the Decree of *Philopœmenes*; and pretended that *Rome* could not diſannul it, without deſtroying the Regulations of *Flamininus*. *The Sea Coaſt of* Laconia, ſaid he, *was committed to our Care. The Peace was broken there; and it was our Buſineſs to puniſh thoſe who broke it.* Rome *cannot declare herſelf againſt us, without being guilty of ſuch Inconſtancy, as is unworthy of the Dignity of her Senate.* Indeed, Appearances favoured *Lycortas*; but *Lacedæmon* deſerved ſome Regard. The *Conſcript Fathers* therefore paſſed a very ambiguous Decree, which each Party interpreted in their own Favour, and which gave riſe to new Hoſtilities. The *Achæans* made this their Pretence for attacking the *Lacedæmonians* with Vigour. *Philopœmenes* immediately led the *Achæan* Troops within reach of *Lacedæmon*; ſent from his Camp to ſummons the City to deliver up to him the Authors of the Attempt upon *Las*; and promiſed that he would not condemn them till they had been heard. Upon theſe Promiſes, all thoſe, whom *Philopœmenes* demanded by Name, offered voluntarily to give an Account of their Conduct, to the Chief of *Achaia*. They thought this Sacrifice neceſſary for the publick Good: and therefore went to the *Achæan* Camp, accompanied by Men of Diſtinction, who were able to give them Protection and Advice. But theſe unfortunate Men knew not, That they ſhould find there the Exiles of their City, and That theſe Men would prove their implacable Enemies. As ſoon as the *Lacedæmonians* were got within the Verge of the *Achæan* Camp, their Malecontent Countrymen crowded round them, and received them with Hiſſes and Reproaches. Nay from Words, they immediately came to Blows; and the *Achæan* Officers were forced to exert all their Authority to appeaſe the Tumult. And this Calm did not laſt long. As the Exiles ſtill kept complaining of their hard Treatment, they engaged *Philopœmenes*'s Soldiers in their Quarrel; and one of them cried out *Kill, Kill.* At which Words a Shower of Stones was thrown at the unfortunate *Lacedæmonian* Deputies, and ſeventeen of them were murdered. The reſt were produced before the Multitude, who condemned them, almoſt without hearing their Defence; and this rigorous Act of *Philopœmenes*, how unjuſt ſoever, anſwered his End. His Point in view was to humble *Lacedæmon*; and he did ſo, even beyond his Wiſhes. The *Lacedæmonians* were ſeized with Terror and Dejection; and never were People ſo ſervilely ſubmiſſive. The *Achæan* ordered them to demoliſh their Walls, ſend Home all their Mercenaries, drive out of their City that vaſt Number of Slaves to whom the old Tyrants had given the Right of Citizenſhip, receive the Exiles, and laſtly, renounce the Laws of *Lycurgus*, and for the future, govern themſelves only by thoſe of *Achaia*: And the Cowards obeyed. They readily demoliſhed the Walls of their native City. But did not ſo readily receive the Exiles. A Decree was forced to be paſſed by an Aſſembly of *Achaians*, at *Tegæum*, to force them to it. *Philopœmenes* alſo drew ſome uſeful Advantages from the Submiſſion of *Lacedæmon*. He ordered thoſe Slaves, who were formerly Citizens, to be ſought out in the Country, and ſold them. And with the Money ariſing from the Sale of them a Portico, which the *Lacedæmonians* had deſtroyed at *Megalopolis*, was rebuilt. Such [109] was the Fate of one of the moſt illuſtrious Cities of *Greece*. She had been Miſtreſs, but now was enſlaved to the *Achæans*. The moſt deadly Wound ſhe received, was the Abolition of the Laws of the wiſe *Lycurgus*. As ſevere as they were, the *Lacedæmonians* obſerved them about ſeven hundred Years. *Achaia* diſannulled them; but it was the *Roman* Policy that utterly deſtroyed them. *Fulvius* could not prevent the Conſequences of an ambiguous Decree. *Livy* indeed has placed all theſe Events in the *Conſulſhip* of *Fulvius*; but it is more probable, that ſome of them at leaſt, did not happen till his *Pro-Conſulſhip*; and therefore we have placed them here.

109 *Livy* adds, that the *Lacedæmonians* were forced to reſtore to the Inhabitants of *Megalopolis*, the Territory of *Belbinites*, which the Tyrants of *Lacedæmon* had unjuſtly uſurped. This Canton was ſo called from the Name of the City of *Belbina*, which was in *Laconia*, near the River *Eurotas*.

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§. XXXVI. As for *Manlius*, he now governed *Aſia* in quality of *Pro-Conſul*, with as much Prudence, as he had ſhewn Bravery, in ſubduing the *Gallo-Greeks*, when *Conſul*. As ſoon as good Weather would ſuffer him to take the Field, he offered expiatory Sacrifices for his Army, left *Epheſus*, and in eight Days march, arrived at *Apamea*. There the *Pro-Conſul* halted, three Days only; and then proceeded to enter *Pamphylia*; where he received the two thouſand five hundred *Talents*, and the Corn which *Antiochus* had promiſed the *Romans*. The latter was immediately diſtributed among the Troops, and the Money ſent to *Apamea*. The *Pro-Conſul* had one Expedition to carry on in *Pamphylia*. The City of [110] *Perga* was ſtill under the Dominion of *Antiochus*. The Governor had not yet evacuated it; which was contrary to the Treaty of Peace. In order therefore to force the Garriſon to leave it, *Manlius* advanced towards it, with his Troops. Upon which the *Syrian* Officer came to meet the *Pro-Conſul*, excuſed himſelf by ſaying he had not yet received his Maſter's Orders to deliver up *Perga*, and had thirty Days more allowed him for it. This was time enough for him to ſend to the Court, where *Antiochus* was ſpending the Remainder of his Days, under greater Concern, how to guard againſt Death, than how to maintain Quarrels; and *Perga* was ſet at Liberty, at the time appointed. The *Conſul* alſo made all the petty Sovereigns in the Country, pay the Taxes that had been impoſed on them. And during theſe Tranſactions, *Manlius* received the News, That the ten Commiſſioners ſent by the Republick to regulate Affairs there, were at length landed at *Epheſus*; and That King *Eumenes* alſo was arrived with them. Upon this Report the *Conſul* returned to *Apamea*, whither the Commiſſioners came; and there they all together put the laſt Hand to the Treaty which was brought from *Rome*, with the Alterations and Additions which the Senate had made in it. And this being a very material Part of Hiſtory, we ſhall give it the Reader at full Length, juſt as ſeveral Authors have tranſmitted it to us. It was this.

Polyb. in Legat. N. 35.

App. in Syriac. N. 112. *Polyb. Loco citato. Liv. B.* 38. *c.* 38.

Peace and Friendſhip ſhall be eſtabliſhed between the Roman *Republick, and* Antiochus *King of* Syria, *on the following Conditions.*

1. *The King ſhall not ſuffer any Army, of any Enemy to the* Roman *People, or their Allies, to paſs through his Territories; neither ſhall* Rome, *or her Allies, ſuffer any Army to paſs through their Territories, to make War on* Antiochus.

2. *The King of* Syria *ſhall have no Right to extend his Conqueſts to the Iſlands near* Aſia; *and he ſhall renounce all his Pretenſions to* Europe.

3. Antiochus *ſhall withdraw his Troops from all the Cities, Towns, and Caſtles, on this ſide Mount* Taurus, *as far as to the River* [111] Halys; *and out of all the Plain, which ſeparates* Pamphylia *from* Lycia *on one ſide, and from* Lycaonia *on the other.*

4. *When the* Syrian *Troops evacuate any Place, they ſhall not carry the Machines of War with them; and if they have done ſo in any Caſe, they ſhall reſtore them.*

5. Antiochus *ſhall not receive or harbour in his Dominions, any Fugitive of the Kingdom of* Eumenes.

6. *The Inhabitants of the Cities given up by the King of* Syria, *ſhall not continue in* Syria, *but repair to* Apamea *on a Day appointed, to be ſent Home to their native Countries.*

7. *But the* Syrians, *who have a mind to continue in the* Roman *Cities, or in thoſe of the Allies of* Rome, *ſhall be ſuffered to do ſo, without Moleſtation.*

8. Antiochus *ſhall, if it be in his Power, deliver up into the Hands of the* Pro-Conſul, Hannibal *the* Carthaginian, *and Son of* Hamilcar, Mneſilochus *the* Acarnanian, Thoas *the* Ætolian, Eubulis *and* Philo *two* Chalcidians, *and all Perſons who have enjoyed any Magiſtracy in* Ætolia.

9. *The King of* Syria *ſhall deliver up all his Elephants to the* Romans, *and train up no more of them for War.*

[110] *Perga*, a City ſituated on the Banks of the *Cestrus*, is now almoſt buried in its Ruins. The Remains of it are yet called *De Pirgi*.

[111] In moſt of the Copies of *Livy*, the River *Tanais* was put for the River *Halys*. The former divides *Aſia* from *Europe*, and falls into *The Palus Mœotis*; and neither the *Romans* nor *Antiochus* had then any Quarrels with the Nations in that Neighbourhood, which was at a great Diſtance, from the Provinces of *Aſia Minor*.

10. *He*

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10. *He ſhall put the* Romans *in Poſſeſſion of all his armed Gallies; ſhall have no more than ten Ships at Sea, which ſhall only be of thirty Oars; and ſhall not ſail beyond the* Promontories *of* [112] Calycadnus, *and* Sarpedon, *unleſs it be to bring to* Rome *Money, Ambaſſadors, or Hoſtages.*

11. Antiochus *ſhall not raiſe Mercenaries in the* Roman *Countries, or receive the Voluntiers, which ſhall offer to ſerve him.*

12. *The Houſes and other Buildings, which were built, before this Treaty, by the* Rhodians, *or other Allies of* Rome, *in the* Syrian *Territories, ſhall ſtill belong to the* Rhodians, *or thoſe other Allies who built them.*

13. *Both Parties ſhall be at Liberty to demand the Money that ſhall be reſpectively due, and to demand the Reſtitution of any thing that has been taken from them.*

14. *They, to whom* Antiochus *has given the Poſſeſſion of any Cities, ſhall evacuate them, and put them into the Hands of their old Poſſeſſors.*

15. Antiochus *ſhall pay the* Romans *for twelve Years, the annual Sum of a thouſand* * Talents [113], *of the pureſt Silver, ſuch as that of* Athens; *and a hundred and forty thouſand* ‡ Modii [114], *of the beſt Wheat.*

16. *He ſhall pay King* Eumenes, *in the Space of five Years, three hundred and fifty* Talents; *and a hundred and twenty ſeven* Talents *more, by way of Satisfaction for the Corn he received from* Attalus.

17. Antiochus *ſhall put into the Hands of the* Romans *twenty Hoſtages, of whom his Son* Antiochus *to be one; ſhall change them all, except his Son, every three Years; and theſe Hoſtages ſhall all be between eighteen and forty five Years of Age.*

18. *If he is defective in the Sums he is to pay annually, or brings any bad Money, he ſhall make Satisfaction the next Year.*

Livy, ibid.

19. *If any of the Allies make War on King* Antiochus, *he ſhall have a Right to defend himſelf; but he ſhall not keep any of their Cities to himſelf, as his right of Conqueſt; or take them into Friendſhip with him; or draw them from them by Corruption. The Diſpute ſhall be determined by pitched Battels.*

20. *If either Party ſhall be inclined to add any further Articles to theſe, it may be done by mutual Conſent.*

* 258333 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d. Arbuthnot.*
‡ 35000 *English Buſhels.*

NOTHING now remained but to ratify the Treaty by religious Ceremonies, and to begin to put it in execution. The *Pro-Conſul* took the uſual Oath of the *Romans*; that is, he ſtruck a Sow on the Head with a Flint, and ſacrificed it. Then *Q. Minucius Thermus*, one of the ten Commiſſioners, and *L. Manlius*, the *Pro-Conſul*'s Brother, were diſpatched to the Court of *Syria*; where they made *Antiochus* ſwear, that he would inviolably obſerve the twenty Articles. They were engraven on Braſs, and a Copy of them tranſmitted to *Rome*, to be put up in the *Capitol*. The *Syrian* Fleet was then in the Port of *Patara*. *Fulvius Labeo* therefore went thither on board the *Roman* Gallies, and beat in pieces, or burnt all *Antiochus*'s Ships, according to the Conventions. The *Romans* choſe to give the maritime Nations this Example of Severity, rather than apply the Spoils of the Navy of the unfortunate *Antiochus* to their own Uſe. And they [115] affected to ſhew the ſame Diſintereſtedneſs, with reſpect to the King of *Syria*'s Elephants. They made a Preſent of them to the King of *Pergamus*. Nay, *Manlius* did ſomething more in favour of *Eumenes*. *Ariarathes*, the King of *Cappadocia*, had lately married the Daughter of the *Pergamian*; and in Conſideration of this Marriage, the *Pro-Conſul* received *Ariarathes* into the Friendſhip of the *Roman* People, remitted him half the Tribute he ought to have paid, and forgave him his former

112 The Promontory of *Calycadnus*, or Cape *Zephyrium*, as *Strabo* and *Ptolomy* call it, ſtood at the Mouth of a River of *Cilicia*, called alſo *Calycadnus*. It runs into the Sea; and near it is the Promontory of *Sarpedon*. The River is now called *Saleſo*, according to *Niger*; and *Fiume del Ferro*, by the *Italians*.

* 258 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d Sterl. Arbuth.*
† 3100000 *l.* 4 *s.* 0 *d. Arb.*

113 The Senate alſo required, that each of theſe twelve thouſand *Talents* ſhould weigh eighty Pounds. The Weight of the *Attick Talent* was but ſixty Pounds. So that the Overplus of twenty Pounds *per Talent*, made a conſiderable Difference. At this Rate, the *Talent* of eighty Pounds contained eight thouſand *Attick Drachmæ* *, or four thouſand *Franks*; and the twelve thouſand *Talents* amount in *French* Money †, to ninety ſix Millions of *Livres*.

114 In order to know how much the *Roman Modius* contained, ſee what we have obſerved of the *Roman* Meaſures, *Vol.* 2.

115 According to *Livy*, *Telmiſſum*, a maritime City of *Lycia*, was ſo terrified at the Sight of the *Roman* Fleet, that ſhe prevented the Conqueror, by a voluntary Surrender.

Hoſtilities againſt *Rome*. So that, the *Pergamian* was as amply rewarded for having aſſiſted the *Romans*, as the *Syrian* was ſeverely puniſhed for having drawn them upon him. The one became a powerful Monarch; the other loſt the beſt part of his Dominions. But the unfortunate *Antiochus* did not long ſurvive his Fall. He died, after a Reign of thirty ſeven Years, ſunk as low into Contempt towards the End of his Days, as he had appeared great, in the Beginning of them. The Prophet *Daniel* had beforehand foretold, *c.* xii. both his great Exploits, and his Misfortunes. It is ſurpriſing, that the prophane Hiſtorians have given us no certain Account of the manner of his Death. And as for the Sacred Books, all they ſay of it is, *That he ſhall turn his Face towards the Fort of his own Land; but he ſhall ſtumble, and fall, and not be found.* St. *Jerom* thought, upon the Teſtimony of *Strabo*, That *Antiochus the Great*, turned his Arms againſt the Country of the *Elymæans* [116]; That he would have plundered the Temple of *Belus* there; and That thoſe Barbarians ſurrounded him, and killed him. But does not this Account agree better with *Antiochus Epiphanes*, than *Antiochus the Great?* One of the *Latin* Hiſtorians gives a very different Account of his Death, from this of St. *Jerom*. According to him, *Antiochus*, after his Retreat beyond Mount *Taurus*, gave himſelf up to Debauches; and was killed at an Entertainment, where, in the Heat of his Wine, he ſtruck ſome of the Gueſts. The Difference of theſe Accounts have therefore made the wiſeſt of the *Greek* and *Latin* Hiſtorians, to paſs over his Death in Silence. And be it as it will, he was certainly ſucceeded by his Son *Seleucus*, who, according to the infallible Teſtimony of Holy Writ, was a Prince utterly unworthy of a Throne; a Prince, who minded nothing but raiſing Tributes; and who lived in Indolence, and died without Glory. But to return to the Affairs of the *Romans*.

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Daniel xi. 19.

In Danielem.

Aurelius Victor. de Viris Illuſtri.

§. XXXVII. THE *Pro-Conſul* and ten Commiſſioners, in the next Place, determined the Fate of the Princes, Republicks, and Cities, of *Aſia*. They ſettled the Limits of the Dominions of *Eumenes*, and the *Rhodians*. The Cities which were formerly tributary to *Antiochus*, or *Attalus*, were ordered to pay the ſame Impoſts to *Eumenes*, which they had formerly paid his Father, or the King of *Syria*. Some Cities of *Ionia* and *Caria* were entirely made independent; and [117] *Clazomene*, beſides her Liberty, obtained alſo the Sovereignty over the Iſland of [118] *Drymuſa*. The Inhabitants of *Ilium*, from whom the *Romans* originally deſcended, by *Æneas*, were put in Poſſeſſion of the Port of *Rhæteum*, and the City of [119] *Gergithum*; and upon the ſame Conſideration, *Dardanum*, a City of *Troas*, was ſet at Liberty. Conſiderable Advantages were given to the *Chians*, *Smyrnæans* and *Erythæans*, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their Zeal for the *Romans*. The *Phocæans* recovered the Poſſeſſion of their ancient *Demeſnes*. The firſt Decree of the Senate was put in execution. So that *Lycia* and *Caria*, as far as to the *Mæander*, were given to the *Rhodians*. *Lyſimachia*, with the *Cherſoneſus* in *Europe*, the two *Phrygia's*, *Myſia*, *Lycaonia*, and *Lydia*, with the Cities of *Mylias*, *Trallis*, *Epheſus*, and *Tilmeſſum* in *Aſia*, were the Dominions now allotted to King *Eumenes*. This King of *Pergamus* had alſo ſome Diſputes with the King of *Syria*, about *Pamphylia*, one part of which lay on this ſide Mount *Taurus*, and another beyond it; and the Cauſe was transferred to *Rome*. Thus the *Romans* diſpoſed of all theſe Kingdoms, in the rich Continent of *Aſia*, without ſo much as reſerving one Foot of Ground to themſelves. Theſe Conquerors were ſatisfied with having ſpread the Glory of their Name, and the Terrors of their Arms there; and with carrying from thence immenſe Spoils, in Gold and Silver, and rich Moveables. They left behind them ſuch ſtrong Impreſſions of Fear on the Minds of the People, as kept the whole Country in Subjection to them, notwithſtanding their great Diſtance from it. The Sovereigns of *Aſia*, were no longer any thing

Livy, B. 38 *c.* 39.

116 The Country of the *Elymæans*, or *Elymais*, was a Weſtern Province of *Syria*. It lay between *The Perſian Gulph* to the South, and the Kingdom of the *Medes*, to the North.

117 *Clazomene*, a City of *Aſia Minor*, was ſituated in *Ionia*, on the Coaſts of the *Ægean* Sea, near *The Gulph of Smyrna*. It is now called *Urla*, or *Vourla*.

118 The Ancients gave the Name of *Drymuſa* to an Iſland in *The Gulph of Smyrna*, over-againſt *Clazomene*.

119 The two Cities of *Gergithum* and *Rhæteum* belonged to *Little Myſia*. They both ſtood on the Coaſts of the *Helleſpont*.

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better than Subalterns to the predominant Republick. They received her Orders with Submiſſion, and brought all their Affairs before the Senate, as if they had been really her Subjects. By this means Union was preſerved among theſe Princes. Their Corn was no longer ſtolen by Robbers', or their Eſtates plundered, and the *Greek* Cities on the Coaſts (ſome of which were exempted from Tributs, and others paid very ſmall ones) lived according to their own Laws, in Plenty, and in Peace. *Rome* was the Land that united all Hearts. Happy, exceeding happy, were theſe *Aſiaticks*, if they could have known their own Happineſs, and how to perpetuate the Enjoyment of it!

§. XXXVIII. The great Work of the Pacification of *Aſia* being thus accompliſhed, nothing remained for the *Pro-Conſul*, but to withdraw his Troops from thence, and return to *Rome* to triumph there. He therefore took his Rout towards the *Helleſpont*, with the ten Commiſſioners, and marched at the Head of his Army. And *Manlius* gloried in making the Kings of *Galatia* follow him. He had ſuſpended giving them his final Inſtructions, on purpoſe to mortify them, by keeping them long attending upon him. When he arrived at the Sea-ſhore, he ordered them to be brought into his Preſence, and declared to them his laſt Orders. They chiefly related to the Inſtructions he required them to obſerve, in order to maintain Peace between them and King *Eumenes*, who, by the new Increaſe of his Dominions, was become their near Neighbour. The moſt ſevere Law he impoſed upon them, was that of keeping themſelves within their own Limits, and abſtaining from thoſe Incurſions, which they uſed to make far from their own Territories, in order to bring the Nations under Contribution. After he had diſmiſſed the *Galatians*, the *Pro-Conſul* then was wholly intent on repaſſing the *Helleſpont*, and returning to *Europe*. *Eumenes*, who was very diligent in making his Court to his Benefactors, had ſent his youngeſt Brother with a Fleet, to aſſiſt the *Roman* Army, in croſſing the Water; and *Manlius* having landed in the *Cherſoneſus*, proceeded by eaſy Marches to *Lyſimachia*. There he reſted his Troops, which were overburdened with the Booty they had brought from *Aſia*; and gave himſelf time to get together Beaſts of Burden, and freſh Horſes enough, to carry the Baggage croſs *Thrace*, a mountainous Country, and full of hollow Ways, and narrow Paſſes. At length *Manlius* decamped, and arrived, the firſt Day, on the Banks of the *Melas* [120]. From thence he came to *Cypſela* [121]; to which Place the Roads had been very paſſable. But when he came out of *Cypſela*, he was forced to enter into a Foreſt, where the Roads were both narrow and rough. The *Pro-Conſul* therefore divided his Army into two Bodies; which both marched in one long Column, and could not widen themſelves. In the middle were the Baggage, Waggons, Cart-Horſes, and Carts which carried the Money deſigned for the publick Treaſury. Thus the *Roman* Army entered into the Wood in good Order, when on a ſudden ten thouſand *Thracians*, out of the neighbouring Countries, aſſembled at the Entrance into it. *Philip* King of *Macedon* was ſuſpected of having underhand ſtirred up theſe *Thracians*, to come and oppoſe the *Romans*. This Prince very well knew, that they would return through *Thrace*, and bring with them the immenſe Riches they had gathered together in *Aſia*. The Robbers had hid themſelves in the Buſhes and Coppices, ſo that they could not be ſeen. *Manlius* commanded the firſt *Corps* of his Army, and was continually uneaſy about the Hazard he run, in ſo dangerous a March; and he firſt came out of the Wood into the Plain. The *Thracians* let him paſs, without attacking him. But as ſoon as he was got at ſome Diſtance from his Baggage, and this Multitude of Carriages were within reach of the Perſons laying in Ambuſh, they came out of their hiding Places, fell on the Guard, plundered ſome Chariots, and led away ſome Horſes which were loaded. This Plunder however could not be made without ſome Noiſe; and upon hearing it, the Troops that were before, and came after, haſtened to the Place where it was. And then a tumultuous Battel was fought, in which there was much Blood ſpilt. The *Thracians* came through Paths with which they were acquainted, and fell

120 There were ſeveral Rivers called *Melas*. That here ſpoken of waters a little Canton of *Thrace*, and falls into the Gulph anciently called by the Name of *Melas*, as well as the River. *Herodotus* ſays, that the Army of *Xerxes* drank up this River. *Bellonius* calls it *Lariſſa*. *Nardus* gives it the Name of *La Mera*.

121 *Cypſela* ſtood on the Banks of the *Hebrus*, at a little Diſtance from *The Gulph Melas*.

fell on the *Romans*, who were not uſed to theſe ſorts of Attacks. The Robbers fought in ſmall Bodies, made their Attacks, and then retired into deep Valleys. Sometimes the *Romans* intercepted them, and gained that Aſcendant over them, which Valour gives the brave; and the Carriages often ſcreened both Parties from Swords and Darts. The Succeſs of the Skirmiſhes was different, according to the Number of the Combatants. When the Detachment of the *Romans* was ſtronger than that of the *Thracians*, the former prevailed, and ſo *vice verſa*, of the latter. The reſt of the Day was ſpent in theſe reciprocal Advantages and Diſadvantages; when Night come on, it put an end to the Slaughter; and then the *Thracians* marched off; not to avoid Fighting, or Death, but becauſe they had got Booty enough to enrich themſelves. As for the *Romans*, their firſt *Corps* encamped by itſelf in the open Field, near a Temple of [122] *Diana*. The ſecond continued in the Foreſt, to guard the reſt of the Baggage; and to ſecure themſelves, they threw up double Trenches, and ſpent the Night there. As ſoon as it was Day, Scouts were ſent out to diſcover the Enemy; but they appeared no more. The Rear of the *Roman* Army therefore marched through the Defile, and joined the firſt *Corps*; and did not ſo much lament the Loſs of the publick Treaſure, as the Death of the brave *Minucius Thermus*. He had loſt his Life, in defending the Treaſure which was for the *Roman* Exchequer.

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THIS Accident made the Army march on with greater Precaution, and they came and encamped on the Banks of the [123] *Hebrus*. Then they entered the Country of the *Ænians*; and there another Defile, almoſt as dangerous as the firſt, gave the *Pro Conſul* freſh Apprehenſions. But he was eaſy, when he ſaw it was in an open Country. It was indeed rough and uneven, and full of Ditches and Hollows; but there were no high Forreſts, or Woods, on either ſide. There was room enough for an Army to make a large Front; and there were no Buſhes or deep Valleys to hide an Enemy. This Place was called *Tempyra*; and the Militia of a People of *Thrace*, called the *Thrauſians* [124], were aſſembled there, in hopes of Booty. But this gave *Manlius* little Uneaſineſs. They were repulſed with Loſs, upon the firſt Onſet. The Unevenneſs of the Ground fatigued them as well as the *Romans*; and they diſperſed, and returned to their Villages. Then the Army continued its Rout through the Territory of *Maronea*; and there found the People more tractable. They brought him Corn from all Parts; and Proviſions were ſent from the *Roman* Fleet (which coaſted along by the Army) to the *Pro-Conſul*, who diſtributed them among his Soldiers. Then in one Day they come to *Apollonia* [125] in *Thrace*, and paſſing through the Territories of the *Abderites*, entered *Macedon*. This being a Country leſs ſuſpected, the *Romans* had no [126] Ambuſcades to fear in it; and their March through *Theſſaly* was yet more quiet. They gained *Epirus*, and at length arrived at *Apollonia*, where they were to embark. But the Seaſon was too far advanced, to expoſe an Army to Storms at Sea; and *Manlius* choſe rather to halt in *Epirus*, and paſs the Winter there.

§. XXXIX. IN the mean time, the great Elections were made at *Rome*, a little later than uſual. Though the *Conſul, Valerius Meſſala*, had done nothing memorable in *Liguria*, he had delayed his return to *Rome*. But as ſoon as he arrived there, the *Comitia* were aſſembled in the *Campus Martius*, to chooſe *Conſuls* and *Prætors*. The People promoted to the firſt Dignity in the Republick, *Liv. B.* 38. *c.* 42.

122 *Livy* calls this Temple of *Diana*, *Bendidium*, from the Name of *Bendis*, which the *Thracians* gave this Goddeſs, according to *Heſychius*.

123 The *Hebrus* is one of the largeſt Rivers in *Thrace*. It riſes by Mount *Hemus*, on the Confines of *Macedon*; and after it has run through part of *Thrace*, falls into the *Ægean* Sea. Its modern Name is *La Mariza*, according to *Leunclavius*.

124 The *Thrauſi* were a People of *Thrace*, who were very different from the People of the ſame Name, who inhabited a Canton of the ancient *Scythians*.

125 This City of *Apollonia* lay between *Abderos* and *Maronea*. We muſt take care not to confound it with another City of the ſame Name, ſituated on the *Euxine* Sea.

126 Nevertheleſs, according to the old Annaliſt *Claudius*, quoted by *Livy*, fifteen thouſand *Thracians* attacked in Front a Body of four hundred *Numidian* Horſe, which were ſupported by ſome Elephants. This was a Detachment from the Army, which marched before, to make Diſcoveries, under the Command of *Mutines*. The Commander's Son was ſo courageous, as to break into the Enemy, at the Head of a hundred and fifty choſen Horſe; and *Mutines*, after he had formed his little Squadron, fell furiouſly on the Rear of the *Thracians*. And the Succeſs of theſe two Attacks was ſuch, according to *Claudius*, that this Army of Robbers diſperſed, and left the Ways open to *Manlius*'s Troops.

M. Æmi-

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M. Æmilius Lepidus, C. Flaminius, Consuls.

M. Æmilius Lepidus, and *C. Flaminius*. The former had twice failed of the *Conſulſhip*. He had made himſelf hated by the Commons, by having left the Province where he was *Prætor*, without Orders, and come and canvaſſed for Suffrages at *Rome*. But the Anger of the People at length abated, and they promoted him to the Dignity he ſo earneſtly ſought. The new *Conſuls* were choſen, before *The Twelfth of the Calends of March*; and as ſoon as they were in Poſſeſſion of their Office, they began the Exerciſe of it, with an Act of Juſtice, much commended by the Ancients. Though *Rome* was arrived at ſo high a Pitch of Glory, and *Carthage* was ſo much humbled, the Conquerors did Juſtice to the Conquered. An Embaſſy had been ſent from *Carthage* to *Rome*; perhaps, to congratulate her upon her Conqueſts in *Aſia* and *Greece*: And two young *Roman* Lords had had the Boldneſs to ſtrike the Ambaſſadors. It is eaſy to judge by their Names, that theſe Lords were of two of the moſt illuſtrious Families in the Republick; one was *Minucius Myrtillus*, the other *L. Manlius*. The inſulted *Carthaginians* had the laſt Year brought their Complaints before the *Prætor*, *P. Claudius Pulcher*, who was the Judge of all Cauſes between the *Citizens* of *Rome*, and Foreigners, and the new *Conſuls* now determined the Affair, to the Satisfaction of the Ambaſſadors. The two *Romans* were delivered up by the *Feciales*, into the Hands of the *Carthaginian* Ambaſſadors, who carried them to *Carthage*. So much Regard was ſhewn at *Rome* to the Laws of Nations, even in favour of a tributary People! Perhaps indeed, there might be ſomething of Intereſt in this equitable Determination. *Rome* was become the Place, to which all the Kings, and all the Republicks in the World reſorted, one after another, either in Perſon, or by their Ambaſſadors. And if the leaſt Violation of the publick Faith, had been ſuffered to eſcape there unpuniſhed, this would have put a Stop to that Concourſe, and the *Romans* would have loſt the beſt part of their Grandeur. It was very agreeable to them to ſee the People of the Eaſt, Weſt, and South, have recourſe to *Rome* for more judicious, and more effectual Anſwers to their Enquiries, than any that were given, by the Oracle at *Delphi*.

Val. Max. B. 6. c. 6. Livy, B. 38. ibid.

Livy, B. 38. ibid.

But *Æmilius* and *Flaminius* had not yet choſen their Provinces by Lot. It belonged to the Senate to judge, where it would be moſt proper to carry on the War; and to the *Conſuls* to determine by Lots, to which *Province* each ſhould go. They both ſeemed very deſirous to divide *Greece* and *Aſia* between them, and relieve the *Pro-Conſuls*, *Fulvius* and *Manlius*. But the *Conſcript Fathers* had other Views. There was nothing more to do in the *Levant*. The time was almoſt come for ſhutting the Temple of *Janus*, a ſecond time. *Rome* had now no other Enemies to ſubdue, but the *Ligures*, and a few *Spaniards*, who continued obſtinate in their Revolt. And as to the latter, the *Prætors* for the laſt Year were ſufficient to keep them to their Duty; and they were continued in their *Provinces*, with the Title of *Pro-Prætors*. So that *Liguria* was the only Place left for the *Conſuls*; and they were both ſent thither. *Æmilius* in vain repreſented to the Senate, That it was a ſhameful thing to ſhut up two *Conſuls* in Valleys, where they had no room to diſplay their Courage, whilſt the two *Pro-Conſuls* were at the ſame time giving Law to *Greece* and *Aſia*; That it better became the Dignity of the *Roman* People to ſend two *Conſuls* thither; and That notwithſtanding the Peace concluded with *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, there was Buſineſs enough in the Eaſt, to employ two Armies. The *Conſcript Fathers* perſiſted in their Opinions. They would not, without Cauſe, multiply their Armies, or increaſe the Expences of the Republick; and inſiſted, that the *Conſuls* ſhould only go to thoſe Places, where *Rome* had open Enemies to ſubdue. And the *Ligures* being the only People, whom they thought to deſerve Chaſtiſement, the two Collegues were ſent only againſt them. It muſt be owned, their Enterprize was difficult and laborious, though they could acquire but little Glory by ſucceeding in it. In *Greece* and *Aſia*, *Æmilius* and *Flaminius* would have met with nothing but agreeable Climates, well cultivated Fields, Cities finely adorned, and generally ſpeaking magnificently built, polite Nations, and tractable and civilized People. Whereas on the contrary, *Liguria* was a rough and mountainous Country. The Roads were rough, narrow, and ſurrounded with Foreſts; it was difficult to find out convenient Poſts there, and more difficult to diſpoſſeſs the Enemy of them. The *Ligures* were brave, active, robuſt, and equally expert in forming Ambuſcade

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Ambuſcades, and fighting pitched Battels. Their Country was barren; and Proviſions muſt often run ſhort there. Beſides, it was a poor Country; and no conſiderable Booty was to be found there. The *Ligurian* Armies marched without that Train of Servants and Carriages which chiefly embarraſs an Army in their March. The Soldiers carried no other Proviſions than their Arms. Such was the Scene on which the two *Conſuls* were to act. And there was a great deal of Policy in this Appointment. *Rome* knew very well, That her Troops in *Aſia* had already breathed but too much of that delicious Air; That they were ſoftened by it; and That the Difficulties of the *Thracian* Paſſes was what alone had a little rouzed their ancient Vigour. In order therefore to inure her *Legionaries* again to Diſcipline and Conſtancy under Fatigues, the Republick was glad to have a War to carry on in a Country where the Toils of it would be great, and Vigilance abſolutely neceſſary. So that the two *Conſuls*, upon the expreſs Orders of the Senate, both entered *Liguria*, and made War there ſeparately. *Flaminius* had, for his Share, the Country of the [127] *Friniates* to reduce; and in the Plain theſe *Ligurians* could not withſtand the *Conſular* Army. They were beaten ſeveral times, and forced to lay down their Arms. But theſe Mutineers did not faithfully execute the *Conſul*'s Orders. They fled to a high [128] Mountain for Refuge. He purſued them thither. Part of them eſcaped by Ways unknown to the *Romans*, abandoned their Villages, and fled to the other Side of the *Apennines*. The reſt, who kept in their Territory, were cut in Pieces, or reduced to Slavery, and more effectually diſarmed, than after the firſt Defeat. The ſame *Conſul* alſo led his Army into another Canton of *Liguria*, which was inhabited by the People called *Apuani*, from the Name of their Capital, which ſtood near the *Macra*. They being pretty near Neighbours to *Bolonia* and *Piſa*, infeſted the Territories of theſe two Cities, diſturbed the Husbandmen at their Work, or reaped the Harveſts. *Flaminius* therefore put it out of their Power to do any more Miſchief. Their Country being almoſt inacceſſible, thro' the Badneſs of the Roads, he enlarged them. From *Aretium* to *Bolonia*, and from *Rome* to *Ariminum*, he made one of thoſe great Roads which were called *The Military Ways*, becauſe they made it eaſy for great Armies to march thro' thoſe Countries. All the *Conſul*'s Troops were employed in this Work, which contributed more to the Reduction of *Liguria*, than the Sword, or Battels. As for *Æmilius*, he firſt entered the Country of the *Ligures* by the Valley which is formed by two of the *Apennines*, one of which was called *Balliſta*, and the other [129] *Suiſmontium*. There he plundered and burnt the Villages, and forced the Inhabitants to retire to the Mountains. Then, being firſt harraſſed with ſlight Skirmiſhes upon theſe ſteep Rocks, they were obliged to come down from them, and give Battel in the Plain. And the *Conſul* thought the Action of ſuch Importance, that in the Heat of the Battel, he made a Vow to erect a Temple to *Diana*, if he gained the Victory. And he did indeed obtain it, thro' the Valour of his Troops. So that all was quiet on this Side the *Apennines*. *Æmilius* therefore paſſed over to the other. There were yet ſome of the [130] *Friniates* to ſubdue, beyond this Chain of Mountains. *Flaminius* had not marched ſo far. *Æmilius* therefore reduced them to Reaſon. After he had diſarmed theſe Mountaineers, he forced them to quit their Dens, and come and live in the Plain. So that *Liguria* was now almoſt entirely pacified. Nothing remained but to make the Approaches to it more eaſy, and Revolts leſs frequent. To

Strabo, B. 5. Livy, B. 39. c. 2.

127 By the Name of the *Friniates*, we judge that they inhabited a Canton of the Duchy of *Modena*, which the Natives call *Frignana*.

128 This high Mountain is called by *Livy* Mount *Auginus*. Some modern Geographers think it was Mount *Augon*, which terminates the Territory of *Pavia*. But *Cluver* thinks *Livy* meant Mount *Cora*. It is there that a River riſes, called *Boactes* by the Ancients, and now *La Verra*, and *La Vella*. It runs into the *Macra*.

129 *Cluver* does not diſtinguiſh theſe two Mountains from thoſe which are now called *Monte Cerra*, and *Monte Peneſe*. They ſtand in Eaſt *Liguria*, near the Head of the River *Lavagna*. But *Leander* thought Mount *Balliſta* the ſame as Mount *Baleſtra*, which lies between *Lucca* and *Rhegio*, towards the Confines of *Liguria* and *Tuſcany*.

130 *Sigonius* is of Opinion, that the *Briniates* are here ſpoken of, and not the *Friniates*. The latter, ſays he, lived on this Side the *Apennines*, and *Flaminius* had already ſubdued them. Whence he concludes that the Nation ſubdued by *Æmilius* was different from that of the *Friniates*. But we cannot be too cautious how we admit Corrections, eſpecially if they don't help to explain the Paſſage in Diſpute. Nothing appears to the contrary, but that the *Friniates*, who inhabited a Canton on this Side the *Apennines*, might ſurrender to *Flaminius*; and thoſe on the other Side of them be vanquiſhed and diſarmed by *Æmilius*.

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this End, *Æmilius*, after the Example of his Collegue, cut a large and broad Way thro' *Ciſalpine Gaul*, for the eaſy Paſſage of Armies to *Liguria*. This Road which was called *The Æmilian Way*, reached from *Placentia* to *Ariminum*. And as it joined to *The Flaminian Way*, there was now an open and ſafe Paſſage for Travellers, and Carriages, from *Rome* quite to *Liguria*.

DURING theſe Motions of the *Ligures*, the *Gauls* their Neighbours continued quiet. Nevertheleſs, the *Prætor* whom *Rome* had ſent thither entertained unjuſt Suſpicions of them; and either from an unreaſonable Fit of Zeal, or in order to have an Opportunity to ſignalize himſelf, this *Prætor M. Furius* quarrelled with the *Cænomani*, diſarmed them, and treated them as Rebels. This innocent People therefore had Recourſe to *Rome*; the Senate referred the Deciſion of the Affair to the *Conſul Æmilius*, who was upon the Spot; and after many Debates, he pronounced Sentence in favour of the *Gauls*. Their Arms were reſtored them, and the *Prætor* who had reduced them ſo low by very unworthy Proceedings, was recalled. Thus *Rome*, partly by Equity, and partly by Force of Arms, appeased all the Nations from *Hetruria* to the *Alpes*.

§. XL. WHILST the *Conſuls* were buſy in making War, or ſettling Peace, in *Liguria*, the *Pro-Conſul Cn. Manlius* appeared in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, after his Expedition in *Aſia*. And as he was ambitious of a Triumph, he did not enter the City, but lodged in the Suburbs with his Army. The Senate aſſembled in the Temple of *Bellona*, as uſual, to receive his Petition; and his Exploits in *Galatia* plainly ſpoke in his Favour. But moſt of the ten Commiſſioners which had been ſent into *Aſia*, ſeemed either diſſatisfied with his Conduct, or appeared to have little perſonal Regard for him. *Æmilius Paulus* and *Fulvius Purpureo*, declared themſelves againſt the *Conſul* with moſt Warmth; and the Complaints they brought againſt him appeared to be of Importance. They long ballanced, in the Minds of the Judges, the favourable Prejudices ariſing from his having conquered a Nation, and gained ſeveral Battels. *Manlius*'s Adverſaries reproached him with having done his utmoſt to renew the War with *Antiochus*; with having laid ſuch Snares for this Prince, to ſurprize him, and take him Priſoner, that it was not without great Caution that the King of *Syria* eſcaped them; and laſtly, with having ſhewn an immoderate Zeal for carrying on the War beyond Mount *Taurus*, contrary to the Articles of the Treaty, and the Anſwers of the *Sybilline* Books. And tho' theſe firſt Accuſations were only Prejudices ſpread againſt *Manlius*, to give his Judges ill Impreſſions of him; the Malice of his Accuſers did not fully appear, till they made this Speech in the Senate. *Has then* Manlius *deſerved a Triumph*, ſaid they, *by a mad Incurſion which he made of his own Head, and without any Authority? Where is that Submiſſion which our Generals always paid to the Orders of the Senate, and their Deference for the* Roman *People? In the Wars with* Antiochus, Philip, *and* Carthage, *did any Man take up Arms, till the Senate had conſented to it, and the People ordered it? Is* Manlius *alone above the Laws? A ſudden Tranſport of Paſſion carries him into* Gaul; *he flies thither rather like a Robber than a General of a* Roman *Army*; *marches after* Attalus *rather like a Mercenary, than the Commander of our* Legions; *and turns wherever the* Pergamian *Prince leads him. From* Piſidia *he paſſes on to* Lycaonia; *and from thence to* Phrygia. *He viſits all the Corners of it, and puts all the Cities, Caſtles, and petty Sovereigns in the Country, under Contribution. But what Honour does he thereby procure himſelf, or the Republick he repreſents? Is making War like a Robber, doing it like a* Roman? *At length, he arrives in* Galatia. *But by what Exploits does he ſignalize himſelf there! The Fortune of the* Roman *People contributed more to his Victory, than* Manlius's *Conduct or Prudence. What Sort of Enemies had he to contend with?* Gallo-Greeks *indeed; but their* Gallick *Bravery had been enervated ever ſince they had aſſumed the additional Name of* Greek. *Theſe* Galatians *were no longer like thoſe* Gauls *whom we had ſo much Difficulty to ſubdue in* Italy. *If they had retained the Courage they carried with them out of their native Country, there would not have been one Soldier left in the* Roman *Army in* Galatia. *They fled to ſteep Rocks for Refuge; and the raſh* Manlius *ran thither to force their Fortreſſes. If inſtead of throwing their Darts, the Enemy had come down naked on the* Romans, *they might have overpowered them. But the Terror of the* Roman *Name chilled their Courage. Like Birds, which*

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are affrighted by the leaſt Noiſe, they upon the firſt Shout fled down from the Top of the Mountain on which they had perched. Indeed ſome Stones were thrown up at them; but they by their Flight prevented a Battel, and ſcarce one Perſon was killed by the Sword. A fine Victory indeed! The Pro-Conſul *did not fight any pitched Battel, till he returned to* Thrace. *And then, how weak were our Soldiers grown ſince their Abode in* Aſia! *Would any one have thought them* Romans, *who had ſeen the Attack of their Baggage? An Handful of Robbers put them into Diſorder. They fled croſs the Foreſts, and hid themſelves in Buſhes, thereby to guard againſt Death, which they could not eſcape. And what Sort of a General had they! He enters into any Defiles, without Scruple; divides his Army into three* Corps; *and ſeparates the Soldiers from one another, ſo that they cannot aſſiſt one another. They are pillaged, and paſs a melancholy Night in the midſt of a Foreſt. Theſe are the Exploits for which a Triumph is demanded! Will you then grant it,* Conſcript Fathers? *In the War* Acilius *made with the King of* Syria, *in that wherein* Flamininus *conquered King* Philip, *and in the Enterprizes the Great* Scipio *formed againſt* Antiochus, *and againſt the* Africans, *not only the Senate, but even the* Feciales, *were conſulted. Shall then* Manlius *alone be exempt from the general Law? Or if no Regard is had to Religion; yet Reſpect ought at leaſt to be ſhewn to the Dignity of the* Roman *People. Let then* Manlius *go and preſent his Petition for a Triumph to thoſe who gave him a Commiſſion to carry the War into* Galatia!

THUS ſpake two of the Adverſaries of *Manlius*; who anſwered them in theſe Words. *They who ought to have maintained my Cauſe, are become the Enemies of my Glory. Some of the* Tribunes of the People *have indeed often oppoſed the Petitions of* Conſuls *for Triumphs. But I am envied the Honours of a Triumph by the* Aſiatick *Commiſſioners themſelves. A* Furius, *and an* Æmilius, *to whom I ſhould have appealed as Witneſſes of the Merit of my Services, had they been queſtioned by the* Tribunes, *are become my Accuſers; and act out of Character. But my Comfort,* Conſcript Fathers, *is, that the Objections made againſt the Triumphs of Conquerors don't always influence you. The Remonſtrances of ſome of the* Tribunes of the People *did not hinder* Fabius Labeo *from triumphing; tho' they pretended that he had made War unjuſtly, and had not ſo much as ſeen an Enemy. Shall I then be refuſed that Honour, who have ſeen a hundred thouſand* Gauls *flee before me; have killed upon the Spot, or made Priſoners, forty thouſand; and taken two Camps from them? There are indeed two Things laid to my Charge; one of which is, That I began the War without Orders, and ended it without Glory. But, were then the* Galatians *new Enemies to us? I don't ſpeak of the Hatred all their Nation in general have always had to* Rome, *or of the Tumults they have raiſed in* Italy. *But in* Aſia *too, was not their Cauſe the ſame with that of* Antiochus? *Did not* Scipio *ſee them in the Wings of the* Syrian *Army, in the Battel of* Magneſia? *Did he make any Scruple of fighting them, putting them to flight, and killing them? Did he wait for new Orders from the Senate, before he would treat them as Enemies? Thoſe that I have purſued with the Sword to their Mountains, are only the Remains of the* Syrian *Troops. Thoſe that I have obliged to keep themſelves within their own Limits, are only the Enemies of our Allies. And was it neceſſary for this, That the Ceremonies of Religion ſhould be repeated, or the* Feciales *called on, or expreſs Orders given by the Senate? The Enemies I have ſubdued were comprehended under the general Name of* Syrians. *Nevertheleſs, what Tenderneſs did I ſhew them! I intreated them to live peaceably in their new Habitations; and their Obſtinacy alone was the Cauſe of their Ruin.*

My other Charge is, That there was Raſhneſs in the Manner in which I forced their Retreats. But where is this Reproach caſt upon me? at Rome, *or* Carthage? *The* Carthaginians *indeed may puniſh their Generals, tho' victorious, under Pretence of ſome Imprudence in the Conduct of an Action which was ſucceſsful. But far be this* African *Barbarity from You,* Conſcript Fathers! *Again; it is added, That my Succeſs was more owing to* Fortune, *than my own Prudence. O ye Immortal Gods! it is to You then that I am indebted for my Succeſs. It is You who have procured me Victory, almoſt without any Loſs. Will* Rome *then not vouchſafe to preſent me before your Altars; but ſuffer me to carry my Incenſe and Victims to the* Capitol; *and not conduct me to return You my Thanks, in the moſt pompous Manner? O ye Great Gods! let my Triumph be yours! Again; ſhall it be made a Crime in a* Roman, *that he attacked the*

Liv. B. 38. c. 45.

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an Enemy, without having first seized the upper Ground? At this Rate, the Galatians *must have continued for ever untouched in their Retreats;* Antiochus *ought not to have had his Trenches forced at* Thermopylæ; *or* Philip *in the Defiles of the* Aous. *Must no* Consul, *for the future, dare to besiege Places, or attack an Enemy's Camp? Pernicious Maxim! which leaves nothing for an Officer but a timorous Prudence! But to speak more closely to the Point. If these* Galatians *were as much altered as my Adversaries pretend, it was then no Rashness in me to climb up to them. Or if my Troops were as much softened as is pretended, whence had they that Boldness which amounted even to Rashness? Let my Enemies reconcile these Things, if they can. Their Jealousy makes them contradict themselves. Pardon me,* Conscript Fathers, *if I exceed the Bounds of Modesty, in speaking of my Exploits. The Necessity I am under of justifying myself forces me to it. Nor was my Conduct justly more blameable in* Thrace, *than in* Galatia. *We there found difficult Roads, Forests scarce passable, and dangerous Passes. Could I make the Roads as I pleased? Or could I otherwise march thro' the Roads I was forced to take, than in a long Line divided into three Corps? Was it possible for me to hinder Robbers from lying in Ambush, surprizing us, or taking a little Booty from us? New Robbers beset us; and our Troops then shewed that the Air of* Asia *had not enervated them. They gained a Victory, which alone deserved the Triumph for which I sue.*

MANLIUS's Cause was good; but either the Interest of his Adversaries, or the Vexation of the Senate, to find that Part of the Riches of *Asia* were fallen into the Hands of the *Thracians*, was such, that he would have been refused a Triumph, if the Affair had been immediately determined. But it fortunately happened, that Night came on, before Sentence was given. So that the Senators had time to reflect, and the Friends of the *Pro-Consul* to speak in his Favour. They represented to the *Conscript Fathers*, that it was a Thing unheard of, to refuse a Triumph to a General who had conquered a whole Nation, and gained three pitched Battels. And at length, Reason got the better, and prevailed over the Malice of *Manlius*'s Accusers. The next Day, a Triumph was decreed him, by a Majority of Voices.

§. XLI. AND now, by I know not what Turn of Imagination, there sprung up an almost universal Virulence against the most illustrious Heads of the Republick. Perhaps, for want of foreign Kings to subdue, the *Romans* took Pleasure in stirring up intestine Wars against the Chief Men in the State. Or perhaps they thought it Matter of refined Policy, to humble those in Times of Peace, whom they had raised in Times of War. In Republican States, Precautions are often carried to Ingratitude and Injustice. To have done great Services, is sometimes enough of itself to make a Man suspected. Men of distinguished Merit are highly honoured and reverenced, as long as they can be of Service to the State, in great Emergencies. But as soon as the present Want of them is past, the People endeavour to destroy them. Their Elevation becomes suspected, and their Grandeur odious. After the War with *Antiochus* was ended, the two *Scipio's* found by Experience, how far the Ingratitude of an inconstant People, and the Ill-will of those who envied them, would carry them. *Cato* had always been a secret Enemy to *Scipio Africanus*; and a Man of seeming Probity is a dangerous Adversary. As long as *Scipio* was considered at *Rome*, as a necessary Person to the State, *Cato* would not venture to attack him. But as soon as the Republick could do without him, he took Measures to destroy him. There were then two [131] *Petilii, Tribunes of the People*; and having both the *Prænomen* of *Quintus*, it is from thence supposed, that they were Cousin-Germans. These two Men were the Instruments *Cato* made use of, to gratify his Malice. He, under-hand, sollicited them to accuse the Great *Scipio*; and accordingly, the *Petilii* cited him to appear before the Assembly of the People. This unexpected Affront offered to a Man in the highest Credit, caused much Speculation. Nothing was talked of, but the Great *Scipio*, during the whole twenty seven Days which were allowed the Persons cited, before they appeared before the *Tribes*. Every one judged of the Attempt, according to his Passions, Caprice, or Understanding. Some compared *Scipio* with *Hannibal*, and

Plut. Life of *Cato.*

131 *Aulus Gellius* and *Valerius Maximus* say, that *M. Nævius* was the *Tribune of the People* who acted with most Fury against *Scipio Africanus*. What *Livy* says of the *Petilii*, the same things they say of *Nævius*.

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Rome with *Carthage*. *Hannibal*, ſaid they, *has not received worſe Treatment in his own Country, than* Scipio *has in his native City. All the Difference is, that* Rome *uſes ill that very* Scipio *to whom ſhe owes her Conqueſts; whilſt* Carthage *only baniſhes a General whoſe Subjection brought on hers.* Others, who had more of the Republican Spirit, than of Equity, approved of the Proceedings of the *Petilii*. *Every Citizen*, ſaid they, *to what Degree of Honour ſoever his Merit may have raiſed him, is ſtill accountable to his Republick for his Conduct. By this means a juſt Equality is preſerved, and the Laws are maintained. They ought to be treated with the greateſt Severity, who pretend to be above Law.* But after all, the greateſt Part were Men of too much Senſe, not to be inclined to favour Merit, ſpare Great Men, and free them from a Subjection to the ſame Rules as vulgar Perſons. Few of the *Romans* looked on *Scipio* with the Eyes of a *Cato*, or a *Petilius*. There were Multitudes of them preſent, on the Day he appeared before the People; and *Scipio* never left his Houſe with a more noble Train of Attendants, in either of his *Conſulſhips*, or his *Cenſorſhips*. One would have thought that all the Nobility of *Rome* were come to him, to conduct him to the *Comitium*, as it were in Triumph. And he did not change his Habit, to appear before his Judges. There appeared in his Looks more Conſtancy than Pride; and more Indignation than Gaiety. When he came to the *Forum*, he mounted *The Tribune*, where his Accuſers already were; and he was ordered to ſay what he thought proper in his own Defence. But *Scipio* did not demean himſelf ſo far, as to endeavour to clear himſelf of the Charge laid againſt him, and anſwer the Particulars of his Accuſation. To make an Apology was beneath him. The Accuſed made his own Panegyrick; and in his Mouth Self-Commendation was not ſo odious as it uſually is. *Scipio* was born eloquent; and he painted his Victories in *Spain*, with as much Vivacity and Spirit as he had ſhewn in gaining them. The *Tribes* were charmed to hear him. They owned, that of all the Orators who had made Panegyricks on the illuſtrious *Africanus*, none had done it ſo finely as himſelf. Nevertheleſs, he did not ſay any thing of his *African* Expedition, the Defeat of *Hannibal*, or the Reduction of *Carthage*. He reſerved theſe Topicks, for a Reply to the Invectives of his Accuſers. In ſhort, *Scipio* concluded; and gave his Adverſaries their Turns to ſpeak. *App. in Syriac. N.* 113.

Each of the *Tribunes* choſe one of the Articles which had been brought againſt *Scipio*, and in his Turn expatiated upon it to the People. One made it Matter of Accuſation againſt him, That he ſpent a whole Winter in Effeminacies and Pleaſures, at *Syracuſe*, before he went into *Africa*. Another charged him with the Pillage of *Locri*, and the mad Violences *Pleminius* exerciſed upon its Inhabitants. But theſe old Accuſations, which had been ſo often refuted, made little Impreſſion on the *Tribes*. Their firſt Speeches were therefore only Preliminaries to the grand Accuſation; which was, *That* Scipio *had received from* Antiochus *great Sums of Money, which the latter gave him, to procure a Peace on advantageous Terms*. But certainly, the Accuſed had too great a Soul to have betrayed his Republick, for ſordid Gain; and this Prejudice in his Favour got the better of his Accuſation, and was univerſally entertained by all the People. In Point of Evidence, the *Tribunes*, for Want of Proof, had Recourſe to Conjectures. They inſiſted much on the mutual Civilities that had paſſed between *Scipio* and *Antiochus*, at their Interviews. They gave an ill Turn to the ſuppoſed Superiority which the Lieutenant-General had aſſumed over the *Conſul* his Brother, in the Army. He managed the Affairs of *Rome*, ſaid they, rather as a *Dictator*, than a ſubaltern Officer. He repreſented himſelf to Foreigners, as the Sovereign of his Republick, and the Arbiter of the Deciſions of the Senate and People. To which they added, That *Scipio*, like an abſolute Maſter, had impoſed no other Conditions on *Antiochus*, after his Defeat, than he had required of him, when that King was in *Europe*. And they repreſented his Thirſt of Dominion in very odious Lights. But all theſe Declamations were not ſufficient to convict *Scipio* of having been corrupted by *Antiochus*. Indeed there was room to ſuſpect, that the ſending back his Son in ſo very generous a manner, had made the Great *Scipio* the more ready to comply with the *Syrian*'s Deſires. But was that a Fault? It was not laid to his Charge as ſuch. However, the Number of the Accuſers who ſpoke ſucceſſively was ſo great, that the whole Day was ſpent in their Speeches. So that the Sen- *Zonaras, B.* 9. *App. in Syriac. N.* 113. *Aul. Gell. B.* 4. *c.* 18. *Author de Vir. Illuſtr. &c.*

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tence was poſtponed to another time; probably to twenty ſeven Days after. *Scipio* likewiſe knew that the *Tribunes* his Enemies had moved in full Senate, That he ſhould be obliged to give an Account of the Spoils he had brought from *Asia*, and produce the Books in which he had ſet down the Sums he had received from *Antiochus*. But he thought it an Injury to his Character, to be brought to be publickly examined in an Aſſembly of the People, as if he was accountable to them. Since he had filled the Exchequer with immenſe Riches by his Victories, That ought to have exempted him from giving an Account of a little Sum which he was ſuſpected of having miſapplied. And this Affront rouzed his Paſſions; and he warded off the Blow with Conſtancy.

§. XLII. On the Day appointed for the *Tribes* to determine the Affair by their Suffrages, they aſſembled in the *Forum*, and the *Tribunes* appeared there very early. It happened to be the ſame Day of the Year, on which the Illuſtrious Accuſed had gained that famous Victory over *Hannibal*, which had determined the Fate of *Carthage*, and of *Rome*. And this was a good Omen of the Victory he was now to gain over leſſer Enemies. *Scipio* went out of his Houſe with the ſame Confidence, and the ſame Attendance, as on the firſt Day of his Trial. Nevertheleſs, he did not forget to take with him the [132] Book of Accounts which the cowardly Senators obliged him to produce. But he hid it under his Robe. When he was come to the *Forum*, he ſhewed the People from *The Tribune*, the Regiſter [133] which had been ſo much expected, and which the *Tribunes* wanted to have put into an Officer's Hands, to be examined. But to their great Surprize, the Brave *Scipio* tore in Pieces, in the ſight of all *Rome*, that Book which might have occaſioned a thouſand Tricks and Artifices to have been played by captious Men. Nor was this all. Without loſing time in Juſtifications, he ſaid to the People; *On this Day* Hannibal *was conquered, and* Carthage *ſubdued. Why then do you trifle it away in hearing idle Declamations? The Gods expect us at the* Capitol. *Let us go thither, and offer up our Vows and Thankſgivings! There intreat* Jupiter, Juno, *and* Minerva, *to grant you often Generals like me! If you have heaped Honours upon me for ſeventeen Years together, it is no more than I have deſerved at your Hands.* At theſe Words, all the *Tribes* began to move. Each *Tribe* left its Place, and followed *Scipio*. Even the *Apparitores*, and other Officers, whoſe Buſineſs it was to attend the *Tribunes*, deſerted them; and the *Comitium* was left empty. The *Tribunes* with their Domeſticks, and the Herald who cited the Accuſed to appear, were left alone on *The Tribune*. The whole Day was ſpent in viſiting the Temples in the City. The People went from one to another, and were never tired with following the Conqueror of *Carthage*. A glorious Triumph for *Scipio*; which did him more Honour than thoſe he had obtained after the Defeat of *Syphax* and *Hannibal!* A remarkable Day! But the laſt in which this Great Man diſplayed his Courage to Advantage! The *Tribunes* cited him to appear a third time, in thirty ſeven Days more; and then, tired out with ſo much Chicanery, and too proud to be brought ſo often before the People, he gave way to the Storm. He had a Country-Seat in *Campania*, about *Liternum*, pretty near *Naples*; and he retired thither. It was believed in *Rome*, that he only went to ſpend ſome Days there, till the time came for his Appearance. But the People were all deceived. This was a Place of Baniſhment, to which the Hero confined himſelf all the reſt of his Days. And his Enemies would not even ſuffer him to enjoy the Tranquillity he had promiſed himſelf there. The *Tribunes* perſecuted him, even after his Retreat. The Day of his third Citation came; and he was proceeded againſt, and condemned, as by Default. *Lucius Scipio* indeed appeared, and to excuſe his Brother's Abſence, told the People, that he was ſick at his Country-Seat. But the *Tribunes* thought this a frivolous Excuſe. They imputed his Abſence to the ſame Pride which had cauſed him to lead the People to the *Capitol*; and looked upon it as an Inſult upon the Republick. *You are well rewarded for your Complaiſance,*

132 This Book of Accounts was produced, according to *Valerius Maximus*, by *Lucius Scipio*, who was indirectly accuſed, in the Charge brought againſt his Brother.

133 According to *Livy*, *Scipio Africanus* took the Book of Accounts, and ſhewed it to the Senate, with that Air of Confidence which he had formerly ſhewn, when he forced the *Quæſtors* to put into his Hands the Keys of the publick Treaſury, that he might take out of it the Sums for which he had agreed with the Senate. This maſterly Stroke is taken Notice of by *Valerius Maximus*, and by *Plutarch*, in his *Apothegms*.

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ſaid they to the aſſembled *Tribes*; *you deſerted us to follow* Scipio *to the Temple of* Jupiter; *and now he deſerts you. He has the ſame untractable Diſpoſition now at* Liternum, *which formerly made him deſpiſe the Orders he had received, to return to* Rome, *from* Sicily. *Why ſhall not we venture to ſummons him to appear, to take his Trial?* But the People were ſatisfied with only ordering his Brother to be told, that if *Africanus*'s Sickneſs was not a Pretence, he ſhould return to *Rome*, as ſoon as he was recovered.

AND at laſt, all this Fury againſt ſo venerable a Perſon, raiſed the Compaſſion, even of his Accuſers. A *Tribune of the People*, named *Tib. Gracchus*, had long prided himſelf in being an avowed Enemy to the *Scipio's*. He was a Man as much eſteemed for Probity, as *Cato*; but was of a very different Character. There was ſomething wild and auſtere in *Cato*'s Virtue. That of *Gracchus* was ſeaſoned with Sweetneſs and Humanity. The one appeared full of Diſſimulation and Myſtery; in the other you ſaw nothing but Honeſty and Openneſs. The Zeal of the former breathed nothing but Gall and Bitterneſs. The latter was for correcting Abuſes only by the moſt gentle Methods. The one was ready to receive Prejudices, and never laid them down. The other was ſuſceptible of ill Impreſſions; but conquered them, as ſoon as better informed. Such were the two chief Enemies of the Great *Scipio*. *Cato* perſiſted in purſuing him to the uttermoſt, without any Mitigation. But Reflection brought over *Gracchus* to be of the equitable Side. Whether he was ſtruck with that heroick Magnanimity, which had ſunk under the Power of a formidable Tribunal; or whether he thought the Steps *Scipio* had taken, ſo many tacit Proofs of his Innocence; whatever was his Motive, he ceaſed to be an Enemy to this Great Man. He changed his Language all on a ſudden. To the great Surprize of his Collegues, he declared that he thought *Scipio Aſiaticus* ought to be believed, concerning the Sickneſs of his Brother; and went on thus. *I will never ſuffer the Great* Scipio *to be condemned by Default*; *and if he was at* Rome, *I would oppoſe his appearing to take his Trial. What! ſhall an Hero whom the Gods and Men have conſpired to advance to the higheſt Pitch of Glory, be expoſed as a Criminal to the Hiſſes of an inſolent Populace? Shall the Conqueror of* Carthage *appear at the Foot of our Tribunal, to be reviled there? His Confuſion muſt at laſt return upon ourſelves. What! did he drive four formidable Armies out of* Spain; *did he force* Syphax *to wear our Chains*; *did he force* Hannibal *to demand Peace*; *and did he oblige* Antiochus *to retire beyond Mount* Taurus; *only to fall a Sacrifice at laſt to the two* Petilii? *Shall we pretend to triumph over a Man who has been honoured with ſo many Triumphs of the nobleſt Kind? Let him, at leaſt, find a ſafe Retreat, in his old Age, in the Poſt to which he is retired for Refuge!* And theſe unexpected Declarations from an old Enemy of the *Scipio's*, had a great Effect on the reſt of the *Tribunes* themſelves. They were afraid that *Tiberius Gracchus* would proteſt againſt their Meaſures; and declared to the People that they would conſider more maturely what they had to do. The *Tribes* were diſmiſſed; and *Scipio* continued untainted, in his Retreat at *Liternum*. The Senate thanked *Gracchus* for having ſacrificed his perſonal Diſlike to the publick Good; and the *Petilii* ſunk into Contempt, for having endeavoured to gain themſelves Fame, at the Expence of Virtue and Innocence.

Plut. Lives of *Cato* and *Gracchus*.

Liv. E. 38. c. 52.

§. XLIII. WHETHER *Scipio*'s Sickneſs was feigned, or real, we are not able to determine. But this at leaſt we are aſſured, that Death ſoon put an End to his Uneaſineſs. Not that Solitude was uneaſy to him. He had habituated himſelf to it, even in the time of his Proſperity. He often retired, for the ſake of free Contemplation. He was the Author of that famous Saying, which has been ſo often repeated ſince, and was ſo true in his Mouth; *I am never leſs alone, than when I have no Company.* Beſides, his Solitude was very much interrupted at *Liternum*. His Houſe was reſorted to by Multitudes of Foreigners, who came thither to pay their Acknowledgments to that beneficent Soul, who, even after Victory, dried up the Tears of the Vanquiſhed. *Scipio* was as great in his Retreat, as when at the Head of Armies. Indeed his Son [134], that dear Son, whom he had received with

Incert. in vita Scipion.

Val. Max. B. 3. c. 5. §. 1.

[134] The diſadvantageous Character *Valerius Maximus* gives us of *Scipio*'s Son, does not very well agree with what *Cicero* has ſaid of him, in his Book *Of Old Age*, and eſpecially in his Dialogue, *Of Illuſtrious Orators*. In this laſt Work, he expreſſes himſelf thus. *Publius Scipio*, ſays he, *the Son of the Great* Africanus, *wanted nothing but a better State of Health, to enable him to vie with the moſt famous*

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with ſo much Joy, from the Hands of *Antiochus*, gave him no great Hopes. He was a narrow Genius; and all the Education his Father could give him could not repair his natural Defects. Nevertheleſs, the Father flattered himſelf, that Age and Experience in Buſineſs, would enlarge his Mind, which was now ſet only on Trifles. It is highly probable, that what moſt deeply pierced the Heart of the generous *Africanus*, was his Grief to find that *Rome* was ſo ſilent concerning him, and that his Country could ſo ſoon forget him. He is thought to have died in the firſt Year of his voluntary Exile. But ſome Hiſtorians poſtpone his Death two Years, and others [135] ſix, after his Retreat. But be that as it will, we ſhall, without pretending to fix ſo uncertain an Epocha, place his Death in the Year of *Rome* 566. He died at *Liternum*, at the Age of forty eight Years. All Civil, Military, and Political Virtues were united in him, to ſuch a Degree of Perfection, as was never attained by the greateſt Man in his Republick. *Camillus* alone might have been compared with him, if he had had a larger Sphere of Action, and if the Manners of the *Romans* had been as refined in his Age, as they were in the Time of *Scipio*. The latter was a perfect Pattern of Continence and Frugality, in an Age when Luxury and Debauchery began to be introduced. So different was his Character from that of *Cato*, that he ran into no Extream whatſoever. His good Senſe made him avoid Exceſs, even in Virtue itſelf. This Man, who was ſo fierce in Battel, was Good-nature itſelf, as ſoon as the Action was over. The Enemies of *Rome* experienced his Clemency, as ſoon as they had felt the Effects of his Valour. He was quite another Man when he was to give Battel, from what he was when a Treaty of Peace was to be concluded. In the latter Caſe, the Superiority of his Underſtanding made him lay aſide the Vivacity of the Warrior, or ſeaſonably reſtrain it. To ſay that his Glory in his laſt Years was not equal to that of his firſt Exploits, is not to underſtand the true Merit of his Virtue. He perhaps never ſhewed ſo much of the Great Man, no, not in *Spain*, *Africa*, or *Aſia*, as when he appeared in the *Forum Romanum*, before his Judges and Accuſers. All the People declared for him, in the laſt Storm that was raiſed againſt him. The Senate congratulated *Gracchus* on having undertaken his Defence; and all the *Tribes* followed him to the *Capitol*, when he retired thither. What more ſenſible Proof could be given of the deep Impreſſions his Reputation had made on all their Minds! After this, one ſingle Man delivers him out of the Hands of his Enemies. Was his Proſecution then owing to a Weakneſs in the Senate, or the People? No; it was rather a Defect in the Government of the *Roman* Republick. She had ſuffered the College of *Tribunes* to gain too great an Aſcendant. Neither the *Conſcript Fathers*, nor the *Comitia*, could oppoſe their Injuſtice. Tho the People were Judges in criminal Affairs, they ſacrificed even thoſe whom they loved, to the Fury of the *Tribunes*. None but a *Tribune* could have ſecured *Scipio* from a Condemnation, which otherwiſe all would have paſſed upon him, tho' againſt their Judgments and Inclinations. Had not then the Conqueror of *Hannibal* Reaſon to leave *Rome*, never to return to it more? He was ſo diſpleaſed at the Cowardice of ſome, and the Iniquity of others, that he is ſaid to have deſired his Wife [136] *Æmilia*, at his Death, not to carry his Bones to *Rome*, and place them

Auth. de Vir. Illuſtr.

famous Orators. We have Proofs of his Genius, in thoſe Harangues of his which are tranſmitted to us; and we may judge of the Sweetneſs and Elegance of his Style, by his Greek *Hiſtory, which is in every ones Hands.* It is no eaſy Matter to find out how ſuch different Characters could ſuit the ſame Man. And therefore moſt Criticks have, with Reaſon, concluded that *Scipio* had two Sons. The firſt, who is mentioned by *Cicero*, was probably ſurnamed *Publius*, as well as his Father. And this, it is preſumed at leaſt, was he who adopted the Son of *Paulus Æmilius*. The ſecond, who, according to *Valerius Maximus*, degenerated from the Virtues of his Anceſtors, had the Surname of *Lucius*, according to *Livy*.

135 If *Scipio Africanus* lived ſix Years after his Retreat to *Liternum*, we muſt poſtpone his Death till the Year of *Rome* 572. And then it will follow, that he was fifty four Years of Age, when he died, according to the Author of his Life, which is inſerted among thoſe of *Plutarch*. Whereas *Livy* inclines to believe, that he died before his Brother *Lucius* was condemned; and conſequently, the firſt Year of his Exile was the laſt of his Life. *Scipio* did not live above forty eight Years, if we ſuppoſe, with *Livy* and *Polybius*, that he was but ſeventeen, at the Beginning of the ſecond *Punick* War. Nevertheleſs, the *Roman* Hiſtorian honeſtly confeſſes, that the exact time of *Scipio*'s Death cannot be fixed with any Certainty. The little Agreement among the Ancients, as to this Fact, only leaves Room for uncertain Conjectures. Beſides, *Livy*, at the End of his 39th Book, ſeems to have altered his Mind, when he places the Death of *Scipio* in the Year 568; the Year before *Cato*'s *Cenſorſhip*; and *Cicero* prefers this Epocha, in his Book *Of Old Age*.

136 *Æmilia* was the Daughter of *Æmilius Paulus*, who died ſo gloriouſly at the Battel of *Cannæ*.

them in the Tomb of his Anceſtors. She erected a *Mauſoleum* for him at *Liternum*, and placed in it his [137] own Statue, and that of *Ennius* the Poet. *Ennius* was probably a faithful Friend, who comforted him in his Retreat. Men of Letters, whom the Great know to be ſincere in their Affection, are very proper Company for them, eſpecially in time of Diſgrace, and Uneaſineſs. As to another Tomb which was found at *Rome*, near the Gate *Capena*, and in which were the Statues of *Publius* and *Lucius Scipio*, and *Ennius*; it might perhaps be the Tomb of the younger of the two Brothers.

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§. XLIII. But even the Death of the Great *Scipio* did not extinguiſh the Hatred of the implacable *Cato*. The Eyes of *Africanus* were ſcarce cloſed, before this Enemy of his Family turned his Fury, or if you will, the Bitterneſs of his Zeal againſt *Aſiaticus*. Since [138] the Death of the elder of the two Brothers, *Cato* was become more bold. Whilſt he was alive, the artful *Cato* had contented himſelf with ſtirring up Enemies, and inveighing, privately, againſt the vaſt Authority of the *Scipio's*. Could he then have any Reaſon to think it might prove dangerous to his Republick? Indeed, if the Great *Scipio* had, in his Diſcontent, lent the Enemies of *Rome* his Aſſiſtance, it would have proved more fatal to her, than that of *Coriolanus*. But on the contrary, his Uprightneſs of Heart, and Love for his Country, never left him. Nevertheleſs, *Cato* exclaimed openly againſt his Brother. He drew up a Petition to the People againſt him, and got it preſented by the two *Petilii*. It was this: *That the* Tribes *would be pleaſed to order the Senate to appoint the* Prætor Sulpicius, *to enquire what Money had been brought from* Aſia, *as well that which was received from* Antiochus, *as from the Cities in his Dominions*. The Petition was accepted, and paſſed into a Law. *Cato* was the Promoter of it; and he, by his Eloquence, prevailed over the *Mummii*, who oppoſed it. The latter did not deny, that the Senate had a Right to order the Money to be brought to the publick Treaſury, which had been imbezelled; but they pretended, that the *Scipio's* had miſapplied none, and not given themſelves thoſe Airs of Sovereignty, with which they were reproached. And then *Furius Purpureo*, one of the ten *Aſiatick* Commiſſioners, thought it neceſſary to add another Clauſe to *Cato*'s Petition, to this Effect, *That Enquiry ſhould likewiſe be made after the Money received of* Antiochus's *Allies*. *Purpureo*'s Deſign in this Clauſe, was to include *Manlius* in the Proceſs. It was probable, that the Conqueror of the *Galatians* had received great Sums from them. *L. Scipio* ſpoke againſt this laſt Article, not ſo much to reſcue *Manlius* from the Enquiry, as to get a fair Opportunity to ſpeak for himſelf. In his Speech, he complained, That his Enemies had waited for the Death of *Scipio Africanus*, to procure a new Proceſs to be brought againſt him. *Was it not enough*, ſaid he, *not to honour my Brother's Memory in* Rome *with funeral Orations? Muſt his Aſhes be diſhonoured with repeated Accuſations? The* Carthaginians *were ſatisfied with baniſhing* Hannibal; *and ſhall* Rome *carry her Hatred to* Scipio Africanus *beyond the Grave*; *brand him with Infamy when dead*; *and not be content without ſacrificing his Brother alſo?* *Cato* anſwered *Scipio*, and by his Authority, made the *Mummii* deſiſt from the Oppoſition they would have made to the laſt Law of the People. So that it paſſed as well

Liv. B. 38. *c.* 54.

Livy, ibid.

137 *Livy* ſays, that the Remains of this Statue, which had been blown down by an Hurrican, were to be ſeen at *Liternum*, in his time.

138 The Ancients differ as much, in relation to the Circumſtances of *Lucius*'s Accuſation, as to the Order and Time of the Proceedings of the *Tribunes* againſt *Scipio Africanus* his Brother. The latter, according to *Aulus Gellius*, was yet alive, when his Brother was accuſed of having applied to his own uſe conſiderable Sums, which he had received from *Antiochus*. And he from thence takes Occaſion to accuſe *Valerius of Antium*, of a Falſehood. The latter, according to him, had affirmed, upon the Credit of ſome ancient Annals, that the Oppoſition *Tiberius Gracchus* made, in favour of *Scipio Aſiaticus*, was not till after the Death of his elder Brother. And if this Reproach be juſt, *Livy*, who declares himſelf of the ſame Opinion, is as much to be blamed as *Valerius of Antium*.

139 *Aulus Gellius* here contradicts *Livy* again. He ſays, one *Minucius Augurinus*, a *Tribune of the People*, was *Lucius*'s chief Accuſer. Nor is this all. The Author of the Life of *Scipio* aſſures us, from ſome Memoirs, whoſe Credit he durſt not vouch for, that the Conqueror of *Hannibal* was employed in the Service of the Republick in *Hetruria*, when his Brother was cited before the Tribunal of the People. Upon this News, ſay they, *Scipio Africanus* came in all haſte to *Rome*. But Sentence of Condemnation was already paſt; and the Officers, in Obedience to the Order of the *Tribunes*, were ready to lead *Lucius* to Priſon. As ſoon as the Great *Scipio* heard this, he flew to his Brother's Reſcue, and with that Air of Fierceneſs, which checked the moſt enterpriſing Spirits, ſnatched *Lucius* out of the Hands of the *Tribunes* Officers. And this Fact, which *Livy* thinks fabulous, is pretty agreeable to what *Aulus Gellius* relates.

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well as the former; and it was enacted, *That an Enquiry should be made after a Sums of Money, which had been brought from* Asia, *whether they came from* Antiochus *himself, or the Cities in his Dominions, or those of his Allies.* In orde to proceed in form, it was necessary to nominate a Commissioner to make the Enquiries, and take Depositions. And a Man was pitched upon, who was ver capable of imposing on the Publick by his Hypocrisy. This was that *Terentius Culeo*, whom the Great *Scipio* had delivered out of Captivity in *Africa*; and wh had appeared at his Triumph, wearing the *Pileus*, as a Mark of his having t gained his Liberty. He had also honoured the Obsequies of the Great *Africanus* out of an ostentatious Shew of Gratitude; and had distributed Wine, sweetene with Honey, among those who had assisted at his Funeral. But notwithstandin these Appearances, *Culeo* was a secret Enemy to the *Scipio's*. He was now *Prætor* and the Faction that opposed *Scipio Asiaticus*, pitched upon him, before any othe to take the Depositions in the Cause. Then *Lucius* was immediately cited t appear before this unjust Judge. The *Prætor* also cited *Aulus*, and *Lucius Hostilius*, the two Lieutenant Generals of the Army, young *Scipio* had commanded i *Asia*; and *C. Furius* his *Quæstor*, was likewise accused. After the Charge was hear against *Scipio*, *A. Hostilius*, and *Furius*, they were all three declared convicted the first for receiving from *Antiochus*, to procure a favourable Peace for him, fi thousand [a] Pounds weight of Gold, and four hundred and eighty [b] Pounds weigh of Silver; the second for having received from the same King, twenty [c] Pound weight of Gold, in Ingots, and four hundred and three [d] Pounds weight of Silv in Bars; and the third of having received a hundred and thirty [e] Pounds weig of Gold, and two hundred [f] of Silver. And whatever these Sums were, for a the Historians don't agree in them, this at least is certain, that *L. Scipio*, an *Aulus Hostilius*, and *C. Furius*, were condemned to pay large Fines. The tw latter immediately gave Securities. But *Scipio* still insisted, that he had put int the publick Treasury all the Money he had brought from *Asia*. And upon hi refusing to give Security for his Fine, the Officers were ordered to carry him t Prison. But then *Scipio Nasica* appealed from the *Prætor's* Sentence to th People.

[a] *Worth* 28800 *l. Sterl. at* 4 *l. per Ounce.*
[b] *Worth* 1440 *l. Sterl. at* 5 *s. per Ounce.*
[c] 960 *l. Sterl.*
[d] 1209 *l. Sterl.*
[e] 6240 *l. Sterl.*
[f] 600 *l.*

§. XLIV. *MY Father*, said he, *and the Father of* Scipio Africanus, *and* Scipi Asiaticus, *lost their Lives in* Spain, *in the Service of the Republick; and the Children have supplied their Places with Honour. Not to mention myself, or th illustrious* Africanus, *whose Virtue will never be forgotten; Cast your Eyes on* Scipi Asiaticus. *Forget, if you can, his first Exploits in* Spain *and* Africa. *Bein Lieutenant General in his Brother's Armies, he had at least some Share in his Vi tories; and you have since judged him worthy of the* Consulate. *You also se him to make War with* Antiochus, *without Regard to the Lots. His Brother i deed served under him, as Lieutenant General; but Heaven decreed, that the Co duct of the Action of* Magnesia *should not be imputed to the elder.* Scipio Africanu *was left sick in the Neighbourhood. What an Army had* Antiochus? *Had* Ha nibal *ever so many Troops in* Africa! *Who knows whether this famous* Carthaginia *did not fight himself in the* Syrian Phalanxes? *Yet the Victory of* L. Scipio w *complete. It is allowed to be so on all Hands. But it is said, that he sold th vanquished King an advantageous Peace; and applied the Money he received to h own Use. The* Syrian *redeemed his Dominions only by the Force of his Money. strange Paradox! Is this the Language of the ten Commissioners, who were sent in* Asia, *to conclude this Peace with* Antiochus? *Or if they have any Suspicions, are the sufficient Grounds for a Prosecution against an illustrious General? Did their Repor hinder* Manlius's *Triumph? The* Asiatick *Money has been all paid into the publick Cha There was more in* Scipio's *Triumph alone, than any ten of our Generals had brough into the Treasury. But the vanquished King was treated with too much Lenit*

The latter supposes, That *Scipio Africanus* was yet alive; That he defended the Accused with great Zeal; and lastly, appealed from it to the College of *Tribunes*. To which he adds, that these Magistrates confirmed the Sentence passed by their Colleague *Minucius*. He gives us, *B.* 7. *c.* 19. the Form of this confirming Sentence, which he says was taken out of some ancient Annals. In this Confusion of Opinions, which represent the same Fa in such different Lights, it is not possible to disc ver the Truth. Amidst these Contradictions that fore, we have adhered to *Livy*. Besides that Authority is superior to that of some Authors, who Fidelity is not free from Suspicion; he has likew the Advantage of having lived nearer to the ti of *Scipio*, than *Aulus Gellius*, and *Valerius Maxim*

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He was again put into Poſſeſſion of all his Dominions. Monſtrous Deluſion! Don't you know the Diſtance from the Ægean *Sea to Mount* Taurus, *and from* Europe *to* Syria? *All this vaſt Continent was ſubject to the* Syrian; *and we have ſtripped him of it. Is a Country, which is thirty Days march long, and ten broad, a ſmall Conqueſt? Or ought the* Syrian *to have been deprived of* Syria *itſelf? Did* Rome *carry her Pretenſions ſo far? The Deſign of the Senate never went farther than to ſet at Liberty all the* Greek *Cities which* Antiochus *had ſeized in* Aſia. *And did not* Scipio *do ſomething more than this? But, ſay his Accuſers, he ſuffered* Antiochus *to enjoy* Syria. *What then? Did not* Flamininus *ſuffer* Philip *to reign in* Macedon, *after his Defeat? Did not he re-eſtabliſh the Tyrant* Nabis *on the Throne of* Lacedæmon? *And was this imputed to him as a Crime? No.* Flamininus *had no Brother, whoſe Glory gave Umbrage to jealous Minds.* Whilſt *Naſica* was haranguing the People in favour of *Lucius Scipio*, the *Prætor Culeo* ordered his Houſe to be ſearched, and his Goods confiſcated. But he did not find Effects enough to pay the Fine laid upon him. And when *Naſica* was informed of this, he took Advantage of it, to juſtify his Relation. *What then is become of thoſe immenſe Riches*, ſaid he, *of which* Antiochus *is ſaid to have been ſo profuſe? The Inheritance* Lucius *received from his Anceſtors, the large Eſtates that have fallen to him, his ſavings, the Overplus of what he ſpends in his frugal Houſe, his Lands, and his Moveables, all together are not ſufficient to pay the Sum demanded of him. Very well, ſays the cruel Judge, if he cannot pay the Money, let him ſtarve in Priſon. Shall then one of the brighteſt Ornaments of the State be buried in a Dungeon? Shall a* Scipio, *a Conqueror, a triumphant Victor, be ranked with Profligates, and die of Grief in a Priſon, and his Body be ſtripped, expoſed naked in the open Air, and not be buried?* Romans, *can you be guilty of ſuch an Act as this?* Livy, B. 38. c. 60.

But how much ſoever the People might be affected with this Diſcourſe, the *Prætor Culeo* immediately read to them the Petition of the *Petilii*, the Decree of the Senate, who had conſtituted him Judge of the Affair in the firſt Inſtance, and the Sentence he had juſt pronounced. *And what have I more to do*, added he, *but either to force the Offender to give Security for his Fine, or cauſe him to be carried to Priſon?* Thus ſpoke the *Prætor*; and the *Tribunes* conſulted among one another, whether they ſhould oppoſe the Sentence given, or get the People to diſannul it. But of all the ten *Tribunes*, only *Gracchus* oppoſed it. This generous *Plebeian* was ever conſiſtent with himſelf. He protected Merit and Innocence even in his Enemies. Nevertheleſs, the reſt would not come over to his Opinion. So far from it, that they declared to the People, that the *Tribunes* would confirm the Sentence paſſed by the *Prætor*. Upon which *Gracchus* exalted his Voice, and addreſſed himſelf to the aſſembled *Tribes* in theſe Words. *I don't oppoſe the ſelling of* Scipio's *Goods which are ſeized, for the Benefit of the Publick. Some Deference muſt be paid to the Authority of the* Prætor. *But I will never ſuffer the Man who is now the moſt venerable Man in* Rome *to be dragged to a Priſon. By him* Antiochus *was diſabled from hurting us. By him our Conqueſts have been extended to the Ends of the World. By him numberleſs Nations in the Eaſt were forced to declare in favour of* Rome. *By him* Eumenes, *and the* Rhodians, *were rewarded for their Services. And a Name ſo famous in* Aſia *ſhall not be thus ſtigmatized in* Rome. *Receive then my Proteſt*, Romans, *and don't give Foreigners an Occaſion to laugh, at the Expence of a Republick, which they eſteem and fear.* The Judgment of this ſingle Man was applauded; and the Multitude expreſſed as much Joy at it, as if they had not been inclined to follow blindly the Paſſions of their *Tribunes*. In an inſtant, Truth ſeized all their Minds, and changed their Affections. Nevertheleſs, *L. Scipio*'s Effects were confiſcated. And it was much for his Juſtification, that among all his Moveables not one thing was found, which could be judged to have been brought from *Aſia*. Thus *L. Scipio* became all on a ſudden the pooreſt of all the *Romans*. Indeed, his Relations, Friends, and Clients, endeavoured to perſuade him to accept of their Preſents; and had he done ſo, he would have been richer than he was before his Effects were ſeized. But it was in vain: he had Courage enough not to fear Poverty; and would receive nothing more from his Relations than mere Neceſſaries. Could then a Man, who was Proof againſt the ſevere Temptations of Beggary, be capable of betraying his Country

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Valerius Antias apud Liv. B. 39. c. 22.

Country for baſe Gain? Even his Glory was increaſed by his Humiliation. *Rom* afterwards ſent him Ambaſſador into *Aſia*, at her own Expence, to ſettle a Di ference that had ariſen between King *Eumenes*, and *Antiochus*, or rather his So *Seleucus*: And the Republick was pleaſed to enrich him. Upon his return, th aſſigned him conſiderable Sums, which he employed in the Diſcharge of the Vo he had made during the *Syrian* Wars. He, at his own Expence, celebrated *Game* in a very handſome manner, for ten Days together, by way of Thankſgiving fo his Victory. All the Shame of his Diſgrace fell on the *Prætor Culeo*, and th *Tribunes*.

As for *Cato*, he only kindled the Fire, and diſappeared, when it burned wit moſt Fury; and the People being diſpoſed to think his Intentions good, h loſt little of his Reputation. We ſhall ſee him promoted to the greateſt Ho nours. So eaſy is it for deceitful Men to impoſe on the Multitude, by affecting an Appearance of Probity! He ſo diſguiſed his Ambition, Revenge, and Injuſtice that they were all overlooked. And as to *Tiberius Gracchus*, beſides the Appro bation of the Publick, he had an Honour done him by the *Cornelian* Family, which he did not expect. After the Death of the Great *Africanus*, the *Scipio's* conſulted together about marrying his youngeſt Daughter. The eldeſt was married to *Scipio Naſica*: And the Relations were of Opinion, that the youngeſt could not be diſpoſed of, better than to *Tib. Gracchus*. In point of Birth indeed, there was a great Diſproportion between the two Families. *Gracchus* was as *New* a Man as *Cato*. But his Merit and Probity ſupplied what was wanting in Nobility. Beſides, it was highly becoming the *Cornelian* Family, to acknowledge the Services *Gracchus* had done the two Heads of it. The Marriage was therefore propoſed to *Tib. Gracchus*; and he thought himſelf honoured by it. Perhaps, never were two Perſons more ſuitably matched. The Wife was the famous *Cornelia*, the Mother of *Gracchi*, whoſe Virtues are ſo much extolled by the Ancients. And the following Story, as fabulous as it appears, has ſome Probability in it, ſo far as it relates to the eminent Qualities, which all the Hiſtorians give *Gracchus*. It is ſaid, that the Bride and Bridegroom found two Snakes in the nuptial Bed. This was too extraordinary an Accident, not to have the *Augurs* conſulted upon it; and they anſwered, That if the male Snake was killed, *Cornelia*'s Husband ſhould die before her; and if the female, ſhe ſhould die before *Gracchus*. To which the Hiſtorians add, that upon this Declaration of the Diviners, *Gracchus* ordered the male Snake to be killed, and preferred his Wife's Life to his own. But be that as it will, it is at leaſt certain, that *Cornelia* ſurvived her Husband, after ſhe had brought him a great many Children. When a Widow, ſhe was a perfect Pattern for all thoſe of her Sex which were ſo. And it is much for her Honour, that her Name is preſerved in Hiſtory. The *Roman* Hiſtorians, who are ſo liberal of their Praiſes to their great Men, are very ſparing of them to their famous Women.

Plut. in Scipio; & in Gracchis.

§. XLV. The *Conſular* Year was now near expiring. But this new Zeal of ſome *Romans* ſtill continued; and their Politicians thought it neceſſary to humble their greateſt Generals at a time, when a ſort of Peace made them the leſs wanted. *Fulvius*, the *Pro-Conſul*, who had lately reduced *Ætolia*, came and demanded a Triumph, in the Abſence of the *Conſul*, his perſonal Enemy. The Senate aſſembled to examine into his Claim; and *Fulvius* gave them a full Account of his Exploits. He mentioned the Siege, and Surrendry of *Ambracia*, and his Conqueſts in the Iſland of *Cephalenia*; and chiefly inſiſted upon the Neceſſity to which he had reduced the *Ætolians* of ſubmitting, and accepting of a Peace. But he found, to his Surpriſe, that one of *The Tribunes of the People*, named *Abutius* was his Enemy. The latter had received Orders from the *Conſul Æmilius*, not to ſuffer *Fulvius* to receive the Honours he ſought for; and the *Tribune* was but too regardful of the *Conſul*'s Deſires. He proteſted againſt *Fulvius*'s Petition, and inſiſted, that it ſhould not be granted till the *Conſul* returned. *Fulvius*, on the other hand, repreſented to the Senate, that it was not juſt to determine the Rewards to be given to a General of an Army, by the Fancies of a declared Enemy. That *Æmilius* had carried his Reſentment to him to a great height; and That he had extorted a Decree from an unlawful Aſſembly of Senators, by which it was declared, that *Ambracia* had not been taken by Force. *But nevertheleſs*, ſaid he, *is it not certain that I battered it with my Machines? Is it not well known* tha

Livy, B. 39. c. 4.

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that my Miners were employed fifteen Days in ſapping the Walls? Does not the Slaughter of three thouſand of the Enemy, who were killed in the Attacks, ſhew that they were vigorous? Æmilius *alſo accuſed me before the* Pontifices, *of having plundered the Temples in the City, after its Reduction. But the Teſtimony of my Troops have deſtroyed this Calumny, and ſhewn the Hatred of my Adverſary. Indeed I brought from* Ambracia *ſome Ornaments for the City of* Rome. *And are not our Temples and publick Places to this Day adorned with the Spoils of* Syracuſe? *Shall it then be in a* Conſul's *Power, to prevent paying the Gods thoſe Thankſgivings, which we owe them for our Victories? Shall my Glory be poſtponed, till a Man returns, who may capriciouſly delay coming? Muſt I, and my Army, continue in the Suburbs, till he ſhall think fit to appear? Reſtrain,* Conſcript Fathers, *and You* Tribunes of the People, *theſe Extravagancies of a* Conſul, *who would govern us like a King.* Which ſaid, the equitable *Gracchus*, who ſeemed to have been born to ſupport Merit, wherever he found it, aſſented to the Force of his Reaſoning. He declared openly for *Fulvius*; and in order to put a Stop to the Oppoſition made by *Abutius* his Colleague, he took him aſide, and addreſſed himſelf to him thus. *It would be a ſhameful thing for you to revenge yourſelf upon your own Enemy, by depriving him of the Glory he deſerved: And how much greater then will be the Reproach, if you make yourſelf the Tool to gratify another Man's Reſentment! Our own Hearts ought to regulate our Hatred and Affections, and not another Man's Reſentments. Do you conſider, that you will diſgrace your own Office, if you become the Tool of a* Conſul? *A* Tribune *receives Law from no Body. His Authority is ſacred, and if he becomes a* Conſul's *Slave, he caſts a Reflection on his whole College. You are then, it ſeems, to be* Æmilius's *Agent! It is not your Reaſon, but he, that governs you. How different are your Proceedings from mine! I have twice ſacrificed my own Hatred, in order to do Juſtice to two great Men; whereas you adopt another Man's Malice, contrary to all Law and Equity.* Which Words brought *Abutius* to himſelf. He dropped his Oppoſition, and left the Aſſembly. Then the Senate decreed *Fulvius* a Triumph; and he demanded a ſecond Favour of *The Conſcript Fathers.* This was, that he might make uſe of a hundred and ſixty [a] Pounds weight of Gold, of the Money he had brought from *Ætolia*, to diſcharge the Vow he had made to *Jupiter*, on the Day that *Ambracia* ſurrendered. But the Senate thought this Sum too great to be ſpent in *Games*, and reduced it to eighty [b] Pounds weight of Gold. *Fulvius* was well ſatisfied with this, and fixed the Day for his Triumph; but was forced to anticipate it. He received Advice, That the *Conſul Æmilius* had left the Army, in order to come and oppoſe him; and That he was fallen ſick on the Road. Leſt therefore he ſhould have more Battels to fight in *Rome*, than he had had in *Ætolia*, *Fulvius* made haſte to enter the Capital in triumph, before his Enemy arrived. He made his Proceſſion on *The Tenth of the Calends of January.* What diſtinguiſhed it was, the great Number of Crowns of Gold, the vaſt Quantities of Gold in Ingots, and Silver in Bars, of *Attick* and *Macedonian* Money, the Multitudes of Marble, and Braſs Statues, and the *Balliſtæ* and *Catapultæ*, which he had brought from *Greece.* A great Number of *Greek* and *Cephallenian* Lords followed his Chariot. And after he had made rich Preſents to his Officers, *Fulvius* gave twenty five [c] *Denarii* to every common Soldier, fifty [d] to every *Centurion*, and ſeventy five [e] to every Horſeman. As for his *Games*, they were celebrated with the greateſt Magnificence, and Judgment. The *Greeks* were excellent Workmen for theſe ſorts of Repreſentations; and many of them had followed him to do him Honour. 140 *Athletæ* were now firſt ſeen to fight in the *Arena*, at *Rome*; and the People were alſo entertained with the hunting of Lions and Panthers. Indeed, theſe ſeveral *Games* were not celebrated till the next Year; but we have joined them with his 141 Triumph, that we might not too often break the Thread of the Hiſtory.

[a] 7680 *l. Sterl. at* 4 *l. per Ounce.*

[b] 3840 *l. Sterl. Faſti Capit.*

[c] 16 *s.* 1 *d.* $\frac{3}{4}$ *q. Arbuthnot.*

[d] 1 *l.* 12 *s.* 3 *d* $\frac{1}{2}$.

[e] 2 *l.* 8 *s.* 5 *d* $\frac{1}{4}$.

140 The Combats of the *Athletæ*, and the ſeveral Shows uſed in *Rome*, ſhall be particularly examined into hereafter. They are ſome of the moſt entertaining Points of the *Roman* Hiſtory, and moſt worthy of the Curioſity of the Reader.

141 *Fulvius*'s Triumph was followed three Months after, by that of *Cneius Manlius Vulſo*, the Conqueror of the *Galatians*. He choſe to delay his Proceſſion till the next Election of new Magiſtrates. His only Reaſon for this Delay, was his Fear, of meeting with an Oppoſition from the *Tribunes of the People*, and of being included in the Proſecution againſt *Lucius Scipio*. He was alſo deſirous of avoiding the Enquiries of the *Prætor Terentius*. This Magiſtrate would certainly have diſputed his Triumph. Beſides, *Manlius* knew that he was

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charged with having promoted Effeminacy, and a Relaxation of Diſcipline among his Troops. All *Rome* were Witneſſes of the Luxury of the Soldiers lately returned from *Aſia*. By them the Extravagance of the *Greeks* began to be introduced among the *Romans*. Only a few Marks of their ancient Simplicity were now left. The valuable Moveables, coſtly Tables, rich Carpets, and ſtately Couches adorned with Braſs, which were lately brought from *Aſia*, dazzled the Eyes of the Citizens. Then ſays *Livy*, Concerts of Muſick, and droll Repreſentations, began firſt to be uſed at great Tables. Muſick and Dancing became neceſſary Parts of an Entertainment. The Rich had Girls in conſtant Pay, whom they hired to ſing with the Inſtruments. The moſt exquiſite Meats were bought at great Prices, and ſerved up with a State unknown in *Rome*, till the time of *Manlius*'s Conqueſts. The Love of good Eating, and a Refinement of Taſte, ſoon brought the Art of Cookery into Credit. A skilful Man, who underſtood it well, become a Man of Conſequence. The Care of dreſſing Meats was no longer left, as formerly, to the meaneſt Slaves. It was thought an Employment, that required Experience and Diſcernment. Nevertheleſs, ſays the *Roman* Hiſtorian, theſe Diſorders, which were then thought intolerable Exceſſes, were only the Preludes to that general Corruption, which Affluence, and the Delights of *Aſia*, afterwards ſpread, in the Capital of the World. And as *Manlius* knew that the Accuſers of the two *Scipio's*, and eſpecially *Terentius Culco*, openly declared, That his laſt Expedition againſt the *Aſiatick Gauls*, was the fatal Epocha, when Licentiouſneſs, and a Corruption of Manners, were introduced: He therefore poſtponed his Triumph, till the *Prætorſhip* of the latter was expired. In his Proceſſion, which was made on *The Third of the Nones of March*, that is, the fifth Day of that Month, there were carried before his Chariot, the two hundred Crowns of [a] Gold, each weighing twelve Pounds, which the Cities of the Allies had preſented him with; two hundred and twenty thouſand [b] Pounds weight of Silver Bars; two hundred and twenty [c] Pounds weight of Gold in Ingots; a hundred and twenty ſeven thouſand *Attick Tetradrachmæ* [d]; two hundred and fifty thouſand *Ciſtophori* [e]; and ſixteen thouſand three hundred and twenty *Philippus's* [f] of Gold. But what moſt attracted the Eyes of the Spectators, were the *Gallick* Chariots loaded with the richeſt Spoils of *Aſia*. Fifty two of the chief Men in *Galatia* walked before their Conqueror. But of all this Riches, only forty two *Denarii* were given to each Soldier; eighty four to every [h] *Centurion*, and a hundred and twenty ſix to every [i] Horſeman. They who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by any ſignal Action, then received the Rewards allotted to military Valour. During the Ceremony, the Air reſounded with the ſatyrical Songs and ſevere Jeſts of the Soldiers upon their General. His too great Indulgence and Ambition, were the Subjects of their Satyrs. And the Friends of *Manlius*, to regain him the Favour of the People, got a Decree of the Senate paſſed, whereby it was enacted, *That part of the Sums brought from* Galatia *ſhould be given to ſuch of the Inhabitants of* Rome *as had lent their Money towards defraying the neceſſary Expences of the ſecond* Punic *War*. And the *Quæſtors* raiſed a ſufficient Fund to diſcharge this Debt, by taking only 25 ½ *Aſſes per* thouſand, out of all the Gold and Silver Money brought from *Galatia*.

[a] *Worth* 115200 *l. Sterl. at* 4 *l. per Ounce.*
[b] *Worth* 660000 *l. Sterl. at* 5 *s. per Ounce.*
[c] *Worth* 105744 *l. Sterl.*
[d] 16404 *l.* 3 *s.* 4 *d. Arbuth.*
[e] 4304 *l.* 8 *s.* ⅔ *of a Penny. Arbuthnot.*
[f] 14756 *l. Sterl. Arbuth.*
[g] 1 *l.* 7 *s.* 1 *d* ½.
[h] 2 *l.* 14 *s.* 3 *d.*
[i] 4 *l.* 1 *s.* 4 *d* ½.

THE

THE Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK XLII.

§. I. WE are at length arrived at that Period, whence we cannot look back on the *Roman* Republick, without Surpriſe and Aſtoniſhment. If we conſider what is paſt, we ſhall ſee her, at her Birth, ſtarting up in a manner out of nothing, ſtruggling from her earlieſt Infancy with her Neighbours, ſcarce able to reſiſt weak Enemies, and not overcoming at laſt, but by numberleſs Labours, and the moſt painful Virtues. Frugality, Continence, a ſtrict Obſervance of ſevere Diſcipline, Intrepidity in Danger, Patience under Misfortunes, and above all, an invariable Conſtancy in being never tired with War, in not giving herſelf the leaſt Interval of Peace, in keeping her *Legions* continually employed, and in perpetually expoſing them to Hazards, ſometimes by Sea, and ſometimes by Land, in *Sicily*, *Spain*, *Africa*, *Greece*, and *Aſia*; were the only Means ſhe made uſe of to enlarge her Dominions. And if we look forwards, we ſhall find the ſucceeding Scene little leſs aſtoniſhing. *Rome* will now appear, in ſuch Grandeur, as was never attained to, by any other Republick, or any Monarchy in the World. She now began to taſte the Fruits of her Virtues and Labours, in Opulence and Splendor. The *Roman* Senate and People now ſaw, in the Eaſt, Provinces, Kings, the free Cities of *Aſia*, *Macedon*, and *Greece*; in the Weſt, *Spain*, and *Ciſalpine Gaul*; and in the South, the *Carthaginian* State, and *Numidia*, pay a ready Obedience to their Orders. Ambaſſadors brought thither from all Nations in the World, ſome their Tributes, others their Preſents. And all came to implore the Protection of the predominant Republick. Wherever ſhe had carried her Arms, no Prince, or Nation, durſt enter into any War, but with her Conſent. She ſettled all Differences, and determined all Claims. The Decrees of the Senate were as faithfully executed in *Africa*, *Aſia*, and the furtheſt Parts of *Europe*, as in *Rome*. This City, now embelliſhed with the Spoils of *European* and *Aſiatick Greece*, and enriched with the Gold and Silver of *Spain*, and *Syria*, was, as it were, the Capital of the World. Indeed, ſhe had yet reduced into *Provinces*, only *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Hither* and *Further Spain*, and the Continent of *Italy*. But the reſt of the World was no leſs enſlaved. The Nations which continued ſubject to their old Maſters, and preſerved an Appearance of Liberty, obeyed indeed their own Sovereigns; but thoſe Sovereigns themſelves were Slaves to *Rome*. It may be truly affirmed, that all her *Citizens* were more revered, and more powerful, than Kings. The latter came to ſollicit the Votes of the meaneſt *Plebeians*, who, in their *Comitia*, determined the Fate of Monarchs, took away their Crowns, and diſpoſed of Thrones as they pleaſed. Beſides, Politeneſs and Magnificence now reigned at *Rome*; their ancient Ruſticity was changed into a kind of Luxury, in which, nevertheleſs, there was no kind of Exceſs, and which was ſcarce to be perceived in private Houſes. But in the Temples, publick Places, *Circus's*, and Theatres, the *Greek* Taſte ſeemed to be tranſplanted to *Rome*. Comedies were brought to Perfection there. *Plautus* already equalled the [1] *Ariſtophanes's*, and the [2] *Eupolis's*

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[1] *Ariſtophanes* flouriſhed about the *86th Olympiad*, three hundred and nineteen Years after the Foundation of *Rome*. He wrote above fifty Comedies: Of which only eleven are tranſmitted to us; and theſe ſhew the Licentiouſneſs of the Theatre at *Athens*. This Poet ſpares neither Gods nor Men.

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[2] *Eupolis's* of *Greece*. The *Latin* Tongue was softened; and Eloquence was become something more than Flights and Enthusiasm. The Orators began to compose their Harangues according to Art, improve them by Method, and make their Sentences and Periods numerous and harmonious. Nevertheless, the Felicity of the *Romans* was not yet complete. They wanted to enjoy these Delights which the whole World procured them, in perfect Tranquillity. Whereas the Republick had still two troublesome Wars to maintain. They did not appear so formidable as those of *Macedon* and *Syria*, but it was really more difficult to finish them. The first was in *Liguria*, the second in *Spain*. Providence seems to have left the *Romans* these two laborious Works, on Purpose to keep their Virtue in continual Exercise. Since they had breathed *Asiatick* Air, it was visible that the Contagion of the Country where they had lived, had affected their Manners. The Love of Idleness got the better of that martial Ardour, which made them formerly prefer Camps to Rest and Repose in the City. *Rome* had now new Charms. The Inhabitants of *Latium* came from all Parts to settle there; and usurped the Privileges of old *Citizens*. The City was so much overstocked with *Latins*, that it was found necessary to drive [3] out twelve thousand of them. And in so delightful an Abode, the Valour of the *Legionaries*, which were annually raised there, to be the main Support and Strength of the *Roman* Armies, would have degenerated, if the Necessity of marching against the *Ligures* and *Spaniards* had not drawn them out of it. So that these People, who were yet to be reduced, were Preservatives against that Softness and Effeminacy which *Rome* had to fear. The Senate therefore employed the *Roman* Generals and their Troops in rough and difficult Countries, during the whole time between the War in *Syria*, and the second War with *Macedon*.

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During the Sickness of the *Consul Æmilius*, whose Hatred to the *Pro-Consul Fulvius* had drawn him too precipitately to *Rome*, his Collegue *Flaminius* came thither, much about the time, that it was necessary to assemble the *Comitia* to elect new *Consuls*. *Flaminius* presided in them, and seemed to have inspired them with his own Love of Peace. There was never less canvassing, or Trouble, in the *Field of Mars*, than in the Assembly which raised *Sp. Postumius Albinus*, and *Q. Marcius Philippus*, to the *Consulship*. Six *Prætors* were also chosen, as usual. Two for the City; one to judge all Causes between one *Citizen* and another; and the second, to decide all Disputes between *Citizens* and Strangers. The former was *T. Mænius*; the latter *M. Licinius Lucullus*. The other four were, one for *Sicily*, another for *Sardinia*, and two for *Spain*. *Hither Spain* fell to *L. Quinctius*; and *Further Spain* to *C. Calpurnius*. The *Spaniards* wanted to be suppressed. In *Hither Spain* the *Celtiberians* were in Arms, and gave the *Romans* a great deal of Trouble. *Manlius Acidinus* had lately fought two Battels, one of which had ended doubtfully, and the other had been so favourable to the *Romans*, that the Rebels, after they had lost twelve thousand Men in it, would have been totally subdued, if the Arrival of his Successor had not interrupted the Course of *Acidinus's* Victories. In the *Further Spain*, the *Legionaries* continued in their Revolt. The *Pro-Prætor Atinius* had just defeated them in a pitched

Religion, Merit, and Dignities, were the Subjects of his Ridicule. By his unbridled Boldness in defaming Magistrates, and the most venerable Heads of the Republick of *Athens*, he obtained of the People a Crown made of the Branches of a sacred Olive-tree, which grew in the Citadel. A Mark of Distinction, which the *Athenians* gave only to Heroes.

2 *Eupolis* was the Cotemporary and Rival of *Aristophanes*; and like him, made his Court to the People by bringing the Great Men of *Athens* upon the Stage, and turning them into Ridicule. *Pericles* himself, who was famous for his Virtue all over *Greece*, could not escape the unlucky Reflections of this insolent Poet. It is said of him, that he was naturally Vain. When he had gained some Prize, he was very fond of appearing in publick Assemblies, where he shewed the Marks of his Victory, with great Vanity. It is pretended, that he entered into the *Athenian* Troops; and that having gone to Sea during the *Lacedæmonian* War, he perished upon the *Hellespont*. And according to *Suidas*, the Concern of the People at the Loss of a Man of so great Reputation, was what produced a publick Decree, excluding all Poets from the Profession of Arms. But others say, that *Alcibiades* was so enraged against *Eupolis*, that he caused him to be thrown into the Sea.

3 The *Prætor*, *Quintus Terentius Culeo*, was ordered by the Senate to enquire after all the *Latins* that had settled in *Rome* since the *Censorship* of *Caius Claudius*, and *Marcus Livius*; and at the repeated Instances of the *Latian* Deputies, who complained that their Country was deserted, the new Comers were all obliged to return to their old Habitations.

Battel,

Battel, killed six thousand of them, and taken from them 4 *Asta*, the Capital of *Bætica*; but this brave General had lost his Life before the Place. He had rashly advanced too near to the Walls, was wounded with a Dart, and died of his Wound. So that it was necessary to send Reinforcements to *Spain*. Nevertheless, the two new *Prætors* set out a little too late for their Province. When they arrived there, it was too late to take the Field. They therefore postponed Hostilities, till the Spring of the next Year, when we shall see them jointly gain a glorious Victory. But though the *Romans* had then no Enemies out of *Italy*, but in *Spain*; they don't seem to have increased their Troops there very considerably. So that the *Spaniards* struggled for their Liberty near two hundred Years; and strictly speaking, the *Romans* did not so subdue them, as to make them peaceable, till the Empire of *Augustus*.

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§. II. There was no other *Province* for both the *Consuls* but *Liguria*; and each prepared to lead thither an Army newly raised in *Rome*. But no immediate Danger called them in haste to their Province. The *Ligures* had no Thoughts of acting offensively; they were very well content to defend their Liberty, by cantoning themselves in their Rocks and Forests. The two Collegues therefore had time enough to tarry at *Rome*, till the Conclusion of an Affair which the Senate had at Heart. This was to disperse and punish a monstrous Society of Debauchees, which had been formed at *Rome*, under the Name of *Bacchanalians*. The *Consuls* were ordered to enquire after the Offenders; and it is not to be expressed, with what Zeal, *Rome* prosecuted the Heads, and Accomplices, of this clandestine Association of Men, given up to all kinds of Wickedness. The bare Recital of it is enough to make one tremble. Opulence, no doubt, and the Concourse of foreign Nations, were what facilitated the forming this infamous Cabal, in a City which had hitherto shewn the utmost Abhorrence to all Incontinence.

Some unknown *Greek*, a Man of an obscure Birth, but artful, insinuating, and very corrupt in Morals, had landed in *Hetruria*. In his own Country he had been initiated in the Mysteries of a Sect, which held their Assemblies in the Name, and under the Protection, of *Bacchus*. But we have Reason to believe, that these abominable Conventicles had not their first Rise in *Greece*. Their Origin was more remote. There is so great a Resemblance between the execrable Ceremonies, which the Children of *Ammon*, and the *Israelites* themselves performed in *The Valley of Tophet*, and the Mysteries of the *Bacchanalians*, as makes it probable, that the one was an Imitation of the other. If we only put the Name of *Bacchus*, instead of that of 5 *Moloch*, we shall find, that the same Sacrifices of Modesty, and the Lives of Men, were made in private to the former, as to the latter. The *Jews* borrowed these Customs from their Neighbours; afterwards they reached to the *Greeks*; and at length were fatally propagated in *Italy* too. The living God had severely punished them in his own People. And the *Romans* so severely punished them in their Republick, that they exterminated them; at least, for a time. It is well known, that *Hetruria* was very ready to receive all Novelties in religious Worship. It was from thence, that *Auspices* and *Augurs* were brought to *Rome*; and from thence likewise these *Bacchanals* were brought to the Capital, where they produced a terrible Corruption of Manners. The *Greek* beforementioned had made himself the Head, or if you will, the Priest of this secret Association.

2 *Kings* xxiii. *Isa.* xxx. *Jerem.* vii.

Livy B. 39. *c.* 8. *Val. Max. B.* 1. *c.* 3. §. 1.

4 *Morales* places the City of *Asta* in a Canton of *Andalusia*, where there is now a Village called *Massa de Asta*. Nevertheless, most modern Geographers think it stood in the Place, where we now find *Xeres de la Frontera*.

5 *Moloch*, whom some have taken for *Saturn*, and others for *Jupiter*, was a God of the *Ammonites*. They represented him under a monstrous Figure; which was the Head of a Calf on a Bust of Brass. In his Stomach there were several Holes, from which there was a Communication with several Furnaces, which were designed for different Sorts of Victims; and these People made it a barbarous Law among them, to cast their own Children into one of these burning Furnaces. They imagined they could no otherwise appease the Wrath of their God, than by sacrificing to him what was most dear to them. Drums were beaten, and several other Instruments of Musick used, during this horrible Sacrifice; and by that means, the Cries of those whom the Fire consumed could not be heard. Some indeed have thought that these Pagans never carried their Barbarity to so great an Excess. They pretend, that the Ceremony was only that of making these Children pass through the Flame, by way of Purification. But be that as it will, *The Valley of Tophet*, where these Impieties were committed, took its Name from the Noise made by the Cymbals and Drums during the Sacrifice. In this Place there was a Temple erected in honour to *Moloch*. And near it was a Grove consecrated to him, where his Priests committed Brutalities, which Modesty forbids us to name.

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He did not gain himſelf Followers, by appearing in publick, and openly proclaiming the Power of a beneficent God. He only whiſpered his infamous Doctrines in private. The Women were firſt ſeduced; all the Aſſemblies conſiſted only of them, for ſome time; and Prieſteſſes were choſen out of them. Afterwards the Men were admitted, and the Aſſemblies were held in a Wood, conſecrated to the Goddeſs [6] *Simila*, or as others *Stimula*.

But it was not ſo much Curioſity, as the prevailing Corruption of Mens Hearts that gained the Impoſtor Credit. Wine and good Cheer were the Attractives firſt made uſe of, to draw intemperate Men to the Feaſt of *Bacchus*. Their Numbers encreaſed; the Feaſt was held by Night; and the *Greeks* took care to introduce among them, ſuch young Perſons of both Sexes, as were moſt capable of irritating the Paſſions. They were firſt enlivened with Wine and Dancing, then the Place was deſignedly darkened, and this Darkneſs ſeemed to take from them all manner of Modeſty. Their Licentiouſneſs was then purſued without any Reſtraint. The Night, which was begun with Drunkenneſs, ended with Inceſt, and Brutalities, yet more deteſtable. Nor was all this enough. The little time they had before their Underſtandings were quite drowned in Wine, was ſpent in forging Contracts and Bonds, and combining together to bear falſe Witneſs. Nay, it often happened, that thoſe whom it was their Intereſt to deſtroy, were diſpatched by a Dagger, or a Doſe of Poiſon. Many Perſons diſappeared all on a ſudden, and could no where be found. Violence and Treachery were as much practiſed in theſe nocturnal Aſſemblies, as all manner of Luſts. In order to ſtifle the Cries of thoſe whom they aſſaſſinated, or ſacrificed by Violence to their Debaucheries, they made a great Noiſe with Drums and Cymbals; and the Shouts of this *Bacchanalian* Troop, were louder than the Inſtruments. Nevertheleſs, as the *Rendezvous* of the People was in a ſolitary unknown Place, the Senate was not informed of it, till the following Accident.

§. III. A young *Roman* named *Æbutius*, had loſt his Father in the Flower of his Age; and *Duronia* his Mother had married again. *T. Sempronius Blæſus* the Father-in-law, was a violent and profane Man; and *Æbutius*, according to his Birth, muſt naturally have come to the Enjoyment of a great Eſtate. His Father was a *Roman Knight*; a Mark of Diſtinction, which was neither obtained, nor kept by any, but ſuch as were very rich. At firſt Guardians were aſſigned for the young *Roman*; but he loſt them too ſoon by Death. Then the Care of his Eſtate fell into the Hands of his Mother, and his Father-in-Law; and the latter was both involved in Debt to a great Degree, and reſponſible for his Ward's Eſtate. This gave him Uneaſineſs; and *Duronia* and *Sempronius* could find out no other Remedy, but to get rid of her Son, and his Son-in-Law, whoſe juſt Demands were ſo troubleſome to them; and the Husband and Wife thought the new Aſſembly of the *Bacchanalians*, with which they were acquainted, the moſt proper Place and Method, for the Execution of their barbarous Parricide. Beſides, *Æbutius*'s Manners, which they had neglected to cultivate, ſeemed to favour their Deſign. He was ſcarce grown up to be a young Man, before he fell into the Vices of that Age. He had taken a Miſtreſs near his own Houſe, and his Attachment to her was well known. The Mother therefore took her Son aſide, and addreſſed herſelf to him in this artful manner. *In your laſt Sickneſs, Son, when I was ſo much alarmed for fear of your Death, I applied to the Gods for Relief for you. We had juſt heard of a new Worſhip of* Bacchus. *I made a Vow to initiate myſelf in the Myſteries of it; and you recovered. I muſt therefore diſcharge my Vow, and you muſt prepare yourſelf by Continence for ten Days, for entering into an Aſſociation, which will afterwards furniſh you with new Pleaſures to gratify your Inclinations. After the neceſſary Preparation is over, I will lead you to the* Bacchanals *myſelf.* *Æbutius* at firſt readily complied with the Deſires of *Duronia*; but he could not help acquainting his Miſtreſs, with the ten Days Continence his Mother required of him. The Perſon with whom he was in Love, was a Courtiſan of great Beauty, named *Hiſpala Feſcenia*. When ſhe was yet but a Slave,

6 *Galenius* thought that this Goddeſs *Simila*, was the ſame as *Semele*, the Mother of *Bacchus*, according to Fable. St. *Auſtin* in his Book, *Of the City of God*, gives her the Name of *Stimula*; and ſays ſhe was ſo called, *Quod ad agendum ultra modum ſtimularet.*

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ſhe had gotten a great deal of Money, by her infamous Proſtitutions; and when ſhe became rich, after ſhe had bought her Freedom, ſhe fell in love with young *Æbutius*, and ſoon captivated him with her Careſſes. But notwithſtanding her ſhameful Commerce with him, this Woman had more Honour and Probity, than Women of her Profeſſion generally have. Beſides, her Love for *Æbutius* was boundleſs. She ſupplied him with Neceſſaries, and ſupported him under the ſevere Treatment of his Father-in-Law, and a Mother, who often ſuffered him to want. Nor was all this enough for *Hiſpala*. After the Death of her *Patron*, who had procured her Freedom, and who had been her Guardian 7 according to Law, ſhe had obtained Leave to make her Will, and had left all her Eſtate to *Æbutius*, after her Death. The bare mention the young *Roman* made of getting himſelf initiated in the Myſteries of *Bacchus*, made her tremble with Horror. *Into what an Abyſs of Miſery*, ſaid ſhe to him, *are you going to involve yourſelf! It were better that both You and I ſhould die, than that you ſhould embark in ſo dangerous an Undertaking. May the Evils that threaten you, fall on the Heads of thoſe who have engaged you in it!* Upon this, the great Concern and Uneaſineſs of *Hiſpala*, ſoon affected the Heart of *Æbutius*; and he would know the Particulars of the Perils that threatened him *Your Father-in-Law*, added ſhe, *wants to expoſe your Life and Honour to the moſt horrible Dangers. I ſay nothing of your Mother. My Affection for you makes me reſpect her. Nevertheleſs, both ſhe and her Husband have conſpired to take away your Life.* And ſhe ſaid no more. *Æbutius* was forced to uſe the utmoſt Entreaties, and the moſt preſſing Inſtances with her, before he could prevail on *Hiſpala* to reveal the Secrets of the Aſſociation. She had formerly been of it herſelf, and had bound herſelf by the moſt frightful Oaths, never to betray the Secret. But at length, ſhe called all the Gods and Goddeſſes to witneſs, that her only Motive to break her Promiſes, was to ſave the Life of him who was the moſt dear to her of any Perſon in the World; and then ſhe went on thus. *When I was a Slave, I attended my Miſtreſs to this Sanctuary of Iniquity. But I ſwear to you I never have been there ſince I have gained my Liberty. I know, that of all the young Men who have frequented it, not one has arrived at the Age of twenty Years. They no ſooner come to the Place, but they are carried to a deteſtable Prieſt; and this Barbarian devotes them as a Victim, to Death, and Luſt. He takes them aſide into a private Place, where, without any Scruple or Regard, Violence is offered to their Modeſty, and often to their Lives.*

This Diſcourſe, which ſeemed ſincere, affected *Æbutius*; and as ſoon as he returned Home, he proteſted to his Mother, that he abſolutely renounced her Vow, to aſſociate him with the *Bacchanalians*. *Duronia* eaſily gueſſed, that her Son had been inſtructed by *Hiſpala*, and ſaid; *This is that Enchantreſs, that Wretch, your Miſtreſs, who has perverted your Underſtanding, and corrupted your Heart. It is ſhe who has taught you to deſpiſe the Commands of your Mother, and to be ungrateful to the Gods. Get you out of my Houſe, and appear in my Sight no more!* The young *Roman* found a ſafe Retreat in the Houſe of *Æbutia*, his Father's Siſter. But he was forced to declare to his Aunt the Reaſon why he left his Mother's Houſe. *Æbutia* thought the Excuſe a very juſt one; and urged her Nephew to inform the *Conſul Poſtumius*, of what he had heard of the infamous Luſts and Murders of this nocturnal Aſſembly, in the Grove of *Stimula*. *Æbutius* was twice brought before the *Conſul*, who heard him favourably, and carefully informed himſelf of the Matter. Nor was this all. He likewiſe enquired into the Character of *Æbutia*, who had excited her Nephew to declare ſuch horrible Things; and he was informed by *Sulpicia*, his Mother-in-Law, that *Æbutia* was a Woman of a good Underſtanding, and her Reputation blameleſs.

7 We have elſewhere obſerved, that the Lawyers of *Rome* were prepoſſeſſed with ſuch injurious Opinions of the Women, that they never would leave them to their own Government, during their whole Lives. Neither their having been fruitful, or being Mothers, or of a mature Age, could free them from the uneaſy Yoke of a Guardian. This Office belonged to the neareſt Relation. If there was none, the *Prætor*, with the Majority of the *Tribunes*, were to provide them Guardians, according to the *Atilian* Law. The ancient *Civilians* have preſerved ſome Footſteps of this Law; but have not told us the exact time of its Promulgation. As for the *freed* Women, who were not born of free Condition, they were under the Care of their *Patrons*. And in caſe they died, the Women were obliged to have Recourſe to the Magiſtrate, who appointed ſome intelligent Perſon to take care of their Perſons and Eſtates.

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But after all, one Informer was not a sufficient Foundation for the Noise this Affair would make, when brought before the Senate. Besides, *Æbutius* himself had not been an Eye-witness of the Crimes he divulged. For the greater Certainty therefore, it was necessary to have *Hispala* examined; but it was beneath the Dignity and Gravity of an Head of the Republick, either to send for a Courtizan to his House, or to pay her a Visit. All manner of Decency was strictly kept up in *Rome*. The *Consul* therefore chose to have an Interview with *Hispala*, at the House of *Sulpicia*, a Lady, whose Virtue raised her above Suspicion; and he would have the Lady present at the Conversation. When the Courtizan received a Message from *Æbutia*, that *Sulpicia* desired she would pay her a Visit, she shuddered for Fear; and her Terror increased, when she saw the *Lictors*, and all the Train of a *Consul*, in the Porch of the House where she was. But when she was brought into an inner Apartment, she was surprised to see no Body there, but the *Consul* and his Mother-in-Law. Then *Postumius* said to her; *You have nothing to fear, if you have honesty enough to conceal nothing from us. Did you never assist at the Assemblies which were held by Night, in the Grove of* Stimula? At these Words *Hispala* trembled exceedingly, and her Voice and Breath failed her at once. When she was recovered from her first Fright, she said, *I own, when I was very young, and a Slave, I was carried thither by my Mistress, and initiated. Since I have obtained my Freedom, I have never been there, and I know not what is done there. The Confession you make us,* replied the *Consul*, *of your having been initiated in the Mysteries of* Bacchus, *is such a Mark of Sincerity, as puts you in a fair Way for a Pardon. But that you will never obtain, if you conceal from us any of the Circumstances, which we can discover by any other Means. Be ingenuous; the whole has been revealed to us by a Person whom you made your Confident.* These last Words threw *Hispala* into a violent Passion. *The Traitor!* cried she, meaning *Æbutius*; and then recovering her Spirits, she threw herself at *Sulpicia*'s Feet. *Do you believe,* said she to her, *what a Woman of my Character says to a young Man, whom she would ensnare? I gave him that Account of the* Bacchanalians *only to keep him to myself.* The *Consul* saw there was Dissimulation in these Words, and seemed exasperated by them: and then *Sulpicia* interposed. On one Hand she endeavoured to appease the Anger of *Postumius*, and on the other, advised the Courtizan to conceal nothing. And at length, after having inveighed against the Treachery of *Æbutius*, and called the Gods to witness, that Necessity alone forced her to divulge the Secrets, which she had sworn to conceal, she addressed herself to the *Consul*, in this manner. *Into what Dangers, my Lord, am I going to throw myself out of Deference to you! I am going to stir up Heaven and Earth against me. Perhaps indeed the Gods may pardon my Breach of Oaths; but what can I expect at the Hands of Men. A Company of furious People will all fall upon me; and my Ruin is certain. Banish me therefore far from* Rome, *and find out a Retreat, where a wretched Woman may spend the rest of her Days in Peace.* Then the *Consul* promised her, that the Republick should take her under her Protection; and *Hispala* went on, and revealed the whole Secret. *The* [8] Bacchanalians *at* Rome, said she, *were originally only Assemblies of Women, which were held but three times a Year. Women presided in them; and Women did the Affairs of Priestesses there. Till at length the Government of the Society fell into the Hands of a Woman named* Paculla, *who introduced Men among them, and particularly the Children and Husbands of the Initiated. Then the Assemblies were held by Night, and repeated five times in a Month. And as if the Darkness had made every thing lawful, this Concourse of Men and Women ran into the most horrible Excesses. Those whose Remains of Modesty made them more timorous, or less abandoned, were put to Death. The Crimes received a Sanction from an Appearance of Religion; and nothing was scrupled under the Protection of a God. Men heated with Wine took*

8 We shall hereafter take occasion in the Course of this History, to treat of all the different Festivals that were celebrated by the *Greeks*, and afterwards by the *Romans*, under the Name of *Bacchanals*. We intend to give the Reader an historical Dissertation, concerning the Origin, and Celebration of these Feasts, and the Licentiousness and abominable Practices that were committed at the *Orgia* of *Bacchus*. This Dissertation will be very entertaining, and very necessary, to give him a thorough Knowledge of the Manners of the Pagans, at the time when Old *Rome* became a Sink of Corruption, and gave herself up to all the horrible Practices of the idolatrous Worship.

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Javelins in their Hands, and when they had ſtupified themſelves with Turnings, and Agitations of Body, pronounced a kind of Oracles. The Women with their Hair diſhevelled, and like ſo many Furies, armed themſelves with Flambeaux made of Bitumen, Sulphur, and Lime, lighted them, ran and plunged them into the Tyber, *and drew them out again before the Fire had extinguiſhed them. Thoſe who were reſerved, and ſcrupled the maddeſt Brutalities, were caught up into the Air by Engines, then thrown down into ſubterraneous Caverns, and never were ſeen more. The reſt ſaid that the Gods took them to themſelves. In ſhort, the Number of the Initiated is now exceedingly increaſed. You would take their Aſſembly for a whole Nation of People. Men and Women of great Diſtinction appear there; and but two Years ago, they made it a Rule to admit no body for the future, who was paſt twenty. In the Flower of Youth, People, ſaid they, are more eaſy to be ſeduced, and more ready to give themſelves up to Pleaſure.*

§. IV. Which ſaid, *Hiſpala* threw herſelf at the *Conſul*'s Feet, and cried out, *I again repeat it, my Lord; after the Declaration that I have made, I can be ſafe only at a Diſtance from hence. Baniſhment is all the Favour I ask.* However, *Poſtumius* did not care to remove a Witneſs ſo neceſſary for the publick Good: But deſired his Mother-in-Law to give her a Retreat with her. Accordingly *Sulpicia* allotted *Hiſpala* an Apartment at the Top of her Houſe; and the Stair-Caſe of that Apartment leading into a Street, it was turned. So that *Hiſpala* could not go out, without going through the Houſe; and all her Moveables and Effects were brought thither. As for *Ædutius*, he was committed to the Care of one of the *Conſul*'s Clients. And now *Poſtumius* being ſupported with ſuch ſtrong Proof, no longer heſitated about making a Report to the Senate of his Diſcovery. As ſoon as he had opened the whole Scene to *The Conſcript Fathers*, they were ſtruck with Horror. Some reflected on the Danger ſuch an Aſſembly as this might bring on the whole Body of the Republick. Others were afraid they ſhould find their Relations or Friends among the Criminals. Nevertheleſs they paſſed a Decree, containing theſe five Articles. 1. *They returned Thanks to* Poſtumius *for having taken care to make this important Diſcovery, without Noiſe, or Scandal.* 2. *They appointed him and his Collegue to get more full Informations.* 3. *They put* Ædutius *and* Hiſpala *under the Protection of the Senate; and by their Promiſes, invited others to come and give Information.* 4. *They gave the* Conſuls *leave to ſearch in Towns, and peculiar Juriſdictions, for the Prieſts and Prieſteſſes of this Aſſociation. And* 5thly, *They forbad the Initiated in the* Bacchanals *to aſſemble; and commanded all the People of* Italy *to inform againſt thoſe, who had polluted themſelves with the Abominations practiſed there.* The *Conſuls* began their Proceedings with ordering the *Curule Ædiles* to ſeize the Perſons of the Prieſts and Prieſteſſes of the Aſſembly, and keep them ſafe till they were examined; not in the publick Priſons, but in private Houſes. Then they committed it to the Care of the *Plebeian Ædiles*, to prevent the holding of any religious Aſſemblies in ſecret. And laſtly, they ordered the *Triumviri Capitales* to ſtation the Watchmen ſo as to hinder all nocturnal Aſſemblies, to take care that no Part of the City was ſet on Fire, and to hire Men to watch the Houſes on this ſide the *Tyber*. Theſe Orders and Precautions alarmed all *Rome*. The People were aſſembled in the *Forum*. And *Poſtumius* mounted *The Tribune of Harangues*, and ſpoke thus.

O Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, *and all the tutelary Gods of this Empire, favour the Enterpriſe I have in hand. If ever* Conſul *ought to invoke the Name of the ancient Gods of the Country, I ought now to do it, when I am going to ſuppreſs a falſe religious Worſhip, and purge the old Religion of it. Execrable Impieties, joined with Aſſaſſinations and Debaucheries, are introduced into* Rome. *All my Difficulty is, to know how to repreſent them to you in a proper Light. To repreſent them as they are, would be to make you tremble with Horror. To conceal any part of them, would be leſſening the juſt Rage with which you ought to be fired, at ſuch deteſtable Prophanations. Let me ſay what I will, I can never find Words bad enough for the Heinouſneſs of the Crimes I am going to mention.* Bacchanals *were firſt introduced into ſeveral Parts of* Italy, *and from thence brought to* Rome. *You cannot but know that theſe Aſſemblies have been held in the Neighbourhood of this City. Their Shouts, and the Noiſe of their Inſtruments, have often diſturbed*

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your Rest in the Night; though you knew not the Causes of them. You thought them lawful Rejoicings, authorized by Religion, and allowed by the Laws; or perhaps you thought this Society consisted only of a few Men and Women of Pleasure. But we have been much mistaken, Romans. *The Number of these Associates much surpasses what we ever thought of it. They are reckoned to be no less than several Thousands. Indeed Women first hearkened to these Seducers. But afterwards Men, as effeminate as themselves, followed their Example. And what Obscenities have they not suffered, or committed? And if they have not yet conspired against the Republick, it is only because they first want to increase their Strength and Credit. And so far as we can judge by what is past, their Number will soon increase, so as to become formidable to the State. These sorts of Associations have ever been suspected. Our Ancestors would never suffer any Number of People to meet, but when it was necessary to assemble a sort of Army on the* Janiculus, *while the* Comitia by Centuries *were held, or to assemble the* Tribes, *or to invite the People to come and hear the Harangues of the Magistrates. All other Assemblies were ever thought unlawful. And whenever a Multitude was gathered together, it was judged necessary to have a lawful Head, to make it a lawful Assembly. But where is the Head nominated by publick Authority for these* Bacchanals? *Men and Women meet together at Night, in a common* Rendezvous. *Most of the Initiated are inconsiderate young People, who are scarce old enough to serve in our Armies. What Education must they then receive, in the midst of Licentiousness and Brutality? Shall we find any of them fit to fill up the Places of those brave* Legionaries, *who have conquered three Parts of the World for us? Will they fight to defend the Honour of our Wives and Children, after they have been brought up in Debauchery? But Lasciviousness is the least of their Crimes. The* Bacchanals *are Schools of all the Villanies that have been practised in our Days. There Calumnies are invented, unjust Accusations formed, false Acts forged, and all other Instruments made which are fit for the Ruin of Families. The Evil is contagious. A Plague would not threaten us with a more universal Desolation. Neither the Republick, nor your Estates, nor Lives, are safe, as long as these Assemblies continue. Let us then lose no time in exterminating this impious Society. Perhaps these Fanaticks are this instant forming seditious Projects to oppose our prudent Deliberations. Who knows whether this Libertinism, by which their Union is formed, will not degenerate into Fury. And Rage and Despair often give Courage to the most effeminate. Besides, these People, notwithstanding their Effeminacy, are used to shed Blood. They dip their Hands in it every Day. The Grove where they assemble is as much polluted by Murders, as Impurities. Though* Romans, *they have no Regard either for their Relations, or Friends, or fellow-Citizens. They have no Attachment to any Persons whatsoever, but those of their own impious Society. Pleasure brings them together, and Interest unites them. Should they break out, how dangerous may it prove to the Republick! Let us prevent them therefore whilst they are buried in Drunkenness. Your Ancestors spared no Punishment, when they were to extirpate foreign Religions. With what Zeal did they proscribe strange Gods, pretended prophetical Books, all Sacrifices which were different from ours, and all the oriental Customs? And these things were very acceptable to our ancient Gods, who, because they saw themselves affronted in secret by the infamous Pollutions of these* Bacchanalians, *have therefore brought them to light, that they might be punished and suppressed. The Senate have given me and my Collegue an uncommon Commission to enquire after them; and we have given the proper Orders for the Security of the Publick. Do you therefore, every one in his Station, pay a ready Obedience to the inferior Magistrates, whom we have entrusted with the Care of the Watch; and join your Endeavours to prevent any Danger or Tumult from these wicked Associates.*

Liv. B. 39. c. 16.

Livy, ibid.

The People were well satisfied with the Steps taken by the Senate and *Consuls*; and gave Orders for Enquiry to be made after the Criminals. They offered a Reward to any who would inform against them, or give Notice of their Escape; and threatened those with Fines, who should facilitate their Flight, buy their Moveables and Effects, or promote their Escape. As for the Accused, a Day was fixed for their Appearance, but longer time was allowed those, who should be out of *Italy*. And as *Postumius*'s Harangue had alarmed the City, the Terror soon spread into the *Provinces*. At *Rome* Guards were set in all Parts. The *Triumviri*

viri cauſed a great Number of theſe Wretches to be arreſted. Several of them in vain endeavoured to ſave themſelves by a ſpeedy Flight; they were ſeized, and brought to *Rome*. Some Men, and ſome Women, killed themſelves. A Report was ſpread that the Number of the Aſſociates amounted to ſeven thouſand. It was agreed, that the Heads of the Aſſociation were *M.* and *L. Catinius*, both *Roman Citizens*; one *L. Opiternius*, an Inhabitant of *Falerii*; and one *Minius Cerrinius*, a Native of *Capua*. Theſe were the Prieſts who preſided at theſe impious Sacrifices, and were the Authors of all the Abominations of the Society. Great Care was therefore taken to ſeize them immediately, and their Trial was brought on without Delay. The Number of the Fugitives increaſed daily; and the *Prætors* were obliged to allow their Creditors 9 a Month, to come and prove their Debts. Even in this populous City, the Deſertion was ſenſible. The *Conſuls* were therefore obliged to go in Perſon to the Towns, and Markets, in the Neighbourhood, to ſearch out the Offenders, and try them upon the Spot. They who were only *initiated*, that is, had only pronounced the Form of the Oath whereby they engaged themſelves, but had not polluted themſelves with any of the Crimes of the Sect, were only impriſoned. They who were found guilty of the moſt monſtrous Debaucheries, Murders, falſe Witneſs, and counterfeiting Bonds and Seals, were executed. And theſe were the greateſt Number. As for the Women, they were delivered up to their Relations for them to puniſh them. The Publick were not concerned to chaſtiſe them, till ſuch time as their Families had ſhewn them ſo much Indulgence as to ſpare them. The Grove where theſe Aſſemblies were held was cut down; and not only in *Rome*, but all over *Italy*, the Houſes appropriated to theſe Conventicles were demoliſhed. Nothing was ſpared but the old Altars, and the old Statues of *Bacchus*. And laſtly, the Senate paſſed a Decree, That if any Family had for time immemorial enjoyed a Right of ſolemnizing a Feaſt to this God, they ſhould give the *Prætor* Notice of it; That the *Prætor* ſhould acquaint the Senate with it, when there were at leaſt a hundred Senators in the Houſe; and That if the Family obtained Leave to worſhip *Bacchus*, there ſhould not more than five Perſons meet together for that Purpoſe, and ſhould not have any Power either to chuſe Prieſts, or ſettle any Foundations for the Maintenance of this Worſhip. When the *Conſul Poſtumius* was returned to *Rome*, he made it his firſt Buſineſs to prevail on the Senate to give an honourable Reward to *Ebutius* and *Hiſpala*; and the *Quæſtors* were ordered to pay to each a hundred thouſand * *Aſſes* of Braſs. Then, by a Decree of the People, *Poſtumius* got the Informer exempted from the Duty of ſerving in the Army, either on Foot or on Horſeback; and *Hiſpala* was inveſted in all the Privileges of Women, who had always been of free Condition. She had Leave given her to acquire, or alienate an Eſtate, independently of her *Patrons*; Power to chooſe her own Guardian; was freed from any Dependence on the 10 Family, which had given her Freedom; had Liberty to marry whom ſhe pleaſed; and it was declared, not to be beneath any Man to marry her. And laſtly, the preſent and ſucceeding *Prætors* were ordered to take her under their Protection, and ſecure her from all Violence and Inſults. All theſe Regulations were made by the *Comitia*; and the *Conſuls* were empowered to reward the other Witneſſes according to their Merit 11.

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Val. Max. B. 6. c. 3. §. 7.

* 322 *l.* 18 *s.* 4 *d. Arbuth.*

§. V. THE Proſecution of the reſt of the Criminals employed *Poſtumius* in the City. He was excuſed from going to make War in *Liguria*. So that *Marcius* only took the Field. Beſides the Troops his Predeceſſors had commanded there the laſt Year, he had Leave to make ſome new Levies. Three thouſand Foot and a hundred and fifty Horſe were raiſed in *Rome*, to recruit the *Legionaries*. And in order to make the Troops of the Auxiliaries effective, the *Latin* Cities were

Livy, B. 39. c. 20.

9 The Citizens who had any Actions depending againſt any of theſe Fugitives, would have been in Danger of loſing their Right, if the Magiſtrates had not taken care of it. The two *Prætors* therefore, *Titus Manius*, and *Marcus Licinius*, obtained a Decree of the Senate, permitting them to allow all Parties thirty Days beyond the time fixed, to appear and make good their Claims.

10 According to the *Roman* Laws, the *Freedmen* could not marry, without the Conſent of the Father of the Family, to which they were indebted for their Liberty, or of the Perſon who repreſented him.

11 According to *Livy*, *Minius Cerrinius*, a Citizen of *Capua*, and one of the Heads of theſe Fanaticks was impriſoned at *Ardea*; and the Magiſtrates of that City were ordered to keep him always in their Sight, to prevent his eſcaping, or murdering himſelf in deſpair.

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obliged to furniſh five thouſand Foot, and two hundred Horſe more. Nor was this all. *Roman* Troops were wanted in *Spain*. Two new *Legions* were raiſed for that Country, beſides three thouſand Foot and two hundred Horſe to recruit the old *Corps*. The Allies were alſo ordered to ſend to *Spain* twenty thouſand Foot, and thirteen hundred Horſe. *Calpurnius* was haſtened away to ſupply the Place of *Atinius*, who died at the Siege of *Aſta*, in *Further Spain*. He went with all Expedition to the Port of *Luna*, in *Hetruria*, embarked there, and carried great Reinforcements to his Province. The Republick had now no Wars but in *Spain* and *Hetruria*; and the *Conſul Marcius* ſet out for the latter Province.

The Place which he choſe to make the Seat of the War, was the Country of thoſe *Ligures*, which were called *Apuans*; a People, whoſe Country bordered upon *Hetruria*, and reached along the Banks of the *Macra*. But his Expedition was not ſucceſsful. This Country was covered with Wood, and the manner in which the *Apuans* made War, was to form Ambuſcades for their Enemies, and draw them by feigned Flights into unpaſſable Foreſts. And *Marcius* ſuffered himſelf to be ſurpriſed. His *Legions* purſued the Fugitives with too much Ardour, and were ſurrounded by them. Four thouſand *Romans* and Auxiliaries were killed in the Poſt, where they were attacked. The *Legionaries* loſt three Standards, and the Auxiliaries eleven Colours. The Vanquiſhed threw down their Arms, that they might not encumber them in their Flight; and the Conquerors were tired with purſuing them. The *Conſul* in vain retired into a friendly Country and immediately disbanded his Army, to conceal the Shame of his Defeat. The *Ligures* tranſmitted to Poſterity the Memory of their Advantage. They gave the Place where they had conquered, the Name of the *Roman* General, and called it *The Field of Marcius*. After his Defeat, the *Conſul* was not in haſte to return to the City. His Collegue had not left it, and had acquired much Glory by purging *Rome* of an Evil at Home, which was more to be feared, than her Enemies Abroad. When the City had recovered its Uneaſineſs, all the People were wholly taken up with Shows, and other religious Amuſements. They were entertained with *The Taurilian Games* [12]. The Learned carried up the Origin of them as high as to the Time of *Tarquin the Proud*. And becauſe the Show was made in honour to the infernal Gods, it was always done without the Walls, in the *Flaminian Circus*. Sacrifices were alſo appointed for nine Days, to avert the ill Conſequences of two Preſages. It was ſaid to have rained Stones at *Picenum*; and ſome Exhalations had come out of the Earth, which had burnt the Bottoms of the Clothes of ſome Peaſants. The Temple of *Cybele* had alſo been ſtruck with Lightning; and this was enough to add another Day to the nine. It was likewiſe reported, that in *Umbria* there was a Child of eleven Years of Age, which did not appear to be of either Sex; and it was inhumanly condemned to be ſlain, as an accurſed Creature, which the Gods required ſhould be ſacrificed.

Feſtus in verbum Taurilia.

§. VI. The *Gauls* on this ſide the *Alpes* continued quiet; but thoſe in *Tranſalpine Gaul* began to be in Motion. A new Swarm of theſe People had entered [13] *Carniola*; but committed no Hoſtilities. They prepared to lay the Foundations of a City. The *Roman* Republick therefore, watchful of the leaſt Motions in *Italy*, ſent Deputies to watch the Steps of theſe Deſerters from their own Country. Theſe Deputies found them ready to ſettle themſelves near [14] *Aquileia*; and demanded to know of their Nation, why their Countrymen had left them. The Nation

12. According to *Feſtus*, a contagious Diſtemper ſpread itſelf in *Rome* among Women with Child, in the Reign of *Tarquin the Proud*. It was aſcribed to their eating the Fleſh of ſacrificed Bulls, the Overplus of which the Sacrificers ſold. And then the *Taurian*, or *Taurilian Games* were inſtituted, in order to appeaſe the Anger of the infernal Gods. We have already obſerved, that the *Romans* thought the infernal Powers miſchievous Beings. But according to ſome Authors quoted by *Servius*, a dreadful Plague which made a great Havock among the *Sabines*, gave Riſe to this Solemnity. And from the Name of *The Taurian Games*, if we credit *Feſtus*, the Money ſpent in the Preparations for them was called *Taurium*.

13 See what we have ſaid of the Origin of the People who anciently inhabited *Carniola*, Vol. 2.

14 Both *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, eſpecially *Mela*, *Herodian*, and *Procopius*, boaſt of the Grandeur, Wealth, and Antiquity of the City of *Aquileia*. *Strabo* pretends that it was built by the Romans, for a Bulwark to defend this Country against the frequent Incurſions of the Barbarians. Nevertheleſs, by ſeveral Paſſages of *Livy*, it ſeems to have been the Work of a Swarm of *Gauls*, as may be obſerved hereafter. *Euſtathius*, and the Emperor *Julian*

Nation protested, That this Transmigration was not made by Publick Authority; and That they knew not the Design of the Fugitives. And the *Romans* seem to have believed them, and to have given them Leave to settle in a Country which seemed desolate. The *Consul Postumius* also had Thoughts of re-peopling the *Roman Colonies*, some of which were deserted. In the Journey he took to find out the *Bacchanalians*, he observed that the City of *Sipontus* in *Apulia*, on the Shore of the *Adriatick* Sea, and that of *Buxentum* in *Lucania*, on the *Hetrurian* Sea, were evacuated by the *Romans*. This he reported to the Senate; and they ordered three Men of Figure to carry thither new *Colonies*, to supply the Place of the Garrisons of these maritime Places. Thus *Postumius* ended his *Consulate*, with Glory; and presided in the *Comitia* for the Great Elections. The Persons chosen *Consuls* were *Appius Claudius*, surnamed *Pulcher*, and *M. Sempronius Tuditanus*. Then six *Prætors* were chosen, as usual; two of which were ordered to administer Justice at *Rome*; one to keep the *Gauls* in their Duty; another to govern *East Italy*, and reside at *Tarentum*; a fifth to govern *Sicily*; and the sixth, *Sardinia*. As for *Spain*, *Prætors* were not sent thither, but every other Year. Its Distance, and the Multitude of Affairs there, made it necessary not to change its Governours so often as was done in other Places [15].

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§. VII. As soon as the new *Consuls* were entered upon their Administration, they found the Seeds of new Troubles budding forth, in the Disputes which arose between the Kings and Republicks of *Greece* and *Asia*. *Rome* had used her utmost Endeavours to settle a lasting Peace in the East; and the wise Regulations of her ten Commissioners, would have established Tranquillity in those vast Regions, if the Passions of Men could have been kept within due Bounds. But *Philip* of *Macedon* gave a Loose to his Ambition, after the Departure of the *Roman* Armies. This Prince, who was naturally of a restless Temper, had done the *Romans* some Service against *Antiochus*, only with a View of aggrandizing himself. He thought the Bounds set him by *Flamininus*, after he had vanquished him, were too narrow for a Successor of *Alexander the Great*. When he saw the *Roman* General at a Distance, his Desire of Conquest revived. Besides, he formed a Design of renewing the War, some time or other, with the prevailing Republick, which kept Monarchs in a shameful Subjection. Nothing vexed him more than the Prohibition he had received from the Senate, not to revenge himself as he pleased on those of his Subjects who had deserted and betrayed him, during his Wars with *Rome*. As for *Flamininus*, he had, by his Treaty of Peace, only suspended the King's Hopes, of one Day recovering the Possession of the Provinces which had fallen off from *Macedon*. But by a new Decree, those Hopes were absolutely frustrated. *Philip* also remembered with Vexation, that the *Consul Acilius* had not suffered him, in his Time, to take *Lamia*, and bring it in Subjection to him. But he had forgotten, That this *Consul* had suffered him to carry the War into the Country of the *Athamanes*; That he had conquered the Places in *Thessaly* which the *Ætolians* possessed; and That he had made himself Master of *Demetrias*, a wealthy City, which by its Situation was of great Advantage to his Dominions. Or at least, these Conquests were not sufficient to satisfy the ambitious *Philip*, tho' he had extended them as far as to *Thrace*. A Spirit of Faction had divided some Cities in this Country; and by joining with one of the Parties, he had found some Means to bring them into Subjection to him. So that the Increase of his Kingdom heightened his Courage, and his Resentments against *Rome*. But before he would openly

Year of *ROME* DLXVIII. APP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER, M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS, Consuls.

Livy, *B.* 39. *c.* 23.

Julian, pretend that an *Eagle* suddenly flew by, while the People were laying the Foundation of the City; and that they from thence called it *Aquileia*. But some borrow this Name from the Rivers that water this Territory; whilst others derive it from one *Aquilo*, a Companion of *Antenor*, who landed in these Parts, after the taking of *Troy*. This City stood near the Mouth of the River *Natiso*, or *Natisa*, as it is now called. All that the Ancients say of this River, gives us Reason to believe, that it formerly discharged itself into the *Lisonzo*, but that afterwards its Course was turned towards *Aquileia*. But be that as it will, it is certain, That this City preserved its ancient Splendor, till it was besieged by *Attila* and the *Lombards*, who ruined it. It is now only a little Town, which gives its Name to the neighbouring Gulph; tho' this Gulph is more commonly called *The Gulph of Trieste*.

15 *Livy* tells us, that in this Year 567, the Slaves of *Apulia* assembled together, and caused some Disorders in the Province. *Lucius Postumius* was then *Prætor* at *Tarentum*. His *Prætorship* was spent in pursuing Companies of Shepherds and Peasants, who infested the great Roads, and publick Pastures, with their Robberies. Seven thousand of them were taken, and put to Death. But several of them found Means to escape.

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App. Claudius Pulcher, M. Sempronius Tuditanus, Conſuls.

ſhew them, he took private Methods to increaſe his Revenue, and the Number of his Subjects. He raiſed with great Rigour the tenth Peny upon all Lands, and the Cuſtoms on all Merchandizes imported into his Dominions. Several Mines of Metal were continued to be worked, by his Orders; and new ones opened in ſeveral Places. And in order to repair the Loſs of the many Men who had been killed in the late Wars, he increaſed the Number of Marriages in his Territories, and took Care himſelf of the Education of Children of free Condition. In order to re-people *Macedon*, he removed a great Number of *Thracians* thither. And the ſingle Point in view in all this was to make Preparations for revenging himſelf on the Republick which had reduced him to ſo unworthy a Subjection. Indeed, if we judge by Appearances only, we ſhall conclude, that his Son *Perſes* was the Author of the ſecond War *Macedon* entered into with *Rome*. But in Reality, *Philip* was the firſt Cauſe of it. The Father laid the Plan, made the chief Preparations for it, and left it as his Legacy to his Son, to put the Scheme in Execution.

The Senate of *Rome* did not penetrate into the Bottom of the Deſigns the *Macedonian* concealed under juſt Demonſtrations of Dependence and Submiſſion. Nevertheleſs, they plainly ſaw that it was neceſſary to humble *Philip*, and keep him ſubmiſſive; and they had a fair Opportunity for it, from the Complaints which ſeveral Nations often brought to *Rome* againſt him. The *Perræbi*, among others, and the *Theſſalians*, repreſented to the Senate, That the King of *Macedon* unjuſtly detained ſeveral Cities which belonged to them. *Eumenes* made a great Noiſe about the Cities of *Thrace*, which *Philip* had ſeized by Artifice, and the great Number of their Inhabitants which he had removed into *Macedon*. The *Athamanes* alſo complained, not that *Philip* had taken ſome Cities from them; but that he kept all their whole Kingdom in Thraldom to him. The Citizens of *Ænos* and *Maronea* demanded the Reſtitution of their Cities from which *Philip* had driven them, for having oppoſed the Garriſons which he would have brought into them by Force. All theſe Complaints leſſened the Reputation of the King of *Macedon* at *Rome*, inſomuch that his Name became odious there. And, proud as he was, he ſent an Embaſſy to *Rome*, to purge himſelf of the Violences of which he was accuſed. The Senate gave Audience to both Parties; but did not think fit to pronounce, till they heard *Philip* himſelf. So great was the Glory of the Republick! Kings, and the moſt famous Nations in the World, waited for the Decrees of her Tribunal with Dread!

§. VIII. The *Conſcript Fathers* thought it proper to ſend three Commiſſioners to *Greece*, to examine into the State of *Philip*'s Affairs, in a general Aſſembly of the Parties concerned, and to pronounce a definitive Sentence there. The Head of the Commiſſion was *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, and his Aſſociates were *M. Bæbius Tamphilus*, and *T. Sempronius*. When they came into *Greece*, they choſe *The Valley of Tempe* for the Place where the Accuſers and Accuſed were to meet; and *Philip* was cited to appear there, before three *Citizens* of *Rome*. What a Mortification to a Great King! This was the Time for him to have broken out, and delivered himſelf from Oppreſſion; but the State of his Affairs would not yet ſuffer him to renew the War. It was neceſſary therefore to comply, and ſubmit to be judged. The Seats in the Place where they met were ſo diſpoſed, that the *Roman* Commiſſioners ſate uppermoſt, as Judges, the Accuſers next, and *Philip* in the loweſt Place, as a Criminal. The Ambaſſadors of the ſeveral Nations which complained of the *Macedonian*, expreſſed themſelves, ſome with Severity, and others with Moderation, according to their Paſſions, and the Injuries they had received. The Article that ſeemed moſt difficult to determine was that of the Cities which *Philip* had taken in *Theſſaly*. Indeed the *Conſul Acilius* had formerly given the *Macedonian* Leave to invade thoſe Places in *Theſſaly* which belonged to the *Ætolians*. But the Point was, to know whether *Philippopolis* [16], *Tricca* [17],

Livy, B. 39. c. 25.

16 The *Philippopolis* here ſpoken of was the ſame City as *Philippi* in *Theſſaly*, near *Pharſalia*; as we ſhall have Occaſion to obſerve, when we come to ſpeak of the Defeat of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. We muſt take Care not to confound it with two other Cities of the ſame Name; one in *Thrace*, and the other in *Macedon*.

17 We have ſpoken of *Tricca* and *Phaloria*, in the preceding Volumes.

Phaloria

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Phaloria, and *Eurymenæ* [18], had always belonged to the *Ætolians*, or had been by them uſurped from the *Theſſalians*. The ſame Queſtion was alſo ſtarted, in relation to ſome Cities of *Perræbia* and *Magneſia*. The *Ætolians* who had ſeized them, had confounded every thing as much as poſſible, in order to unite them to their Dominions. And with reſpect to their Recovery of their Cities, ſuppoſing that *Philip* was to reſtore them, the *Theſſalians* offered ſeveral Points to the Commiſſioners, which deſerved their Conſideration. *The* Macedonian, ſaid they, *will not reſtore our Cities to us, till he has taken all the Men and Ammunition out of them. How many of our Inhabitants has he cauſed us to loſe, partly by the Wars, and partly by obliging them to go into* Macedon? *He has very lately removed from hence five hundred young Men of Diſtinction, whom he has forced to ſerve him in Offices beneath their Birth.* Philip's *Deſign in this has been to make our Places deſolate, and render them uſeleſs to us, in caſe we ſhould force him to reſtore them.* Thebes *was to us a maritime City of great Importance. Many Merchant Ships reſorted thither, and enriched us with their Traffick. But* Philip *has turned this Commerce into another Channel. He has removed it to* Demetrias, *one of his own Cities. Nay, the King has not any Regard to the Laws of Nations. We ſent Ambaſſadors to* Titus Flamininus; *and* Philip *prepared an Ambuſcade for them. He has ſo terrified* Theſſaly *with his Oppreſſions that we ſcarce dare pronounce his Name, either in our private Aſſemblies, or general Diets. Is this then the Liberty which* Rome *deſigned to procure for* Greece? *One ambitious Neighbour deſtroys the good Effects of your Victories. He even deprives us of the Liberty of complaining. Nay, the very Sighs which we drop here, will be ſeverely puniſhed, if you don't, by your Regulations, ſtop the Vengeance of an enraged King. In vain will you have conquered us, in vain will you have reſtored us our Liberty, if you do not reſtrain his Audaciouſneſs.* Philip *is like an untamed Horſe, which cannot be reſtrained or governed, without a ſtrong Rein.*

This Speech was very ſevere; but the King was forced to ſwallow it, bitter as it was. The *Perræbi* ſpoke next. They pretended that the City formerly called [19] *Gonnocondylum*, and whoſe Name *Philip* had changed into that of *Olympias*, belonged to them; and demanded the Reſtitution of it, as well as of *Malæa*, and [20] *Ericinium*. After them, the *Athamanes* made their Demands. *Philip* had made himſelf Maſter of their whole Nation; and they inſiſted on being ſet free from the Laws and Juriſdiction of the *Macedonian*. Laſt of all, *Philip* ſpoke; and did not demean himſelf ſo far as to make an Apology for his Conduct. Tho' accuſed, he affected to be an Accuſer likewiſe. He demanded of the *Theſſalians*, the City of [21] *Menelais* in *Dolopia*, which they had taken from him by Violence. He complained that the *Theſſalians* had ſeized [22] *Petra*, a City of *Pieria*, belonging to his Dominions. He demanded the Reſtitution of the Cities of [23] *Xiniæ* and *Parachelois* [24], one of which evidently belonged to the *Ætolians*, and the other to the *Athamanes*; but which the *Theſſalians* had ſeized. And to this ſhort Account of his Pretenſions, *Philip* added a ſhort Vindication of himſelf, from the Violences laid to his Charge. *It is ridiculous*, ſaid he, *to accuſe me of having ruined the Port of* Thebes. *Am I reſponſible for the odd Fancies of Merchants, who chuſe what Ports they like beſt, for landing their Goods? Is it agreeable to my Character, or Dignity, to lay Snares for Ambaſſadors? How many have the* Theſſalians *ſent to the* Roman *Generals, and the Senate of* Rome, *againſt me? And did I ever inſult them, even in Words? An Accuſation of this kind falls heavy*

Liv. B. 39. c. 25.

18 So far as we can judge by *Livy*'s Account, *Eurymenæ* belonged to *Theſſaly*. He ſhews, that this City ſtood near *Tricca* and *Phaloria*, two Cities of that Province.

19 All we can ſay of *Gonnocondylum* is, that it was one of the Cities of the *Perræbi*, in one of the little Cantons of *Theſſaly*.

20 *Ericinium* was near *Malæa*, a City of *Phthiotis*, near *The Maliac Gulph*.

21 The City of *Menelais*, and the Canton in which it ſtood, belonged to *Theſſaly*.

22 *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Paulus Æmilius*, ſpeaks of *Petra*, as a City in the Neighbourhood of *Perræbia*. Nevertheleſs, *Livy* places it in *Pieria*, a little Province of *Macedon*. The Neighbourhood of theſe two Cantons, was what occaſioned theſe different Accounts of its Situation.

23 The City of *Xiniæ* here diſputed between *Philip* and the *Ætolians*, probably bordered on *Ætolia*, and the Dominions of this King. *Stephen of Byſantium* ſpeaks of another City of the ſame Name in *Theſſaly*.

24 As for the City of *Parachelois*, its Name ſeems to imply that it ſtood near the River *Achelous*, which watered *Acarnania*, and *Athamania*. *Strabo* alſo mentions another *Parachelois*, in *Æſtiotis*, near the ſame River.

only

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only on the Accusers. They are like the Slaves who have newly shaken off their Chains, and make themselves amends for the Torment they suffered under their Masters, by letting loose their Tongues in Invectives against them. The Torrent overflows its Bounds. Hence the Audaciousness, and the monstrous Liberties, of the Thessalians. *But the Sun they insult is not yet set.* These last Words enraged the *Romans* themselves; they took them to be a kind of Threatening, That the *Macedonian* would renew Hostilities in *Greece.* So that they caused a murmuring Noise in the Assembly, which interrupted the King's Discourse. Nevertheless, *Philip* took Courage, and went on thus. *The* Perrœbi *reproach me, some with invading their whole Kingdom; others with seizing only some of their Cities. But have I done this without the Consent of the* Romans? *Did not* Acilius *formerly give me Leave to conquer the Countries of these Enemies, for my own Use? This is a Present for which I am indebted to the Liberality of* Rome. *My Benefactors indeed may take away their Gifts again; but can they do it without Disgrace? Will they sacrifice a powerful Friend to useless Allies? Or, if they should, will these People long preserve the Liberty which* Rome *has restored them? I will venture to affirm, that the ill Use they already make of it, forebodes its approaching End.*

As soon as *Philip* had finished, the *Roman* Commissioners pronounced the following Decree; which related only to the Quarrels between the King, and the *Thessalians, Perrœbi,* and *Athamanes. Our Will and Pleasure is, That all the* Macedonian *Garrisons evacuate the Places they possess in* Thessaly, Perrœbia, *and* Athamania; *and That the Kingdom of* Macedon *be reduced to its ancient Limits. As for the other mutual Complaints of the King and his Adversaries, we will determine them by Course of Law.*

§. IX. This Decree filled the Heart of *Philip* with inexpressible Rage. But the Commissioners did not stop there. From *Tempe,* they removed to *Thessalonica,* there to determine the Affairs of *Thrace.* And here the Scene was changed. Two great Kings, one of *Pergamus,* and the other of *Macedon,* contended for the Possession of two Cities of *Thrace.* The first was *Ænos,* or *Ænum,* situated on the *Ægean* Sea. The second was called *Maronea,* a City on the same Coast as *Ænos,* at the Mouth of the River [25] *Scænus. Eumenes* did not come in Person, to support his Pretensions against *Philip*; but sent Deputies, who spoke thus in his Behalf. *If* Rome *is resolved to put* Ænos *and* Maronea *in an absolute State of Independence,* Eumenes *is not so rash as to oppose the Will of a Republick which he honours. But then Care ought to be taken, that Liberty be so restored to these two Cities, as to guard them against all Attempts. But if, on the contrary,* Rome *is not averse to their being subject to a Sovereign Prince, the King of* Pergamus *insists that his Right is better than that of the King of* Macedon. *These two Places belonged to King* Antiochus, *before his Defeat. Is it not then just, that a Prince who always adhered to the* Romans, *against* Philip, *should enjoy the Spoils of the* Syrian, *before him? The King of* Pergamus *has always made War for you in* Asia. *And if you despise the Fruits of your Victories, on whom can you more equitably bestow them, than on a King who has merited them, both by his own Services, and those of his Father? Nay, the Question has been already determined in Favour of* Eumenes, *by the ten Commissioners* Rome *sent to settle the Affairs of* Asia *and* Greece. *They gave the King of* Pergamus, *the* Chersonesus *and* Lysimachia; *and don't* Ænos *and* Maronea *belong to one or the other of them? Their Neighbourhood to them is a Proof of it. But as to* Macedon, *these two Cities are so far from it, that it is hard to conceive, under what Pretence* Philip *could seize them. Nevertheless, he maintains Garrisons in them. The Deputies of the two Cities are here. Examine them; and learn from their Mouths the miserable Condition to which they have been reduced.*

Immediately the Envoys of *Maronea* and *Ænos* were brought into the Assembly; and they declared, That not their Citadels only, as usual, but their Cities, were filled with *Macedonian* Soldiers; That these Strangers disturbed the publick Deliberations; That the *Macedonians* alone governed there; That those who were zealous for the publick Good, were either banished, or forced to give way to the

25 We know nothing more of the River *Scænus,* than that *Mela* says it watered the Territory of *Maronea,* a City of *Thrace,* on the *Ægean* Sea.

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Livy, B. 39. c. 28.

oppoſite Faction; and laſtly, That according to the Bounds *Fabius Labeo* ſet to *Macedon*, '*Philip*'s Dominion over their Cities was a real Uſurpation. *The great Road*, ſaid they, *which ran by the Mountains of* Thrace, *was the Boundary which was to divide the two Countries. But* Philip *has turned this great Road, and carried it as far as* Maronea. Theſe were cloſe and legal Depoſitions. And the *Macedonian*, in order to anſwer them, laid aſide a little of his Pride, and endeavoured to touch the Hearts of the Commiſſioners. *I perceive*, ſaid he, *that I am not to contend only with the Inhabitants of* Ænos *and* Maronea, *and* Eumenes, *but likewiſe with you*, Romans, *whom I have long found determined not to do me Juſtice. All the Demands I have made, have been rejected by you, notwithſtanding all that I have done for you. In the* Ætolian *War I beſieged* Lamia; *and when the City was ready to fall into my Hands, the* Conſul Acilius *ordered me to raiſe the Siege. Then, in order to make me Amends for this Diſappointment, he ſuffered me to turn my Arms againſt* Perrœbia, Theſſaly, *and* Athamania. *But no ſooner had I taken ſome Places there, which were rather Caſtles than Cities, than by your Decree I was ſtripped of them again. And now, a new Enemy ſtarts up, which is* Eumenes. *He pretends to have a better Right than I, to the Spoils of* Antiochus; *and deſires that* Ænos *and* Maronea *may be added to his Dominions. But does he conſider, that by making War for* Rome, *he in effect made it only for himſelf? Without your Arms, his Father had loſt his Crown, and the Son had never aſcended the Throne. He has been intereſted himſelf in every thing he has done for the Republick. And yet how liberally has ſhe rewarded him? Whilſt I, who preferred an Alliance with you, before one with* Antiochus, *have been continually ill uſed by you. That powerful Monarch preſſed me to join my Forces with his. He offered me three thouſand* * Talents, *fifty Ships of War, and the Property of all the Places which I could conquer in* Greece. *Nevertheleſs, my Attachment to you was immoveable. Before the* Romans *arrived, I declared my ſelf an Enemy to* Antiochus. *I made War as a Subaltern, in Conjunction with your Generals. I obeyed their Orders. I led the* Scipio's *croſs* Macedon *and* Thrace, *to the Confines of* Europe *and* Aſia. *I levelled the Roads for them, built them Bridges over the Rivers, and ſupplied their Armies with Proviſions. And what has been my Reward for all this? You have taken from me the Places which I took at my own Expence and Hazard*; *and* Eumenes *is now come to diſpute my Right to two inconſiderable Cities, which are allowed on all hands to have formerly belonged to* Macedon. *In Reality, he does not demand* Antiochus's *Spoils, but mine. And under what Pretence? Why, truly this: He ſays, that the ten* Roman *Deputies have given him* Ænos *and* Maronea. *Let then the Deed of Gift be read. How does it run? We grant to* Eumenes, *the* Cherſoneſus *and* Lyſimachia. *Do you find* Ænos *and* Maronea *there? Shall then the King of* Pergamus *obtain of you, what he could not get of the ten Commiſſioners? If ſo, pray let me hear upon what Foot I am at* Rome. *Do you take me for an Enemy? If you do, Go on as you have begun. But if not, if you at all regard me as a Friend or Ally, I beſeech you not to think I deſerve ſo great an Injury.* Theſe Words a little moved the three Deputies. They weakened their Prejudices, and their Hearts were ſoftened; and the Decree they paſſed was more moderate than the former. It was this: *That if the Commiſſioners had granted* Ænos *and* Maronea *to the King of* Pergamus, *theſe Cities ſhould return to him; That if the King of* Macedon *had conquered them, they ſhould continue in his Hands; and That the Senate of* Rome *ſhould determine this Queſtion; but That* Philip *ſhould proviſionally draw his Garriſons out of them.* But this Temper did not appeaſe the King's Reſentments. His Heart burned with Rage againſt *Rome*; he only waited for a fit Opportunity to ſhew it; and he tranſmitted his Hatred to his Son *Perſes*, who retained it till after the Death of his Father; and we ſhall ſee it appear hereafter.

* 581250 *l. Sterl. Arbuth.*

Livy, ibid.

§. X. Indeed *Rome* did not ſuſpect that *Macedon* could ever be in a Condition to hold out againſt her Power a ſecond time. Her Attention was wholly fixed on the Wars in *Spain*, and *Liguria*. *L. Manlius*, at his Return from *Spain*, had brought back great Riches, which he had acquired by great Victories. He had a Right to demand a Triumph, after having beaten the *Celtiberians* in a pitched Battel, near [26] *Calaguris*, made two thouſand of them Priſoners of War, and taken

Livy, B. 39. c. 29.

[26] *Calaguris*, now known by the Name of *Calahorra*, ſtood in the extreme Parts of *Navarre*, on the Banks of the *Ebro*.

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their Camp. It was allowed, that the brave *Pro-Prætor* had deserved all military Honours. But it was grown customary at *Rome*, to grant Triumphs only to Generals who brought back their victorious Troops from their Provinces, or had entirely settled their Provinces in Peace. Whereas *Manlius* was forced to leave his Army in *Hither Spain*, where he had commanded, for his Successor; and the Revolters were not entirely quieted there, notwithstanding their Losses. So that he was honoured only with a little Triumph, or *Ovation*. There were carried before him fifty two Crowns of Gold, a hundred and twenty two Pounds * weight of that Metal, and sixteen thousand three hundred Pounds † weight of Silver; besides the ten thousand Pounds ‡ weight of Silver, and the eighty Pounds weight ‖ of Gold, which his *Quæstor* was soon to convey to the publick Treasury.

* 5856 *l. Sterl.* at 4 *l. per Ounce.*
† 48900 *l. Sterl.* at 5 *s. per Ounce.*
‡ 30000 *l. Sterl.*
‖ 3840 *l. Sterl.*

And whilst *Manlius* was receiving the Rewards of his Valour, *Calpurnius* and *Quintius*, the new *Prætors* in *Spain*, were there distinguishing themselves by an uncommon Bravery. The two Colleagues, one of which had *Hither Spain*, and the other *Further Spain*, for his Province, joined their Troops in [27] *Beturia*. The *Lusitanians*, to the Number of thirty five thousand Men, supported the Revolt in all the Country, and made themselves formidable there. They were advanced as far as *Carpetania* [28], had posted themselves between *Toledo* and [29] *Hippo*; and there the *Romans* came up with them. Never was there a more perfect Concord than that of the two *Prætors*, or an Emulation more free from Jealousy. They were in sight of the Enemy, when the Battel began. The Forragers of the two Parties met, and engaged. Succours were sent from each Camp, to support the Combatants; first small Detachments, then larger, and at last all the Troops. It was not a regular Battel; but fought in small Parties, and in some Disorder, as in a tumultuous Rencounter. But it must be owned, that the *Spaniards* had all the Advantage in this first Action. The Place and Manner of fighting favoured them. After the *Romans* had lost five thousand Men, they were driven back to their Camp, where they did not spend the whole Night. By favour of the Darkness they decamped, without Noise, for fear of being besieged in their Camp the next Day. Which was a wise Precaution. At Day-break the *Spanish* Army invested the *Roman* Camp, which it found empty. What the *Romans* had left behind them in this precipitate Removal, and the Spoils of the Dead, enriched and armed the *Spanish* Soldiers, who before were but indifferently equipped. As for the *Roman* Army, it came to repose itself a little on the Banks of the *Tagus*, where it encamped. The two Generals made it their Business to repair their diminished Forces, and encourage their Troops, which were disheartened by a Defeat, which affected them the more, because not used to be so treated. By little and little, the *Roman* Army was increased, with the Garrisons that were drawn out of Towns, and the great Number of Auxiliaries which the *Spanish* Allies lent the *Prætors*. With this Augmentation of Forces, the Courage of the *Legionaries* revived; they themselves demanded a new Battel; and their Generals led them on with Joy to the Place whither their Ardour called them. They encamped twelve Miles from the *Tagus*; and then, following the Course of that River, marched on, in Order of Battel, to the Place where the Enemy was encamped. The *Lusitanians* had entrenched themselves on the other Side of the *Tagus*, on the Declivity of an Hill; and there was a large Plain, which reached from their Camp, to the Edge of the Water. This Plain seemed to be made for giving Battel, The River was fordable to the Right and Left; and the *Prætors* passed it, *Calpurnius* to the Right, and *Quintius* to the Left. Nothing had been more easy, than for the *Lusitanians* to have attacked their Enemies in the Disorder which is unavoidable in passing a River; but they lost time in deliberating. Whilst they were holding a Council and consulting what would be the most proper time to begin the Action, the Troops and Baggage of the *Romans* were brought into the Plain, and the *Roman*

27 *Beturia* was a Province of *Further Spain*. It lay between the River *Bætis*, or *Guadalquivir*, and the *Anas*, or *Guadiana*. *Pliny* divides it into two Parts. The most Western, which lay next to *Portugal*, on the Side of *Seville*, was inhabited by the *Celtæ*, a People who came originally from *Celtic Gaul*. The Eastern Part of it, towards *Cordova*, was inhabited by the *Turduli*.

28 See what we have said of the Country of the *Carpetani*, *Vol.* 3. It is now a Canton of *La Mancha*, in *New Castille*.

29 We know of no City in *Spain*, which was called *Hippo*. *Livy* places it in the Neighbourhood of *Toledo*.

Army

Army drawn up in Battalia. And then the *Prætors* did not loſe time, either in fortifying a Camp, or ſecuring a Retreat. Their Ardour was ſo great, and Time ſo little, that they had only Space enough to march up directly to the Enemy, who began to move. The two *Prætorian Legions* founded all their Hopes on Victory. The Generals poſted them in the Center, and the Auxiliaries, as well *Latin* as *Spaniſh*, in the two Wings.

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As ſoon as the *Luſitanians* perceived from their Eminence, that the *Roman* Army was in Motion, they marched out of their Camp, and ran to begin the Attack, before their Enemies ſhould be formed. The firſt Onſet was terrible on both Sides. The *Romans*, on one hand, were very deſirous of wiping off the Shame of their late Defeat; and the *Luſitanians*, on the other, very ardent to maintain their Glory, and preſerve their Advantage. They fell on the two *Legions*, and made inexpreſſible Efforts to break into them. But theſe two Bodies were impregnable. Then the Enemy formed themſelves into a pointed Battalion, and endeavoured to break into the *Legionaries* that way; and theſe bold Men were ſcarce able to reſiſt ſuch uncommon Bravery. So many Enemies, and in ſo cloſe Order, followed after one another, to penetrate into them, that the Center began to be broken. This *Calpurnius* perceived, and ſent two [30] Lieutenant-Generals to encourage the tottering *Legions*. *On you*, ſaid they to them, *depend all the Hopes of* Rome *in* Spain. *If you give way, we ſhall never ſee* Italy *again, or even recover the Banks of the* Tagus. And in this common Danger, theſe two Officers did the Duty of common Soldiers. *Calpurnius* at the Head of the Cavalry, on one Side, and *Quintius* on the other, went to attack in the two Flanks, the pointed Battalion, which redoubled its Efforts againſt the main Body of the *Romans*. *Calpurnius* eſpecially, and the Squadron he commanded, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the Fight. They penetrated ſo far towards the Point of the Battalion, that they could ſcarce be diſcovered from the Enemy; and the Ardour of theſe brave Troopers communicated itſelf to the Infantry. The *Legionary Centurions* made their Soldiers take Notice of the Bravery of *Calpurnius* and his Horſe. And then a noble Emulation ſeized them. *March on*, ſaid they to their Enſigns, *advance, and attack the Enemy*. At theſe Words, the *Legionaries* fell on the *Luſitanians*; and, like an impetuous Torrent which carries all before it, they bore down every thing that oppoſed them, and with their Shouts ſpread Terror every where. How then could the Enemy hold out againſt Men who were long immoveable, and now fell on them, with an Impetuoſity not to be reſiſted? Nothing remained, but to regain their Camp, and avoid Death by Flight. But they neither eſcaped in their Flight, or in the Camp. The *Roman* Cavalry followed the Fugitives cloſe, covered the Ground with them, and entered, mixed with them, into the Camp. The Battel was renewed with the freſh Troops which were left to guard the Entrenchments; and the *Roman* Cavalry diſmounted, and ſuſtained the Attack, till a *Legion* arrived. Soon after, the whole Army followed, and the Camp was immediately full of *Romans*. Then a terrible Slaughter was made of the *Luſitanians*; and in a word, out of thirty five thouſand Men, only four thouſand eſcaped. Two Thirds of this ſmall Remains of ſo great an Army, poſted themſelves on a Mountain, and the reſt rambled about the Plains without any Arms. The *Romans* took from the Enemy an hundred and thirty three Colours, and ſpent the Night in their Camp; becauſe they had not time to pitch one for themſelves. The *Romans* loſt but ſix hundred of the *Legionaries* and *Italian* Auxiliaries; and of the *Spaniſh* Auxiliaries, there were not more killed than about an hundred and fifty. But as the Officers had expoſed themſelves more than the common Soldiers, there were five *Tribunes* among the Dead. A great and memorable Action, which pacified *Spain* for a time! But how could any laſting Tranquillity be expected, among a People who idolized their Liberty, and were continually inured to Arms? The *Roman* Generals aſſembled their Troops on the Field of Battel, congratulated them on their brave Conduct, and diſtributed the Rewards of Valour among them. The Cavalry were moſt commended, and beſt rewarded. *Calpurnius* gave thoſe who followed him, fine Furniture for their Horſes; and

[30] The Name of one of theſe Lieutenant-Generals was *Titus Quintilius Varus*, and that of the other *Juventius Thalna*.

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Quintius diſtributed among his Squadrons, Collars, Bracelets, and Claſps of Gold and Silver. Other Preſents were made to ſome *Centurions* in the Army, and particularly to thoſe of the two *Legions* who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their Courage. At their Return to *Rome*, the *Prætors* themſelves received the Reward due for one of the moſt glorious Victories *Rome* had gained in *Spain*. A Triumph was granted them, without any Oppoſition. *Calpurnius Piſo* made his Proceſſion into *Rome* ſome Days before that of his Collegue; but the latter was not long after him. There were carried before each of them eighty three Crowns, and * eleven thouſand Pounds weight of Silver.

* *Worth* 33000 *l. Sterl. at* 5 s. per *Ounce.*

§. XI. IN *Italy*, the revolted *Ligures* gave the *Conſuls* as much Exerciſe, as the *Spaniſh* Rebels did the *Prætors*. After having made the uſual Levies, and drawn Lots for their Provinces, and for the Right of preſiding at the next Elections, *Sempronius Tuditanus*, and *Claudius Pulcher*, ſet out for their Province. The former carried the War into the Country of the *Apuans*, in the Eaſt of *Liguria*; the latter into the Canton of the *Ingauni*, more to the Weſt. *Sempronius* came firſt to *Piſa*, and from thence into the flat Country. There, after he had ravaged the Fields, and pillaged the Caſtles, he made more Uſe of Fire than the Sword, to puniſh the Rebels. In their Foreſts they had always found Retreats, into which the *Roman* Armies could not penetrate. In order therefore to make himſelf a Way in ſo cloſe a Country, the *Conſul* burnt down the Woods, and made a large Opening from the River *Macra*, to the Port of *Luna*. By that means, theſe Robbers were forced to go and live in the Caves in the Rocks; and durſt no more appear in the Plain. And the *Conſul Claudius* made War with as much Succeſs among the *Ingauni*. He fought ſeveral Battels with them, and always had the Advantage. He took ſix Cities from them, and carried away a great Number of Priſoners. And laſtly, he put to Death forty three of the Heads of the Rebels; and had purſued his Conqueſts farther, if his ambitious Views had not made him return too ſoon to the Capital.

THO' it had fallen by Lot to his Collegue, to preſide in the Great Elections, he haſtened thither to prevent him. *P. Claudius* his Brother was one of the Candidates for the *Conſulſhip* the next Year; and he thought it neceſſary to aſſiſt him againſt his Competitors, who were very great Men. They were *L. Æmilius*, *Q. Fabius Labeo*, and *Serv. Sulpicius Galba*; all as illuſtrious *Patricians* as the *Claudii*. Beſides, this was the firſt time the *Conſul*'s Brother appeared for the firſt Dignity. Whereas his Competitors had formerly been Candidates for it, and miſſed it. The Candidates were four in all; and the People could chuſe but one *Patrician*. The ſecond *Conſulſhip* belonged to a *Plebeian*. Great Efforts were therefore neceſſary, in order to prevail over Rivals who could not be ſo often rejected without Diſgrace. But *Claudius* had inherited the Spirit of his Family. He was enterprizing, even to Raſhneſs. The People were all inclined to give *Q. Fabius Labeo* the *Patrician Conſulſhip*; and *L. Porcius Licinus*, the *Plebeian*. But what is too hard to be compaſſed by Intrigues, when carried on by a factious Man in Power! When the People were aſſembled in the *Campus Martius*, the *Conſul* appeared without his *Lictors*, led his Brother by the Hand thro' all the Ranks, begging Suffrages, flattering ſome, and ſtopping others. The Senators murmured at a Proceeding ſo inconſiſtent with the Gravity of a *Conſul*, and the Freedom of Elections; but all in vain. *If* Claudius, ſaid they, *ſo well remembers that he is a Brother, ought he not alſo to remember that he is a* Conſul? *It is his Buſineſs to ſit upon the Tribunal, and not to mix with the Crowd, and appear active in an Affair in which he ought not to intereſt himſelf?* The *Tribunes of the People* alſo had ſeveral Conferences on this Occaſion. Some commended, others blamed him; inſomuch that the latter were for breaking up the Aſſembly, the former for continuing it. But notwithſtanding all this, the *Conſul* ſtill went on; and at length prevailed. *P. Claudius Pulcher*, and *L. Porcius Licinus*, were declared *Conſuls*.

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The latter had but two Competitors, both moderate Men, who uſed no Violence to diſturb the Election. Ambitious Factions were not common in *Rome*, in any but the *Claudian* Family. Then the *Comitia* choſe ſix *Prætors*, as uſual; two to hear the Cauſes of the *Romans* between themſelves, and between them and Foreigners; one for *Sicily*; another for *Sardinia*; and two to ſucceed *Calpurnius* and *Quintius*, in the two *Provinces* in *Spain*.

§. XII. In

§. XII. In the first Months of the two new *Consuls*, there arose a strange Spirit of Contention in *Rome*. Peace reigned in the *Levant*. The Wars in *Spain* were suspended for the present. *Liguria* was almost subdued. But in this general Calm, it was difficult for restless Men to preserve the same Tranquillity at *Rome*, which they enjoyed Abroad. They shifted their Passions. That Love of Glory, which they had sought by Arms, was now succeeded by a warm Ambition for Offices in the State. The *Consul Claudius* had given the Example; and it was contagious. The two *Prætors*, which were to continue in *Rome* to determine Causes there, were no sooner chosen by Lot, but one of them died. This was *C. Decimius*, whose Province it was to hear the Causes between the *Citizens* of *Rome*, and Foreigners. And the Vehemence, with which the Place of the Deceased was canvassed for, is not to be expressed. There were three Candidates, two of which had been *Ædiles* the last Year, and the third was actually the High-Priest of *Jupiter*. And afterwards a fourth Candidate started up, who was most zealous in his Intrigues. He was already appointed to be *Curule Ædile*; and therefore he did not put on a white Habit, as Candidates generally did. His Party was the strongest; and the two first of the Competitors despaired of succeeding against him. So that he had no Rival left but the *Flamen Dialis*. However, *Fulvius Flaccus*, which was the Name of him who was most zealous for the *Prætorship*, met with some Opposition from some *Tribunes of the People*. They thought he could not lawfully possess at the same time two *Curule* Magistracies; they being incompatible. The *Consul Porcius* joined with the *Tribunes*, and was against putting *Fulvius*'s Name among those of the Candidates. In order to confirm his Opinion by the Authority of the Senate, he represented to them, *That it was contrary to Law, and the good Order established in the Republick, for a Man, who was* Curule Ædile *elect, to stand for the* Prætorship. *The Conscript Fathers* gave him leave to treat with *Fulvius*, in order to prevail on him to suffer the People assembled in *Comitia*, to come to a free Election of a *Prætor*, in the room of *Decimius*. But *Fulvius* only gave him this ambiguous Answer. *I will do nothing unworthy of my Character.* And *Porcius* concluded from this indeterminate Answer, that he would acquiesce in the Will of the Senate, and desist. But the Case was otherwise. The *Comitia* were assembled; and *Fulvius* canvassed with more Fury than ever. He accused the Senate and *Consul*, of desiring to hinder his reaping the Benefit of the good Will of the Commons to him. He earnestly demanded the *Prætorship*, and offered to renounce the *Curule Ædileship*, though actually nominated to it. *Porcius* saw, that the People inclined to satisfy the Petitioner, and nominate him *Prætor*. And he assembled the Senate in haste, and upon his Remonstrance an Order was made, that the *Consul* should oppose in the *Comitia*, the Pretensions of the ambitious *Fulvius*. *Porcius* therefore harangued the People. But the Candidate found more Favour among the People, than the Head of the Republick; and *Fulvius* even ventured to return the Assembly thanks, for having shewn more Regard to his Interests, than to the Representations of the Senate, and *Consuls*. To which he added, *Depend upon it, I shall be able to maintain the good Will you have for me, to the last.* And the People were so pleased with these Words, that they would have immediately nominated him *Prætor*, if *Porcius* would have suffered his Name to be put among the Candidates. But the *Consul* still opposed it. Upon this, Disputes arose between the *Tribunes of the People*, and *Porcius*; and at last, the Senate put an end to the Affair, by a very prudent Decree. They ordered, That for this present Year, there should be but one *Prætor* at *Rome*, who should discharge the Offices of both. By this means the *Fathers* remedied the Abuse, and prevented the dangerous Effects, which the Ambition of this one Man was going to produce. *Fulvius* had like to have raised a Quarrel between the Senate, a *Consul*, and the People, by his Obstinacy.

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P Claudius Pulcher, L. Porcius Licinus, Consuls.
Livy, B. 39. c. 33.

§. XIII. And the Desires of arriving at the first Offices, appeared yet more remarkably, when the *Censors* came to be chosen. The Reader must have observed, on what Foot the *Censorship* was at *Rome*. It may be called the highest Point of Honour, and all the Authority of the several Magistrates who governed the Republick, may be said to have been united in it. The People, the *Roman Knights*, the Senate, the Nobility, and the private *Citizens*, were all subject to the Correc-

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tions of the two *Cenſors*, who were appointed to inſpect the Conduct of Men of all Orders in the State. It was the Buſineſs of theſe Overſeers to obſerve and puniſh, all Faults in the publick Adminiſtration, the ill Government of Magiſtrates, the Diſorders in private Families, all Tranſgreſſions againſt the Law, and all Corruption of Manners. One was choſen out of the *Patricians*, and the other out of the *Plebeians*. And theſe Dignities were never given but to Men of known Prudence, and a conſtant Regularity of Life. Grave and ſerious Magiſtrates, who were zealous for the publick Good, and of an auſtere Virtue, if they had paſſed through the chief Employments, were preferred to the *Cenſorſhip* before old *Conſuls*, who had nothing to recommend them but their Victories. And now *Rome* had more Occaſion for rigid *Cenſors* than ever. A Corruption of Manners prevailed; all Diſcipline and Policy was relaxed; and it was to be feared the Evil would ſtill grow worſe. The Vices of *Aſia* began to be introduced into *Rome*. Feaſting took the Place of Temperance; and Luxury, and Expence in Furniture and Dreſs, that of Frugality in both. The Modeſty of the People began to diminiſh; the *Bacchanalians* had made violent Attacks upon it. Riches, Plenty, and Idleneſs, after ſo many Wars, began to threaten the Ruin of the Virtue of the *Romans*; and *Rome*'s chief Reſource was in the *Cenſors* ſhe was going to chuſe. It is ſaid, that among the *Patricians*, the two *Scipio's*, *Publius* and *Lucius*, ſtood for the *Cenſorſhip*; which, if true, *Scipio Africanus* muſt have been yet alive. However, this at leaſt is certain, that *L. Valerius Flaccus*, *C. Manlius Vulſo*, *L. Furius Purpureo*, and *Scipio Aſiaticus*, were Candidates for it. The *Plebeian* ones were *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, *Tiberius Marcus Sempronius*, and the famous *M. Porcius Cato*. The Character of the latter ſeemed to make it certain, that he would be choſen. *Cato*'s Merit of every kind was ſuperior to that of his Rivals; and excepting only the eldeſt *Scipio*, who was probably now dead, *Porcius Cato* ſeemed alone to poſſeſs all thoſe good Qualities, which Nature generally divides among ſeveral great Men. There was no Talent, fit either for publick or private Life, which he had not received by Nature, or acquired. He was a great Soldier; and it is difficult to ſay, whether he moſt excelled, in conducting a military Enterpriſe with Prudence, or in putting it in execution with Valour. He was a great Stateſman, and judged very right of what was moſt for the Intereſt of his Country, both at Home and Abroad. He was a great Orator, and always ſwayed the publick Aſſemblies as he pleaſed, whether he accuſed, or defended; whether he gave his Advice in the *Comitia*, or inveighed in the Senate. His Harangues and Pleadings were publiſhed, and ſurvived him. He was a learned Hiſtorian, and enquired into the Origin of the Cities of *Italy*, eſpecially of *Latium*. Nor did *Cato* neglect the Study even of rural Affairs. The Book he has written upon that Subject, and which is ſtill preſerved, puts us in mind of thoſe Times, when the *Romans* went from the Head of Armies, to the Plough-Tail. If it cannot be ſaid that *Cato* tilled his Ground with his own Hands, it is certain he loved Agriculture, and made it his Buſineſs. Nevertheleſs, we find great Defects in him, as a publick Perſon. He was extravagantly ſevere upon the Faults of other Men. He was not only a declared Enemy to Vice; but loved to inſult the Vitious. And his Reproaches were generally bitter, and poignant, and ſometimes falſe. He was not only ambitious, and jealous, but carried thoſe Paſſions to exceſs; and retained the Prejudices he had once imbibed againſt People, even to Obſtinacy. As a private Perſon he lived frugally; but it was only to lay up Money. His ſeeming Equity did not go ſo far, as to prevent his taking Uſury. In publick he was eternally extolling Continence; in private, he made a beautiful Slave Miniſter to his Pleaſures. But after all, his Merit and his Virtues were publickly known, and his Vices were concealed. By this means he acquired the Eſteem of a Multitude, who thought him blameleſs. So much Diſſimulation, joined with ſo much Eloquence, were proper Talents for impoſing upon the World. He was four and forty times accuſed before the People, and as often acquitted. And now that he ſtood for the *Cenſorſhip*, all the Commonalty were for him. His Rigour, which made the Nobles fear him, was thought Matter of Merit by the People. All his Rivals but one, joined together to exclude him; But the Affection of the People prevailed. Nay, he had alſo Intereſt enough to get him of the *Patrician* Candidates choſen with him, whoſe Temper was moſt ſuitable to his own. This was *L. Valerius Flaccus*.

Plut. Life of *Cato*.

Livy, B. 35. c. 41.

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Flaccus, who had formerly been *Conſul* with him. *Cato* ſaid publickly, that if he was not ſeconded by *Valerius*, the good Deſigns he had towards a publick Reformation, would prove abortive. They were therefore both raiſed to the Dignity of *Cenſor* together.

§. XIV. The Nobility trembled when they ſaw *Cato* in this eminent Poſt. They fully expected, That his *Cenſorſhip* would be a ſevere one; That he would reform the Senate, and openly declare himſelf againſt the *Patrician* Order; and That Proſecutions for Immoralities would become frequent. And they were not miſtaken. The two Collegues made it their firſt Buſineſs to draw up a new Liſt of the Senate; and degraded ſeven of this illuſtrious Body. The Degradation that made moſt Noiſe, was that of *L. Quintius*, the Brother of the Great *Flaminius*. This Senator, who was noble by Birth, had been a *Conſul*. Nevertheleſs, *Cato* degraded him from the Rank of a Senator; and the Charge he had againſt him was ſo heavy a one, that his Brother, if he had been *Cenſor*, would not have been able to have kept him his Place in the Senate. *Cato* himſelf became his Accuſer before the People, to whom he appealed from his Sentence; and from the Speech the *Cenſor* made againſt him, the laſt Hiſtorians have brought to Light the Truth of the Fact, which many Writers had diſguiſed. Theſe ſaid, that *L. Quintius* had only been too fond of a Woman of *Placentia*, whom he loved. But is it not more reaſonable to believe his Accuſer? Durſt *Cato* to have invented a Fable, before a great Nation, purely to lay the Foundation for a ſolemn Accuſation? According to *Cato* himſelf then, *Quintius* had in his *Conſulſhip* conceived a deteſtable Paſſion for a young *Carthaginian* of high Birth, named *Philip*. And without any Regard to Decency, Honour, or his own Dignity, had carried with him this infamous Pathick into *Ciſalpine Gaul*, where he was going to command. The Licentiouſneſs of the young *Carthaginian* increaſed by Familiarity; and one Day, at a Repaſt, when the *Conſul* was warm with Wine, *Philip* reproached him, for having brought him from *Rome*, when ſome Shows of Gladiators were juſt going to be preſented. *What a Pleaſure*, ſaid he, *would it be to me, to ſee Men cut one another's Throats! I never yet ſaw any one die of a violent Death; and my Complaiſance for you has only increaſed my Curioſity.* Upon which the baſe *Conſul* immediately reſolved to ſatisfy it. News was brought him, That a *Boian* Lord, followed by his Children, had fled for Refuge to his Camp; and That after having renounced the Party of the Rebels, this Lord deſired to ſee the General, to put himſelf under his Protection. He was introduced into the *Prætorium*, and found *Quintius* at Table drunk with Pleaſure, and with Wine. At this Sight, the *Conſul* addreſſed himſelf to his Favourite thus. *Here is now a good Opportunity to make you full Amends for the Loſs of the Sight of the Gladiators, which you have foregone for my ſake.* And then, upon the firſt Signal of the *Carthaginian*, the *Conſul* ſeized his Sword, which hung at the Back of the Couch, on which he was ſitting, and ſtruck the *Gaul* over the Head. The *Boian*, covered with Blood, did what he could to get out of the General's Tent, to implore the Succour and Fidelity of the *Romans*. But *Quintius* purſued him, ran his Sword through his Body, and left him dead. Perhaps [31] *Cato* in his Oration [32] might a little exaggerate the Circumſtances of the Fact: But can it be ſaid, that he altered the main part of it? The Crime was very heinous. And therefore the Accuſer inſiſted, That before the Accuſed purged himſelf, he ſhould give Sureties. *If he confeſſes*, adds the *Cenſor*, *that he did the Action for which I have puniſhed him, he cannot complain of the Diſgrace I have put upon him, though he has been a* Conſul. *Can my Severity againſt an unworthy Magiſtrate, whoſe double Drunkenneſs made*

Valerius Antias; *Cicero in L. de Senectute*; *Plut. vita Catonis*; and *Val. Max. L. 2. c. 9. §. 3.*

31 *Plutarch* in his *Life of Cato*, a little leſſens the Horror of ſo odious a Crime. According to him, the Wretch who was ſacrificed to the brutal Pleaſure of the young Pathick, was a Criminal condemned to die. *Lucius Quintius* had ordered, That he ſhould be taken out of Priſon, and brought into the Hall, with an Executioner armed with his Hatchet. And no ſooner was he entered the Hall, but the Executioner cut off his Head in the ſight of the Guells. This Account is agreeable to what *Cicero* makes the *Cenſor* ſay, in his Book *Of Old Age*. *Valerius of Antium* tells the Story much in the ſame manner as *Plutarch*. Only the former ſubſtitutes in the room of the infamous Object of *Quintius*'s Amours, a Miſtreſs, whom he paſſionately loved.

32 *Livy* ſays, that *Cato*'s Diſcourſes againſt *Lucius Quintius*, and ſeveral others, whom he had degraded from the Rank of Senator and *Knights*, were extant in his time. It was from one of theſe Orations, that the *Roman* Hiſtorian had taken the Circumſtances of that baſe Action of *Quintius*, as we have related it in the Text.

him

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him barbarous, be juſtly blamed? At firſt *Quintius* would have denied the Fact. But when put to his Oath, he would not perjure himſelf. Such Force had the Sentiments of Religion, even in the moſt vicious of the *Romans*. *Quintius* therefore continued degraded from being Senator. Nevertheleſs, the People comforted him a little in his Diſgrace. He came one Day to a publick Show, and placed himſelf among the Multitude. But the People had Regard to his Birth, and Modeſty, and invited him to ſit among the Senators 33.

CATO's Severity was much greater towards the Senator *Manlius* 34. The *Cenſor* ſtruck his Name out of the Liſt of the *Conſcript Fathers*, upon an Accuſation brought againſt him for a Fault, which ſeemed to deſerve little Cenſure. *Manlius* loved his Wife, and had ſlightly ſaluted her in his Daughter's Preſence. And *Cato*, who gave himſelf much greater Liberties in private, could not forgive the Offence, which a Father of a Family had given to a young innocent Perſon. He put ſuch a Diſgrace on the Magiſtrate, as prevented his obtaining the *Conſulate*, for which he was a Candidate the next Year. A malicious Act; of which none but a very artful and deſigning Man would have been guilty!

§. XV. *CATO* alſo, out of an inveterate Hatred to the Family of the *Scipio's*, offered an heinous Affront to *Scipio Aſiaticus* 35, a Man of a very venerable Character. He had, ſince his Diſgrace, been made a *Roman Knight*. But the *Cenſor*, upon what Pretence is not known, took from him the Horſe which the Publick kept for him. So that the Conqueror of *Antiochus* was reduced to the Condition of the moſt private Perſons. Then the *Cenſor* 36 exerciſed his Severity on thoſe Multitudes of People, who gloried in their Riches. I am willing to believe, that *Cato* had nothing in view, but to correct in *Rome*, that Luxury and Extravagance, which had ſpread but too much already. And in order to bring about this Reformation, he took a new Expedient. Hitherto, in the Accounts that had been taken of every Man's Goods, the *Cenſors* had omitted his Moveables, Jewels, and Utenſils. But *Cato* thought it proper to bring in the Habits, Chariots, Litters, and Jewels of the Women, which were worth above fifteen thouſand *Aſſes*, and the Slaves of twenty Years old, and under, for which had been paid ten thouſand *Aſſes*, or more. And as Taxes were laid in Proportion to every one's Goods, the more Show a Man made, the heavier was his Burden. Theſe Superfluities were taxed at ten times more than they coſt. Some therefore retrenched in their Dreſs, and in the Conveniencies of Life. Others kept up the ſame Figure as at firſt. And both were exaſperated againſt a Reformer, who drew them into this Dilemma, that they muſt either make no uſe of their Goods, or pay very dearly for the uſe of them. He took away from private Houſes and Gardens the publick Water, which had been granted them for Uſe, or Ornament. He demoliſhed the Projections of the Buildings that hung over the Streets, or Market-Places in *Rome*; as alſo the Priſons, and Balconies that projected. With the Money which the Taxes produced, he lined, with Free-Stone, the Baſons where the *Romans* drew their Water. He cleanſed the old Common-Sewers, and built new ones, on the ſide of the Hill *Aventinus*, and in other Places, where there were none before. His Collegue *Valerius* undertook to build a Cauſeway to 37 *Neptunium*, and to level a great

Livy, B. 39. *c.* 44.

33 According to *Plutarch* and *Valerius Maximus*, *B.* 4. *c.* 5. the People afterwards ſhewed Favour to *Lucius*, and reſtored him to his former Dignity.

34 *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Cato*, gives this Senator the Name of *Manilius*.

35 *Livy*, ſpeaking of *Scipio Aſiaticus*, expreſſes this Surname by the Word *Aſiagenes*; which is a farther Proof of what we have above obſerved, concerning the Medal, which has preſerved the Marks of his Triumph.

36 The rigid *Cato* did not ſpare even thoſe of his own Name and Family. One *Porcius Læca*, had only anſwered the *Cenſor*'s Queſtions, during the Ceremony of the *Cenſus*, in a jocoſe manner; and this unſeaſonable Freedom exaſperated the *Cenſor*. *Porcius* was degraded, deprived both of his active and paſſive Voice in the *Comitia*, and reduced to the Condition of the loweſt of the People. *Cicero* has given us this Account, in his ſecond Book *De Oratore*. But his Copyiſts were miſtaken in the Surname of this *Porcius*. They very improperly give him that of *Naſica*, which belonged only to a Branch of the Family of the *Scipio's*. *Cato* exerciſed the ſame Severity on *A Roman Knight*, named *Veturius*, and took from him his Horſe, for having neglected to diſcharge ſome religious Duties, as we learn from *Feſtus*, in his Interpretation of the Words *Stata Sacrificia*.

37 *Neptunium* is the Name we give to a Spring which *Livy* and *Vitruvius* call *Neptunie Aquæ*. It was near *Terracina*. The latter Author ſpeaks of it, *B.* 8. *c.* 3. This Fountain was ſo poiſonous, according to him, that it immediately killed all thoſe who had the Misfortune to drink of it. He aſcribes theſe fatal Effects to the pernicious Juices which mixed with the Waters, whilſt they were filtrating through the Veins of the Earth. And for this Reaſon, ſays *Vitruvius*, the Magiſtrate ſtopped up the Fountain.

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Road croſs the Mountain of *Formii*. *Cato* bought, for the Exchequer, two large 38 pieces of Ground, and four Shops. He alſo built a fine Palace, with the publick Money, near the *Forum Romanum*, on the ſame ſide as the Hall where the Senate generally aſſembled. This Building retained the Name of the *Cenſor*, and was called *Baſilica Portia*. And laſtly, in order to enrich the Treaſury, *Cato* conſiderably raiſed the Farms of the Republick, which, before his time, had been let at a very low Price. But all this Zeal, and all this Oeconomy, only increaſed the Number of his Enemies; and they prevailed on the Senate to cancel the Leaſes he had juſt executed with the General Farmers. The Senate ordered the Funds to be put up to publick Sale; and this raiſed them to much the ſame Value, as *Cato* had firſt fixed them at. *Flamininus* alſo, in order to revenge the Affront which *Cato* had offered his Brother *Quintius*, prevailed on the Senate 39 to cancel the Bargains the *Cenſor* had made, with the Undertakers of the publick Works. Nay, his Accuſation went farther. Some of the *Tribunes of the People* were perſuaded to accuſe *Cato* before the *Comitia*, of Colluſion with the Workmen; and to inſiſt, that he ſhould be fined two * *Talents*. But the Commons declared for him; and did more than barely abſolve him. They ſhewed their Gratitude for his Adminiſtration, by the Statue they erected to him in the Temple of *Health*. *Cato* had, out of a falſe Modeſty, always affected to deſpiſe theſe ſorts 40 of Honours. *They are not*, ſaid he, *ſo much Marks of Virtue, as Monuments of the Skill of the Founders, or Statuaries*. One Day, when a Flatterer was wondering that no Statue was yet erected to him, he anſwered; *It is a much greater Pleaſure to me to hear the People complain, that none has yet been erected to me; than it would be to hear them ask, for what Reaſon I was honoured with them*. But theſe Specches were only Copies of his Countenance. His real Sentiments were of a very different kind. He betrayed his Pride, by the Inſcription he ordered to be put on the Pedeſtal of his Statue, in theſe Words. To Cato the Censor, for having reformed the Diſcipline of the Republick, by prudent Regulations. There was no mention made of his Victories on the Pedeſtal. Others had conquered as well as himſelf. The Memory of his *Cenſorſhip* was what he thought alone deſerved the Regard of the Publick. And therefore whilſt the Great Generals of that time took Surnames from the Names of the Countries which they ſubdued; *Cato*, inſtead of that of *Africanus*, or *Aſiaticus*, gave himſelf the Surname of Censor, which he ever after retained. As if he had gained more Glory by triumphing over the Vices of the Publick, than over foreign Nations. The laſt Offices he executed in this glorious Employment, were thoſe of a *Cenſus*, and a *Luſtration*, which was reckoned the forty ninth from their Inſtitution.

* 387*l.* 10*s.*od. *Arbuthnot.*

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Faſt. Capit.

38 *Aſconius*, in his Commentaries on the Books *Of Divination*, tells us, that *Cato* bought theſe two pieces of Ground of *Mœnius* and *Titius*. But *Mœnius*, ſays our Commentator, excepted out of the Sale a Column, which from the Name of his Anceſtors was called Columna Moenia, *Mœnius's Pillar*. This *Mœnius* had been *Conſul* in the Year of *Rome* 415. according to the *Faſti Capitolini*. The *Romans* erected to his Honour this Column, which was in the Form of a Trophy, to be a Monument of the Victory he gained over the *Antiates*. It was thither that the *Triumviri Capitales* ſent the Criminals, to be puniſhed according to the uttermoſt Rigour of the Laws. *Aſconius* pretends, that one of the Deſcendents of the old *Conſul*, kept this Pillar for himſelf, to be a Support to a ſort of moveable Amphitheatre, from which the *Mœnian* Family could conveniently ſee the Combats of the Gladiators, which were fought in the *Forum*.

39 *Titus Quinctius Flamininus* was enraged at the Affront *Cato* had offered the *Quinctian* Family, in the Perſon of *Lucius Quinctius*, his own Brother. And he did all he poſſibly could to thwart the *Cenſor*, in his Deſign of building the *Baſilica Portia*. Nevertheleſs, this Building was finiſhed, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition *Titus* made to it. This Edifice continued in being till the Death of the *Tribune*, *Publius Claudius*. But *Aſconius* tells us, that it was then burnt down, as well as the old Palace of *Hoſtilius*. The *Tribunes of the People* uſed to hold their Seſſions there. So that the *Baſilica Portia* was a kind of Town-houſe, where the Affairs relating to the Publick were tranſacted.

40 *Pliny* ſays, *B.* 44. *c.* 6. that *Cato* declaimed warmly, but without Succeſs, againſt the Abuſe which had been introduced into the *Provinces*, of erecting Statues, even to the *Roman* Women. He made an Oration upon it, which was intituled, *De Signis & Tabulis*. *Feſtus* ſpeaks of it, under the Word *Redemptitavere*.

41 *Cato* was very uneaſy to hear others commended, ſays *Plutarch*. He uſed to ſay, that a good *Citizen* ſhould not ſuffer himſelf to be commended, unleſs the Praiſes beſtowed upon him turned ſome Way or other to the Advantage of his Republick. But the Praiſes which he refuſed others, he beſtowed, without Meaſure, on himſelf. The Apologies *Cato* made to excuſe Perſons, who had been guilty of ſome Faults, had always ſome Tincture of Vanity in them. *Theſe Men*, ſaid he, *are excuſable, becauſe they are not* Cato's. This is *Plutarch*'s Obſervation.

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§. XVI. After his *Cenſorſhip*, *Cato* ſpent the reſt of his Days in a private, but not an idle Life. He was often accuſed before the People himſelf, and often accuſed others; and he gained as much Reputation by his Eloquence, as he had done by his Arms. Beſides, he found Exerciſe enough for his Philoſophy in his own Family. He had married a Woman of high Birth, for Protection; but ſhe was not ſo rich, but ſhe might have ſpared him great Expences, and frequent Reproaches. However, he was a very good Husband to her; and like a good Father, took upon himſelf the Education [42] of his only Son. *Cato* had among his Slaves a learned Grammarian, named *Chilo*, who was alſo an honeſt Man. Nevertheleſs, he would not ſuffer him to have the firſt modelling of young *Porcius*. He thought it beneath the Dignity of a Freeman of *Rome*, to ſuffer a vile Slave to give his Son the leaſt Correction, or the ſlighteſt Inſtructions. He was his Præceptor himſelf. But as he treated his Pupil with the grave Air of a *Cenſor*, and the Authority of a Father, he kept the Child under very uneaſy Reſtraints, and at an extravagant Diſtance. So that this Son grew lean, and had bad Health. Beſides, *Cato* would not ſuffer him to be taught the Learning of the *Greeks*. This wiſe *Roman* did not like the *Academick* and *Stoick* Philoſophy. He thought *Socrates* a mere Haranguer, or rather a Lover of Sedition, who had nothing in view, but to change the Cuſtoms of his Republick, in order to his getting the Dominion in it, by captivating Mens Minds. *Beſides* [43], ſaid he, *nothing tends more to enervate the Courage of a People born for War; whoſe only Study ought to be, how to conquer, and how to govern conquered Nations.* He therefore formed the Mind of his Son to *Roman* Wiſdom, which was very different from that of the *Greeks*. The latter conſiſted chiefly in idle Speculations. But in his Father's School, young *Cato* became a brave Soldier, and gave Proofs of his Valour in *Macedon*, under *Paulus Æmilius*. He merited the Honour of being the General's Son-in-Law, by his Bravery. And we ſhould, doubtleſs, have ſeen him advanced regularly to the higheſt Honours in the Republick, if Sickneſs had not haſtened his Death. He died *Prætor*, before his Father's Death. As to his Domeſticks, *Cato the Cenſor* was a good Maſter. He would have Order, Secrecy, and Diligence, kept up in his Houſe. And therefore he ſcarce ever bought any Slaves, but ſuch as were very young, that he might form them to what he pleaſed. He would never ſuffer his Domeſticks to converſe with thoſe of Strangers, or to go and drink out of his Houſe. When he ſent them out about Buſineſs, they were ordered to ſay, if asked what their Maſter was doing, *That they did not know.* He loved to have his People lay a great while in Bed. *I have found by Experience*, ſaid he, *that your great Sleepers, are generally the moſt ſubmiſſive, and leaſt intriguing People.* As for himſelf, he was very eaſily ſerved. But in the [44] Entertainments which he often gave, he required that they ſhould be done with great Rigour [45] and Exactneſs. As he had a great Number of Slaves, he kept up little Diviſions among them, in order to be informed of their Plots, and guard againſt them. Add to this, that he got great Profit by his numerous [46] Attendants. He made his Slaves to help forwards the profitable Traffick he carried on, out of *Italy*, and in it, by Sea and Land. But *Cato* traded moſt in Slaves, which had been inſtructed by his own, and which he ſold again at a high Price. He made Money of [47] every thing:

42 *Plutarch* ſays, that *Cato* himſelf taught his Son all Exerciſes of Mind and Body. He took care to teach him the Hiſtory of his own Nation; and to guard him againſt the Charms of Pleaſure, by continually ſetting ſuch Examples before him, as were fit to animate him to the Practice of Virtue. With this View, he inſenſibly inured him to bear the Fatigues of an hard and laborious Life. In a Word, under the Direction of this auſtere Father, this docil Son became a Pattern to all the young Men of his Age. The time that others ſpent in lawful Diverſions, he employed in cultivating his Mind with Study, in learning to ride the great Horſe, throw the Javelin, Box, Swim, and ſtrive againſt the Stream of a River. But young *Cato* ought to have had a better State of Health, or a more kind and indulgent Father.

43 According to *Cato*, *Iſocrates* was a mere Quack in Eloquence, who ſpent a great Number of Years, in training up Orators for the other World.

44 According to *Plutarch*, *Cato* kept a better Table in the Country, than at *Rome*. And the Charms of his Converſation, which he knew how to intermix with good Eating, gained him ſeveral Friends in the Neighbourhood. He was of Opinion, that the Joy which reigns at Entertainments does not a little contribute to forming, and binding cloſe the Bands of Friendſhip.

45 He himſelf puniſhed the leaſt Fault, in the Slaves who had the Care of the Feaſt, with the *Strapado*.

46 He, by a ſordid Avarice, received Money of his very Slaves for the unlawful Commerce, which he allowed thoſe of one Sex to have with those of the other.

47 See what we have elſewhere ſaid of the inſatiable Avarice of *Cato*, in heaping up Riches.

and often ſaid to his Son, that a Man was more contemptible than a Woman, till he had doubled his Revenue.

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Not that Avarice was *Cato*'s only Fault. After the Death of his Wife, and whilſt his Son, who was lately married, was yet alive, he did not renounce all Pleaſures, though advanced in Years. It was ſaid of him, that he had a Body and an Head of Iron. Being ſubject to Incontinence, even in his old Age, he kept up a private and ſhameful Communication with a beautiful Slave, in his own Houſe. But his Intrigue could not be kept ſo ſecret, as to be concealed from his Daughter in-Law, and his Son. Their Houſe was not large; and they lived all together. The Son, and the Daughter-in-Law therefore, treated the favourite Slave with Contempt and Indignation, in their Father's Preſence; and this enraged *Cato*. However, he reſtrained his Paſſion for the preſent, and concealed his Reſentment. *Cato* was Maſter of his Looks and Words. It was by this chiefly that he had gained himſelf a great Reputation for Wiſdom. And in the preſent Inſtance, his Anger appeared only by its Effects. He married again. The Woman he married was the Daughter of one of his Clients, who had formerly been his Secretary. This unexpected News wounded young *Porcius* to the Heart; and he ſaid to his Father, *By what Act of Diſreſpect, or by what Offence, have I incurred your Diſpleaſure? I have no manner of Complaints to make of you*, replied the cunning old Man. *Your Conduct is ſo prudent, that I am reſolved to give you ſome Brothers like you* [48]. And indeed *Cato the Cenſor*, had a Son by his ſecond Wife, who from the Name of his Mother was called *Salonius*. His Father lived to ſee him born and bred up. And we ſhall again ſee old *Cato* make a Figure in his Republick, and retain all his good Senſe, to an extreme old Age.

§. XVII. We have ſeen that an Ambition for Offices raiſed great Diſturbances in *Rome*, when *Claudius Pulcher*, and *Porcius Licinus*, entered upon the *Conſulſhip*; but the Republick ſignalized herſelf very little by her Arms, during their Year. The *Romans* had not any War to carry on, but in *Liguria*. So that the two Collegues had only this Province between them. Each commanded his own Army; and they rather wanted Enemies to fight, than Valour and Reſolution. Inſomuch, that they only ſettled *Colonies* in two Places, where it was of Conſequence to the Republick to have *Roman* Garriſons to watch over, and ſecure, the *Provinces*. One was ſent to [49] *Piſaurum*, in *Umbria*, to keep the *Gauls* in Awe; the other to [50] *Pollentia* in *Picenum*. Every *Roman* Family that went thither was allowed ſix Acres of Land. In the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, the *Prætor Nævius*, who was appointed for *Sardinia*, had a Commiſſion, before his Departure, to enquire after Poiſoners; and he condemned two thouſand of them to die. In the Province of *Tarentum*, the *Pro-Conſul Poſtumius* put a Stop (by inflicting Puniſhment on the Guilty) to a Conſpiracy of Shepherds, who got together, and ravaged the Country. And he there extirpated the Remains of thoſe infamous *Bacchanalians*, which were yet left in the Eaſt of *Italy*. *Val. Antias.*

In *Spain*, all was Quiet, in *The Further Province*, ſince the Defeat of the *Luſitanians*; but in *the Hither*, *Aulus Terentinus* was yet to ſettle Peace, by Force of Arms. At the Head of the two *Legions* which he commanded, he laid Siege to [51] *Corbio*, a City of the *Sueſſetani*, and made himſelf Maſter of it. So that the whole Attention of the Senate was now fixed on *Greece*, *Macedon*, and *Aſia*. Indeed, no Fire yet broke out there; but it was ill extinguiſhed, and might produce a great Conflagration.

48 *Plutarch* obſerves, that *Piſiſtratus*, the Tyrant of *Athens*, made the ſame Anſwer, when he married for his ſecond Wife *Timoneſſa of Argi*; though he had Children by his firſt Wife, which were already pretty well grown up.

49 *Piſaurum* was a City of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, ſituated at the Mouth of a River of the ſame Name. This River is now called *La Foglia*, and falls into the *Adriatick* Sea. As for the City, after it had been ruined by *Totila* the King of the *Goths*, it was rebuilt by *Belliſarius*, according to *Procopius*. It now belongs to the Duchy of *Urbino*, and is called *Peſaro*.

50 *Pollentia*, or as others *Potentia*, took its Name from a neighbouring River, which riſes in one of the *Apennines*, and diſcharges itſelf into the *Adriatick*. This City ſtood in *Picenum*, or *The Marquiſate of Ancona*. It is now no longer in being.

51 In order to know the exact Situation of the ancient City of *Corbio*, we muſt firſt know where to place the Country of the *Sueſſetani*, in which it ſtood. Some bring theſe People near *Biſcay*. Others ſay they poſſeſſed the Territory of *Hueſca*, in *Arragon*. And ſome make them the ſame People, as the *Sedetani*; and we have no certain Rule to direct us how to ſettle theſe Uncertainties. See the preceding Volumes.

And

Year of *ROME* DLXIX.

P. Claudius Pulcher, L. Porcius Licinus, Conſuls.

§. XVIII. And indeed, upon the Report made to the *Conſcript Fathers* by the Commiſſioners ſent the laſt Year into *Greece*, to put an end to the Differences between *Eumenes* and the *Theſſalians*, and King *Philip*; the Senate thought it neceſſary to ſend a new Deputation to the *Levant*. The chief Deſign of it was to examine upon the Spot, whether the King of *Macedon* had reſtored the *Theſſalians*, *Rhodians*, and *Perræbians* the Cities he had taken from them; and whether he had drawn his *Macedonian* Garriſons out of *Ænos*, and *Maronea*, and in ſhort out of all *Thrace*. *Rome* therefore ſent to the Eaſt *Appius Claudius*, who had been one of the beſt *Conſuls*, and gave him two Aſſiſtants. Their Inſtructions were alſo to viſit *Peloponneſus*, and put an end to the Diſputes there between the *Achæans*, and *Lacedæmonians*. *Appius* came into *Greece* with his Collegues, and then began to execute his Commiſſion, with all that Authority, which *Rome* had now aſſumed over the Kings and Republicks of the Eaſt.

And now, *Philip*'s Meaſures were utterly diſconcerted, upon the Arrival of the new Commiſſioners. He plainly ſaw, that he muſt evacuate the Places which *Rome* had condemned him to reſtore to their ancient Poſſeſſors. And it being abſolutely out of his Power to vent his Rage on all the Nations whom he had plundered, he revenged himſelf on the Inhabitants of *Maronea*. *Onomaſtus*, one of his Confidents, was then his Governor of the maritime Country in which *Maronea* ſtood; and *Philip* ſent him Orders to put to Death all thoſe of the Heads of the City, who had declared themſelves againſt his keeping Poſſeſſion of it. And the King was obeyed. In order to put this barbarous Ordinance in execution, *Onomaſtus* made uſe of an old Inhabitant of *Maronea*, named *Caſſander*, who was entirely devoted to *Philip*. This Man brought a Body of *Thracians* into the City by Night; and they made as great a Slaughter of the *Citizens*, as if it had been after an Aſſault. The Affront fell at laſt upon *Rome*, who had ſo lately ſet *Maronea* free from *Philip*'s Yoke; and all the Inhabitants that were ſpared, complained to the Commiſſioners of this horrible Maſſacre. The King of *Macedon* contended that he had no Hand in it, and imputed this bloody Butchery to a popular Commotion. But *Appius* did not believe it upon the King's Word. The latter in vain told him, that *Onomaſtus* was not then at *Maronea*, but was at a great Diſtance from it; his well-grounded Suſpicions prevailed. It was well known that *Onomaſtus* was one of *Philip*'s Favourites, and was honoured with his Confidence; and the chief of the Commiſſioners demanded, that he ſhould be ſent to *Rome* to be examined there. At this Propoſal the King of *Macedon* changed Colour, ſtaggered; and ſtarted numberleſs Difficulties to prevent his Friend's being carried before a Senate, where it was to be feared he would betray his Secrets. Indeed, he readily delivered up *Caſſander* to the Vengeance of the *Romans*; but he peremptorily refuſed to ſuffer *Onomaſtus* to be carried from him. And it is alſo ſaid, that when *Caſſander* was embarked, the King ſent Men after him to poiſon him. But be that as it will, after ſo ſignal an Act of Diſobedience, *Philip* had nothing to do, but to break with *Rome*, and take up Arms. Nevertheleſs, his Preparations were not yet made, nor his Party formed. He therefore found out an Expedient to cover his Deſigns, and impoſe on the Republick, till a more favourable Opportunity ſhould offer to declare himſelf. His Son *Demetrius* had formerly been at *Rome* a great while together, as an Hoſtage; and had gained himſelf Eſteem, and Friends there. An inexpreſſible Sweetneſs and good Nature appeared in all his Actions and Sentiments, which made him very amiable. All thought him worthy of his Father, and *Rome* already wiſhed him upon the Throne. Him therefore the King now employed as his Agent with the Republick, and joined with him in the Embaſſy (to aſſiſt him with their Advice) two Perſons, who were held in great Eſteem at his Court. One was *Apelles*, the other *Philocles*. The young Prince prepared for his Departure, but did not appear at *Rome*, till the ſucceeding *Conſulſhip*.

Polyb. in Legat. N. 44, and 46.

Liv. B. 39. *c.* 35. *Polyb. in Legat. N.* 42.

§. XIX. As for *Appius*, being diſſatisfied with the King of *Macedon*, he left his Court, and went to execute his Commiſſions elſewhere. The Broils in *Peloponneſus* drew him thither. *Cæcilius*, the *Roman* Envoy in *Greece* the laſt Year had interpoſed, to put an end to them; and had ordered the *Achæans* to aſſemble a general Diet. But the chief Magiſtrate then in *Achaia*, had refuſed the Commiſſioner to aſſemble the Council of his Nation, on his Account. He had inſiſted on *Cæcilius*

Cæcilius's producing a Letter from the Senate of *Rome*, in which the Senators desired the *Achæans* to assemble. And now the Senate had declared their Pleasure with Regard to *Appius*, and his Collegues. The *Achæans* had received Notice, that they should leave it to three Commissioners to assemble their Diet. The Business was to judge of the Complaints which the *Lacedæmonians* made, of the severe Usage they had met with from the *Achæans*. *Philopœmenes* had formerly dismanteled *Lacedæmon*, and abolished the Laws of *Lycurgus*. He had brought it into Subjection to the *Achæans*, and had restored the Exiles. And these very Exiles were the Men, who, since their Return, had most zealously contended for the Recovery of the ancient Splendor, and perfect Liberty, of their native City. In order to recover their ancient Rights, *Areus* and *Alcibiades*, two of those restored Exiles, had come and implored the Justice of the *Roman* Senate. They had been referred to the Judgment which *Appius* should give on the Spot, in the Assembly of the *Achæans*; and the latter had assembled the Diet, before the three *Roman* Commissioners arrived. In their Absence, the *Achæans* had consulted together about the Affairs of *Lacedæmon*, and said; *What! are those very* Lacedæmonians, *whom we of our own Accord brought Home into their Country from Banishment, now become our Enemies? They are raising up a War against us, which is more formidable than that in which we conquered them. The* Romans *were then for us. But now by demanding the Restitution of their Liberty, they have found means to engage the Senate of* Rome *in their Interest. The Commissioners of the Republick will soon come, and force us to settle* Lacedæmon *on its ancient Foot. Those ungrateful Men, who are indebted to us, for their Return and Settlement in their own Country, have ventured to accuse us at* Rome, *and there render odious the Dominion we exercise over them. But after all they are our Subjects; and it is Rebellion in them to bring a Process against their Masters. What Punishment then have they deserved?* At which Words the Assembly was enraged; and all agreed, that it was necessary that *Areus*, *Alcibiades*, and all who attended them in their Embassy, should be put to Death. But though the Decree had passed, it was not put in execution. The Commissioners came in the mean time, and then the Scene was changed. The Diet of the *Achæans* was then assembled at [52] *Clitor*, a little City of *Arcadia*; and as soon as *Appius* appeared there, he took the highest Place, and acted rather as a President, or Judge, than a private Deputy. The Harangue with which he began, discovered his Intentions, and made the *Achæans* fear the worst. He inveighed against the Perfidiousness and Cruelty of *Philopœmenes*, the Author of the Murder committed in his Camp, upon the Envoys from *Lacedæmon*, a City venerable for its Antiquity; and disapproved of the Abolition of the Laws of *Lycurgus*, which had been so much extolled by all the Nations of the World. So express a Declaration therefore from *Appius*, who was charged with a Commission, to put the Will of the Republick in execution, was a bad Omen for the Assembly. How could they guard against the Prepossessions of a Judge, whose Sentence would be without appeal?

Year of ROME DLXIX. P. Claudius Pulcher, L. Porcius Licinus, Consuls.

LYCORTAS, the Father of *Polybius* the Historian, was then the Head of his Nation. And being likewise a Friend to *Philopœmenes*, on whom the Accusation fell, he undertook to defend both the common Cause of his Republick, and the Reputation of a great Man whom he loved. He assumed the Discourse, and spoke thus. *How much is the Fate of* Achaia *to be lamented! Were we only to maintain our Rights against* Lacedæmon, *we should have no Reason to despair of our Cause. But now our Judge himself is our Accuser. Lay aside,* Appius, *Lay aside all Prepossessions. You have already discovered your Prejudices. Must I then endeavour to remove them? No; I don't pretend to cope with You. The Adversaries I attack, are the* Lacedæmonians. *My Answer,* Appius, *is not directed to You, but to them. It is objected, that* Philopœmenes *caused the* Lacedæmonian *Deputies to be murdered, who came to his Camp, to plead their Cause there. But do they consider what they are doing, when they reproach us with this, in the Presence of a* Roman *Judge? We were then the Allies, and the* Lacedæmonians *the declared Enemies, of* Rome. *In the Absence of one of our Generals they seized some maritime*

[52] *Clitor*, which *Pliny* calls *Clitorium*, is now called *Cletorio*. There were near it a River and Fountain of the same Name.

Year of ROME DLXIX. P. Claudius Pulcher, L. Porcius Licinus, Consuls.

Cities, in which Rome *had forbidden them to settle; and we hastened to maintain her Decisions. Can then a* Roman, *nay, can a* Lacedæmonian, *charge this upon us as a Crime? The Gods themselves seem to have approved of what we did. They granted us the Victory. Indeed* Philopœmenes *gave the Vanquished leave to come to his Camp, to justify themselves there; and this is all the Part he had in the Massacre laid to his Charge. A Company of Exiles, who were dissatisfied with their Countrymen,* Areus *himself, and* Alcibiades, *who are now our Enemies, were the Persons who offered Violence to the* Lacedæmonian *Deputies. They perished by the Hands of the* Lacedæmonians; *and shall their Death then be imputed to us? Whether it was a Crime or not, it is our Adversaries are to answer for it, and not we. It is also objected, that we have demolished the Walls of* Lacedæmon, *and abolished the Laws of* Lycurgus. *But confess honestly,* Lacedæmonians, *did not you act contrary to the Will of your Lawgiver, when you surrounded your City with Walls? If he was alive, he would be very glad to see it in its present Condition, which he would declare to be the same in which he left it. Was it not your Business to demolish the Works of your Tyrants, and overthrow the Walls which they had raised only to enslave you? As for the Laws of* Lycurgus, Lacedæmon *had proscribed them, before we were forced to lay them aside. Either through Contempt, or Neglect, these so much boasted Statutes had sunk into Oblivion. The* Lacedæmonians *lived without Laws, when we gave them ours. Was it not better for them to observe our Customs, than to keep up no Discipline at all? We, by that means, repaired the Injuries their Tyrants had done them. Is it not better for a City to become a Member of the Circle of* Achaia, *than to be continually oppressed by unjust Usurpers? By obliging them to observe our Customs, we have put them upon the same Foot as ourselves. What Reason then have they to complain? I acknowledge,* Appius, *that the Apology I am making is not at all suitable to an independent Republick, which acknowledges no Judge, or Superior over her. Would it for instance become us, to call you to an Account for the taking of* Capua? *And if not, why then are we responsible to you for the taking of* Lacedæmon? *You say we massacred some of the* Lacedæmonians *in it; and did not you sacrifice many* Campani *to your Resentments? You object that we have demolished the Walls of* Lacedæmon. *And did not you beat down those of* Capua? *Did not you carry away the Effects of the* Capuans? *Not that we pretend to compare the* Achæan *Republick with the* Roman, *or put ourselves upon an equal Foot with you. All I desire is, that the* Romans *would remember that we stand upon the Foot of Allies, with respect to them. Let them not then give more Countenance to their Enemies, than to their Friends. Nay, it was through our means that the* Lacedæmonians *themselves became Friends to your Republick. We first forced them to become one Body with us, and then they took an Affection to* Rome. *And have they any Reason to be dissatisfied with our Union? When the Vanquished are not put upon a worse Foot than their Conquerors, it is injurious to complain. And yet they would have us disannul a Treaty, which is engraven on Stone, and confirmed by mutual Oaths. But we will never break it. Though we have great Respect for the* Romans, *we have more for the Gods who are Guarantees of our Fidelity in the Performance of our Conventions.*

This Harangue of *Lycortas* was applauded by the Assembly. It was full of a Dignity and Force becoming the Head of the Nation. But *Appius* was little affected with it. In order to conclude the Affair, he desired the *Achæans* to restore *Lacedæmon* her ancient Rights voluntarily, lest *Rome* should force them to do it. And this made the Assembly sigh bitterly; but Fear had a greater Effect upon them than Resentment. The *Achæans* submitted it to the Commissioners to do what they should think fit with Respect to *Lacedæmon*; and this Deference a little appeased the Anger of *Appius*. He at present contented himself with only disannulling the Sentence of Death, which had been pronounced against *Areus* and *Alcibiades*: And with this Act of Power and Authority, the three *Roman* Deputies ended their Commission for *Greece*.

Corn. Nepos. Incert. in Vit. Annibalis; and *Justin.*

§. XX. Nevertheless it is probable, that before their Departure, they saw a new War break out in *Asia*, in which their Republick must bear a Part. *Hannibal*, after the Defeat of *Antiochus*, had Thoughts of retiring to one of the *Asiatick* Kings, who was powerful enough to molest the *Romans*, and declare War

War with the King of *Pergamus*, their moſt zealous Ally. And he immediately caſt his Eyes on the King of *Bithynia*. Nevertheleſs the *Carthaginian* poſtponed his Deſign for the preſent, and retired to the Iſland of *Crete*, among the 53 *Gortynians*. *Hannibal* had a great deal of ready Money, and the Report of his coming was ſpread among the *Cretans*. And as he did not deſign to continue in their Iſland, but to paſs through it, and feared their Avarice; he had recourſe to Artifice to deceive them. Whilſt he was making Application to *Pruſias*, for Leave to come to his Court, he ordered ſome large and deep earthen Pots to be filled with heavy Materials, and put only a little Gold and Silver at the Tops of him. Then, as if all his Treaſure had been laid up in theſe Vaſes, he depoſited them in the Temple of *Diana Gortynia*. But at the ſame time he melted down his Gold and Silver, and poured them into the hollow Statues which he carried with him, and which he ſaid he was to worſhip in his Voyage. And to take off all Suſpicion, he ſuffered theſe Idols to lie ſcattered about his Lodgings; and no Body ſuſpected that they were full of Riches. This made the *Cretans* (who had, in all Appearance, very ſure Pledges for his Return) very willing to let him leave their Iſland; and he came to *Bithynia*, and found a War begun between *Pruſias* and *Eumenes*. It is probable, That the *Carthaginian* had kindled it by his private Intrigues; and That *Pruſias* had brought this famous General into his Country, only in order to ſupport it. But be that as it will, as ſoon as *Hannibal* arrived at the Court of *Bithynia*, he was told that *Eumenes* had juſt gained a conſiderable Victory over *Pruſias*. The King of *Pergamus* was ſtronger than his Enemy, ſince *Rome* had ſo much enlarged his Dominions. And then *Pruſias*, by the Advice of the *Carthaginian*, made himſelf new Allies, and got together a large Fleet; inſomuch, that the *Bithynian* Fleet, though weaker than that of *Pergamus*, was ſoon in a Condition to cope with it. *Hannibal* took upon himſelf the Command of it. And this General, who was always very artful, invented an unheard of Stratagem, to ſpread Conſternation and Death in the Enemy's Fleet, without running any Hazard himſelf. He filled ſome earthen Bottles with Aſps, Vipers, and other Snakes, which were deſigned chiefly againſt the Life of King *Eumenes*. *Hannibal* obſerved which was the Galley that carried the King of *Pergamus*; and that he might be the more certain in what part of the Ship the King was, he ſent an Herald to him, with a *Caduceus* in his Hand, as a Sign of Peace. This Herald delivered to him a Letter, and immediately returned on board the Sloop that brought him. The Letter contained nothing but Bravadoes on the part of *Hannibal*; who knowing where to throw his Bottles, caſt them in great Plenty on board *Eumenes*'s Ship. The *Pergamians* were at firſt merry with *Hannibal*'s new ſort of Darts; but were much ſurprized, when they ſaw their Ship full of Reptiles, whoſe Bite was fatal. This Sight cauſed great Diſorder among the Seamen, and Soldiers, on board the Royal Galley; and ſhe was forced to fly, and carry *Eumenes* to the next Port. So that *Hannibal* conquered, but his Victory was not ſo much owing to his Valour, as his Stratagem. The Battel was not bloody, or very fatal; and the Conqueror found it ſoon after recoil upon himſelf. It revived the Hatred of the *Romans* to this inveterate Enemy, and they purſued him to his laſt Refuge. This News was brought from *Greece* by *Appius* and his Collegues. So that *Rome* had Reaſon to expect a new War in the Eaſt. The Uneaſineſs of the King of *Macedon*, the Complaints of the *Achæans*, and the Hoſtilities of *Pruſias* againſt *Eumenes*, were ſure Preſages of a riſing Storm. But ſeveral Accidents in part diſpelled it, or at leaſt poſtponed it. And in the mean time, *Plautus* died 54 at *Rome*, after having improved the Art of Poetry, which was now brought to great Perfection there.

Year of *ROME* DLXIX. P. Claudius Pulcher, L. Porcius Licinus, Conſuls.

53 *Gortyn*, formerly one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in *Crete*, is now only a poor Village, which ſtill retains its ancient Name.

54 *Cicero*, in his Book entituled *Brutus*, places the Death of *Plautus*, four Years after that of the Poet *Nævius*, in the *Cenſorſhip* of *Cato*, and in this *Conſular* Year. Nevertheleſs St. *Jerome* ſays in his *Chronicon*, that this Poet died in the 149*th Olympiad*, that is, thirteen Years before the Year 569. But this chronological Miſtake has not eſcaped the Criticks. *Varro*, and *Aulus Gellius* ſpeak of two other *Comedians*, which were thought to have been Cotemporaries with *Plautus*. The Name of the firſt is *Marcus Acuticus*; and that of the ſecond *Plautius*. They had both written ſeveral Comedies, which ſome aſcribe to *Plautus*.

§. XXI. And

Year of ROME DLXX.

Q. FABIUS LABEO, M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, Conſuls.

§. XXI. AND now, the Republick created the new *Conſuls*, *Q. Fabius Labeo*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*; who as ſoon as they had entered upon their Office, on *The Ides of March*, made it their firſt Buſineſs to give Audience to the ſeveral Ambaſſadors which were come to *Rome* from the ſeveral Parts of the *Levant*. There never had been ſo great a Number there as now. Among theſe were *Demetrius*, the Son of the King of *Macedon*, and *Athenæus* the Brother of the King of *Pergamus*; and Ambaſſadors from a great Number of Cities and Republicks, in *Macedon*, *Thrace*, and *Greece*. What occaſioned this Concourſe, was the Readineſs of the *Romans* to hear the Complaints that ſeveral Nations, and even private Perſons, brought againſt *Philip*. To bring Complaints againſt a King whom *Rome* had Reaſon to ſuſpect, and whoſe Pride ſhe deſired to humble, was in ſome Sort to make their Court to the *Romans*. And indeed, the Government of the *Macedonian* became every Day more and more intolerable; and the People came to *Rome*, to deſire Succours to guard them againſt Oppreſſion, or for ſome Relief and Comfort under their Misfortunes. Notwithſtanding the repeated Orders which had been given *Philip*, by the *Roman* Commiſſioners, to evacuate the Cities on the Coaſt of *Thrace*, and put *Eumenes* in Poſſeſſion of them, the *Macedonian* ſtill obſtinately kept ſome. Nay, he had entered into a Treaty with *Pruſias*, doubtleſs at the Inſtigation of *Hannibal*; and the Succours he had ſent to *Bithynia*, againſt the King of *Pergamus*, were an indirect Attack upon the *Romans*. *Eumenes* had therefore ſent his Brother *Athenæus* to complain of it; and the illuſtrious Ambaſſador made the Republick a conſiderable Preſent of a Crown of Gold of great Weight. As for *Philip*, he had no Body to undertake his Defence before the Senate, but his Son *Demetrius*.

Livy, *B.* 39. *c.* 45.

THIS young Prince, but juſt arrived at the Age of Manhood, had indeed ſcarce any Faults, but ſuch as are inſeparable from his Age. His long Abode at *Rome* as an Hoſtage, had given him a virtuous Turn. He was handſome, well made, and perfectly well repreſented the King his Father, as by his Features, ſo by his majeſtick Air. As to his Underſtanding and Affections, as he had more Ingenuity and Honeſty than *Philip*, ſo he had leſs *Fineſſe* and Penetration. He was confounded, when he was to anſwer, in the Preſence of the *Conſcript Fathers*, all the Complaints that were brought againſt his Father, by ſo many People of ſo many different Nations. Beſides, in this great Number of Accuſations, there were ſome ſlight ones, which *Philip* could not foreſee, and for which *Demetrius* was not prepared. For inſtance, *Philip* was reproached, with having encroached upon the Lands of People not in his Dominions, with having carried off Men and Cattel from other Mens Eſtates, and with either having refuſed to do the Petitioners Juſtice, or having adminiſtred it more by Favour, than according to the Rules of Equity. This long Detail tired the young Prince. His Memory was overburthened with it, and the proper Anſwers did not occur to him ſo ſoon as they ought. The Senate therefore had Compaſſion for him, and gave him Leave to read the Inſtructions he had received from his Father. Then *Demetrius* produced a little Book, in which *Philip* had minuted down general Anſwers to all the Complaints which could be brought againſt him; ſome of which he threw off, from himſelf, on the *Romans*, who had authorized him to commit the Invaſions complained of; and others on the Accuſers themſelves. And indeed it muſt be owned, that the Cauſe of the *Macedonian* had been in bad Hands; if the Compaſſion and Affection which the Senate had for the young Prince, had not ſupplied the Place of Eloquence in the Son, and of a Defence for the Father. But tho' the Pretences *Demetrius* made uſe of to excuſe the King, were weak; he made ſuch Submiſſions and Proteſtations of a better Conduct for the future, as gained the Hearts of all the Senators. Their Anſwer was gracious with reſpect to the Son, and offenſive to the Father. *Philip*, ſaid they, *could not have choſen a better Perſon than* Demetrius, *to incline the Republick to favour him. We had rather be ignorant of, forget, and forgive, many things, than ſearch them to the Bottom. We acknowledge you to be a Friend to the* Romans, *tho' you are* Philip's *Son. And, purely out of Regard to you, we will ſend another Embaſſy to the Court of the King your Father. Paſt Acts of Diſobedience ſhall not be mentioned; but Care ſhall be taken to prevent future ones. And let* Philip *remember, that he is wholly indebted to* Demetrius, *for the Indulgence of the Senate!*

THIS

THIS Declaration tended to gain the young Prince Credit with his Father. It was of Conſequence to the Republick, that *Demetrius* ſhould mount the Throne after *Philip*. *Rome* had great Expectations from a Prince who had been brought up within her Walls, loaded with her Favours, was docile, and of a moderate Genius. The Crown of *Macedon* could legally deſcend only to two Brothers, both the Sons of King *Philip*; but by different Mothers. *Perſes* was the elder, according to the moſt common Opinion, and *Demetrius* the younger. Nevertheleſs, their Birth had made a great Difference between them. *Perſes* was only the Son of *Gnatenia*, a Dancing-Woman, or Seamſtreſs of *Argi*; and had been impoſed 55 upon the King by the Queen, for her own Son. But there was no doubt of *Demetrius*'s being *Philip*'s Son, and born in lawful Wedlock. This Benefit therefore, joined with the Protection of the *Romans*, muſt naturally facilitate his Acceſſion to the Throne, and give him an Advantage over *Perſes*. But this very thing was what exaſperated his Father againſt him, and made him loſe both Crown and Life together. A tragical Event, in which the Intereſt of *Rome* was nearly concerned, and which we ſhall relate hereafter, in its proper Place. But at preſent, we muſt only obſerve, that *Philip* grew extremely jealous of *Demetrius*; and firſt diſcovered his Suſpicions, upon the young Prince's Return to *Macedon*. He foreſaw, that it would not be in his Power to diſpoſe of the Succeſſion; That *Rome* would give it to whom ſhe pleaſed; and That his eldeſt Son would be ſacrificed to the youngeſt. And theſe Suſpicions were conſiderably increaſed, by the Letters of a *Roman*, whom the Hiſtorians do not name, and by the Conduct of the young Prince. The *Roman* was an inconſiderate Friend of *Demetrius*. In order to ſhew his Affection for him, he one Day took the young Prince aſide, and gave him Hopes that the Republick would ſoon ſet him on his Father's Throne. Nor was this all. The Indiſcretion of this Friend was ſo great, that he wrote to the King of *Macedon* himſelf, and told him, That the Senate had ſhewn ſo much Regard to his Son, and ſo much Favour to him, only to induce him to leave this Son his Crown. And *Demetrius* himſelf contributed a little to increaſe the Uneaſineſs of *Philip*, by his Conduct. He ſuffered the *Lacedæmonians* to ſhew their Affection for him, too freely. They looked on him as the Deliverer of their Country; and ſaid, Demetrius *has ſuſpended the Anger of* Rome, *which was ready to have fallen upon* Philip, *and upon us*. The Prince's Court grew very numerous, and that of the King was deſerted. Young *Demetrius* was highly delighted to ſee himſelf adored by the People, and to ſhare at leaſt, the Honours of the Sovereignty; and he kept up his Correſpondence with *Rome*, and had frequent Conferences with the Ambaſſadors of the Republick. So that theſe imprudent Steps quite alienated from him the Minds of a ſuſpicious Father, and a jealous Brother; and by his Ambition, which he could not reſtrain within the Bounds of Prudence, he drew great Misfortunes upon himſelf. We ſhall ſoon ſee the Friendſhip of the *Romans*, and the Hatred of his Father, become his Ruin.

§. XXII. IN order to ſettle the Affairs of *Macedon* and *Greece*, *Q. Marcius* was ſent by the Republick to the *Levant*. Whilſt *Titus Flamininus*, *Scipio Aſiaticus*, and *Scipio Naſica*, ſet out for the Court of King *Pruſias*, to adjuſt the Differences between him and the King of *Pergamus*. As for *Marcius*, he forced *Philip* to deliver up the Cities he poſſeſſed in *Thrace* and *Theſſaly*, and to ſet them at perfect Liberty. And from thence he went to put an End to the Diſputes between the *Achæans* and *Lacedæmonians*. The Senate of *Rome* had already decided them, partly in Favour of one, and partly of the other. By their Decree, the Sentence of Death, which the Diet of *Achaia* had paſſed upon *Areus*, and *Alcibiades*, was annulled. But *Lacedæmon* was ſtill kept in Subjection to *Achaia*. It had been determined at *Rome*, that for the future the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould always be deemed a Part of the *Achæan* Body. This Sentence *Marcius* took care to ſee executed; and to make it irrevocable, made both Parties accept and ſign the Decree. But this was not the only Affair that kept *Marcius* in *Peloponneſus*. A Storm aroſe

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Plut. Life of *Aratus*.

Polyb. in Legat. N. 50.

Plut. Life of *Philopœm.* *Livy B.* 39. *c.* 48.

55 According to *Plutarch*, ſome had affirmed, that *Perſes* was not *Philip*'s Son. They ſaid that the Queen had got him from a Seamſtreſs, who was juſt brought to Bed, and impoſed him upon the King of *Macedon*, for his own Child. To which they added, That when *Perſes* came to be informed of the Defect of his Birth, he procured the Death of *Demetrius*, for fear he ſhould get Proof of the Impoſture.

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there, which cauſed the Death of the greateſt Man then in *Greece*. *Meſſene*, a conſiderable maritime City, had long been a Part of the Canton of *Achaia*. But one *Dinocrates*, a Man of no Honour or Probity, and therefore a perſonal Enemy to *Philopœmenes*, had divided *Meſſene*, which was his Country, from the *Achæan* League. *Philopœmenes*, ſeventy Years of Age, now enjoyed the chief Magiſtracy of *Achaia*, the eighth time; and *Dinocrates* could not expect that his Revolt ſhould be ſuffered to eſcape unpuniſhed, by ſo warlike a General. Accordingly, *Philopœmenes* made all Haſte to ſeize the City of *Corone* [56], before the Rebel had made himſelf Maſter of it. But two Accidents prevented his appearing firſt before the Place. He was ſick, and actually kept his Bed with a Fever. And the Militia of *Achaia* could not be got together ſoon enough to put in Execution an Enterprize which required Secrecy, and Diſpatch. However, the *Achæan* General found a Remedy againſt his Sickneſs, in his own Courage; and the *Megalopolitans* had ſo great an Affection for him, that they offered to follow him as Voluntiers. *Lycortas*, a faithful Friend of *Philopœmenes*, aſſembled together the fineſt Youth in *Megalopolis*, who had great Courage, and were capable of any thing, under a Commander of Reputation. They began their March without Delay, took the Road to *Meſſene*, and arrived at a Hill conſecrated to *Bacchus*, where *Dinocrates* was waiting for them. The Rebel had had the Precaution to leave a Body of about five hundred Men, in the flat Country round about *Meſſene*, to guard it. And as ſoon as *Philopœmenes* and *Lycortas* ſaw the Enemy, they fell upon him, with all the Vivacity of the young Men who followed them. *Philopœmenes* forgot his Sickneſs, and the Fatigues of the Day before. He had marched from *Argi* to *Megalopolis*, which was twenty five Leagues, in twelve Hours. After his Example, the *Megalopolitans* attacked the Rebels, and charged them with ſuch Fury that they put them to Flight. But, unfortunately for the *Achæans*, the five hundred *Meſſenians* who guarded the flat Country, haſtened to the Aſſiſtance of *Dinocrates*, and renewed the Action. Then the *Megalopolitan* Troop was too weak to hold out againſt the new Reinforcement; and *Philopœmenes* made it his Buſineſs to make one of thoſe Retreats, which he underſtood better how to make, than any General in his Time. To this End, he marched into rough Ways, where his Enemy could not eaſily follow him, ſent *Lycortas* and the Nobility before him, and brought up the Rear-Guard himſelf. He faced about, from time to time, upon the Enemy, who ſurrounded him, but durſt not attack him; and he would eaſily have made his Eſcape, if the Care of his Troops had not often obliged him to make Sallies on the *Meſſenians*, and expoſe himſelf to Danger, in order to drive away thoſe that purſued him. But at laſt, he was left alone in a Defile, where the Enemy ſurrounded him. Yet ſtill, the Reſpect they had for him, or their Fear of his Valour, was ſuch, that they durſt not attack him, but at a Diſtance, by throwing Darts at him. At length, they drove him into a narrow Place, where he could not poſſibly turn his Horſe. Yet ſtill he ſupported himſelf, tho' exhauſted with his Sickneſs, and the Fatigue of his March, and old Age together; and ſpurred on his Horſe as violently as he could, croſs the Rocks. When he was ready to have rejoined the main Body of his Men, his Horſe ſtumbled, and threw him. The Fall was a dangerous one; he was wounded in the Head, and lay ſenſeleſs and motionleſs upon the Place. His Enemies thought him dead, and came round him, to ſtrip him. But upon their ſtirring him about, he opened his Eyes and ſeemed to revive. Then *Dinocrates*, who in any other Circumſtances could not have borne the Sight of ſo brave a Man, ordered his Hands to be tied behind him, and led him gently towards *Meſſene*. In the mean time, he ſent Couriers before him, with the News of his Victory, and of the taking of *Philopœmenes*. At firſt, the Rebel-City expreſſed great Joy at it. But upon the Sight of the Hero of *Greece*, reduced to Captivity, more by Accident than any Want of Valour, their Reflexions were more ſolid. All the City ran together, to ſee him; the moſt Part could not refrain from Tears, at the Remembrance of the Exploits which they had ſeen of this Great Man, under whom they had fought; and Gratitude

[56] *Coron*, or *Corona*, was a City of *Meſſenia*, in *Peloponneſus*. We have ſpoken of it already. It is ſtill in being, in the Province of *Belvedere*, and retains the ſame Name. *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Philopœmenes*, puts, inſtead of this City, a Town called *Colpnis*, or *Colone*, which *Ptolomy* mentions. This Place was alſo in the Territory of *Meſſene*.

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increaſed their Compaſſion. *Philopœmenes* had formerly delivered *Meſſene* from the Oppreſſions of the Tyrant *Nabis*; and the Commons now deſired, that he might be carried to the Theatre, and there ſhewn to the People. But the Magiſtrates were afraid that the Eſteem and Love of the *Meſſenians* for him would revive, and induce them to releaſe their Priſoner, and ſend him back to *Achaia*. *Dinocrates* therefore perſuaded the People who were aſſembled to judge *Philopœmenes*, that he had ſome Queſtions to ask him in private, concerning the War with which they were threatened; and they left the Theatre empty, and returned every one to his Home. A few Flatterers would have perſuaded *Dinocrates* to have put the Priſoner to the Rack, and left him to expire in Torments. *If he ſhould eſcape from you*, ſaid they, *what an Enemy will you have to contend with? The Hatred he has long had to you, when ſtrengthened by the ill Treatment he has received, will make him irreconcileable.* But *Dinocrates*, tho' *Prætor* of *Meſſene*, did not at firſt exerciſe an abſolute Power towards the Captive. *Philopœmenes* was brought before the Senate; and it was there debated, where he ſhould be put the next Night: for the Day was cloſing. None of the Senators would take upon himſelf the Reproach of having kept him a Priſoner in his Houſe. Beſides, it was not ſafe to truſt him with any one Citizen. They therefore choſe to put him in a Vault, called *The Treaſury*; doubtleſs, becauſe the publick Money had formerly been kept there. It was, properly ſpeaking, a deep Cavern, into which you entered by a Hole, the Mouth of which was ſtopped, even with the Ground, with a large Stone, which was raiſed up by a Crane, or ſome other Machine. In this Hole there was no Opening, either for Air or Light; and there *Philopœmenes*, wounded, ſick, and fatigued, ſpent a miſerable Night. The Fear of Death was the leaſt Part of his Uneaſineſs. Early in the Morning, the Senate of *Meſſene* and the Commons met. The People were for getting favourable Terms, in Exchange for the Priſoner. Their Eſteem, Gratitude, and even Intereſt, prompted them to vote for ſending *Philopœmenes* back to his own Country. But the Senators were conſcious that they were guilty of the Revolt of *Meſſene*. They had been the Authors of it; and they were afraid that they ſhould find *Philopœmenes* an implacable Avenger. They all agreed, that he ſhould die; only debated, whether it ſhould be preſently, or delayed; and reſolved to kill him upon the Spot. They immediately ſent an Executioner into the Vault, with Orders to force the Priſoner to drink Poiſon; and as ſoon as *Philopœmenes* ſaw him carrying a Cup in his Hand, he readily gueſſed what Drink he was bringing him. He was lying down upon his Cloak, and could not riſe without Difficulty. But he ſtrove to ſit up, and then ſaid, with the utmoſt Tranquillity, to the Executioner, *Pray tell me whether* Lycortas *and the* Megalopolitan *Youth be got into a Place of Safety. Not one of them is killed*, anſwered the Executioner; *their Lives are all ſaved. That is enough*, replied *Philopœmenes*, *I die content.* At which Words, he took the Cup of Poiſon with great Chearfulneſs, and drank the fatal Potion with Joy. Thus died the beſt of the *Greek* Heroes; who in Valour, Military Knowledge, and Virtue, equalled the greateſt Men in his Country, and was not inferior to any of the boaſted Heroes of *Rome*. *Achaia*, of which he was long the main Support, continually vanquiſhed her Neighbours, and greatly increaſed her Dominions, while aſſiſted by his Arms and Counſels. Had ſhe been nearer to an Equality with *Rome*, he would doubtleſs have preſerved his Country from the Yoke which the *Roman* Republick forced her to bear. His Prudence taught him to ſubmit to it; but he leſſened the Weight of it by his Steddineſs. He was a great Soldier, and a great Stateſman, and had only one Fault. Which was, that he carried his Hatred and Reſentments to Exceſs. But he was as conſtant in Friendſhip, as dangerous and implacable in Enmity.

§. XXIII. But *Lycortus*, who was an Imitator of *Philopœmenes*, and after him the moſt famous General of *Achaia*, revenged the Death of his Friend. As ſoon as he heard he had fallen from his Horſe, he returned back, ſought for him, and called him by his Name; but he was told, that he was in the Hands of *Dinocrates*, and the *Meſſenians*. This Report was ſpread among all the Cities of the *Achæan* League, and it ſtirred them up to demand him with Threatenings, or to recover him by Force. But at length, News came that he had died by the Hands of an Executioner; and then the Rage of the People againſt his Aſſaſſins was as great

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as their Grief at the Loſs of him. A Diet of *Achaia* was held at *Megalopolis*, and *Lycortas* was there put in the Place of the Deceaſed. Then the new General entered the *Meſſenian* Territory with an Army, which was ſoon raiſed, and utterly deſtroyed every thing with Fire and Sword. He fought for the Honour of his Republick, and to revenge the Death of his Friend. And in ſhort, the People of *Meſſene* underſtood their true Intereſt, in ſpight of the *Prætor* and Senate, and opened their Gates to the *Achæan* Troops. *Lycortas*'s chief Aim was at *Dinocrates*. But he prevented the Puniſhment reſerved for him, by killing himſelf; his Accomplices in the Aſſaſſination were loaded with Irons, in order to be put to a ſevere Death; and *Meſſene* was again united to the *Achæan* Canton, from which it had ſeparated.

Nothing now remained, but to pay all Funeral Honours to the Body of *Philopœmenes*, which had been left unburied, in the Bottom of a Dungeon. A Funeral Pile was prepared for him; he was burnt with great Pomp; and his Bones were put into an Urn adorned with Feſtoons and Fillets. Then the Army had nothing more to do, but to leave the conquered City, and carry away the Aſhes of *Philopœmenes*. Nevertheleſs, the General did not disband his Troops at *Meſſene*, and ſend them to their reſpective Homes, as uſual. They all marched out of the City in good Order; as it were in mournful Triumph. The Soldiers were crowned with Laurel, to ſhew their Victory; but Tears ran down their Cheeks, out of Grief for the deceaſed Hero. The Funerary Urn was carried at the Head of them, by *Polybius*, the famous Hiſtorian, and the Son of *Lycortas*. The chief Nobility of *Achaia* ſurrounded him; and the Authors of the Aſſaſſination of *Philopœmenes* followed him, two and two, in Irons. Then came the Troops, divided into Battalions and Squadrons. Every Soldier was crowned with Flowers. But it was viſible, that their Joy for their Victory was damped with real Grief, on this mournful Occaſion. In this manner they advanced towards *Megalopolis*. All the Roads were lined with numberleſs People, who came from the Villages and Cottages; and they were very preſſing to touch and kiſs the Urn. At length, they arrived at *Megalopolis*, the Country of the Great *Philopœmenes*; and there the laſt Honours [57] were paid him; and the Sepulchre in which his Aſhes were put, was ſtained with the Blood of the Authors of his Death. They were ſtoned at his Tomb. *Q. Marcius*, the *Roman* Deputy in *Peloponneſus*, ſhared the common Affliction of the *Achæans*. And it is not doubted, but he who came to force *Lacedæmon* to continue united to the *Achæan* League, confirmed the Re-union of *Meſſene* to it.

Corn. Nepos. in Vit. Annib. Plut. in Flamin. Livy, B. 39. c. 51.

§. XXIV. Whilst *Marcius* was ſeeing the Obſequies of *Philopœmenes* performed in *Peloponneſus*; *Flamininus*, in *Bithynia*, was endeavouring to deſtroy *Hannibal*. According to ſome Hiſtorians, the *Conſulſhip* of *Claudius Marcellus*, and *Fabius Labeo*, proved fatal to three of the greateſt Generals in the World. They ſay that [58] *Scipio Africanus*, *Hannibal*, and *Philopœmenes*, died that Year. Nevertheleſs, we have placed the Death of *Scipio* ſome Years before, tho' we don't pretend to warrant for that Epocha. As for *Hannibal*, he was then with the King of *Bi-*

57 In Honour to the Memory of this Great Man, all the Cities of *Greece* erected Statues to him, on which were the moſt pompous Inſcriptions. To which *Diodorus Siculus* adds, That *Megalopolis*, his native City, carried the Honours ſhe paid him to Superſtition. The Magiſtrates paſſed a Decree, requiring, That a Bull ſhould every Year be ſacrificed, in Honour to the Hero; That during the Sacrifice, his Panegyrick ſhould be pronounced; and That a Company of young Children ſhould ſing Hymns to his Glory.

58 Here the Ancients again diſpute about the Year in which the Great *Scipio Africanus* died. *Polybius* fixes it to the Year 570; *Valerius of Antium*, in the Courſe of the Year 569. But *Livy* finds this Contradiction in *Polybius*'s Opinion. If, ſays he, *Scipio* did not die before the Year 570, *Lucius Valerius* could not have been choſen *Prince of the Senate*, which I find he was. It is certain that *Scipio Africanus* was honoured with that Dignity. And it is as certain, that it was a Poſt for Life, unleſs the Perſon was diſplaced by the Senate. A Reproach which no Hiſtorian ever caſt upon the Conqueror of *Hannibal*. And we muſt therefore either contradict all the *Roman* Hiſtorians, who make *Valerius Flaccus*, *Prince of the Senate*, or allow, that *Scipio* died before *Cato*'s *Cenſorſhip*, which began in the Year 569. Indeed, according to *Valerius of Antium*, he was alive when *Cato* was elected *Cenſor*. He quotes, in Proof of it, a Speech of *Scipio*'s, againſt *Nevius* his Accuſer, who was a *Tribune of the People* in the ſame Year. But this proves nothing, according to *Livy*. Becauſe *Nevius* had entered upon his Office ever ſince the 15th Day of *December*, on which the *Tribunes* uſed to be elected according to *Plutarch*. So that *Cato* might not be *Cenſor*, when *Scipio* defended himſelf againſt the Accuſations of *Nevius*; and *Scipio* might have died in the three Months between the *Ides of December* and the *Ides of March*, the Day then ſet apart for the Election of the *Cenſors*, and other great Magiſtrates

Livy, B. 39. c. 52.

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thynia, carrying on the War againſt the King of *Pergamus*, with ſome Advantage; and the repeated Hoſtilities of the *Carthaginian* had at length tired out the Patience of the *Romans*. They could not, without Indignation, ſee this furious Man run from one Country to another, raiſing up Enemies to their Republick, and diſturbing her Power, wherever he came. It was chiefly to deſtroy his Projects, that the three Ambaſſadors were gone to *Aſia*; but the Secret had only been entruſted with *Flamininus*. Some indeed pretend that *Flamininus*, of his own Head, without any Orders, negotiated the Ruin of *Hannibal*. This Man, who had formerly been *Conſul*, and had appeared, during his Office, to be a Man of ſo great Humanity, was, ſay they, ſtill very ambitious, tho' in a very advanced 59 Age, and made his Court to the Republick at *Hannibal*'s Expence. But whether this Pretence, which would reflect ſo much Diſhonour on *Flamininus*'s Memory, be true or falſe; it is certain we have no ſure Account of the *Bithynian* Embaſſy. Others have inſinuated, that *Pruſias* inclined, of his own accord, to ſuffer *Hannibal* to be ſacrificed to the Intereſt and Hatred of *Rome*, in order to get rid of ſo dangerous a Gueſt, and to pleaſe the *Romans*. Thus the Hiſtorians throw the Odium of his Death, ſometimes on one, and ſometimes on another. But is it credible, That *Flamininus* ſhould not have Orders to demand of the King of *Bithynia*, that *Hannibal* ſhould be delivered up to him, to be carried to *Rome*? Had not *Scipio* himſelf made this one of the Conditions, which the Republick confirmed, as the Terms upon which ſhe would grant a Peace to *Antiochus*? Probably therefore, *Flamininus* was inſtructed to demand of *Pruſias*, in the Name of the *Roman* Senate, that *Hannibal* ſhould be put alive into his Hands. And as for the Death of the *Carthaginian*, it was the Effect of his own Deſpair; and the Ancients have thought it was brought about in a Manner worthy of his great Courage. The Account they give of it is this.

THERE was in *Bithynia* a ſandy Country, near the Sea, called *Libyſſa*. And from hence, perhaps, came the pretended Oracle, which is ſaid to have foretold, that *Hannibal* ſhould die in *Lybia*; an Oracle which deceived him, by the Similitude of Names. *Pruſias* had given him Leave to live in *Libyſſa*, in a Sort of Caſtle, which the *Carthaginian* had repaired in ſuch a manner as beſt ſuited the State of his Affairs. *Hannibal* had Reaſon to fear the *Romans* in general; and particularly *Flamininus* and his two Collegues 60, who were coming to put an End to the War which he had kindled. Beſides, he had Reaſon to ſuſpect a King, whoſe Inclinations might change with his Intereſt. On theſe Accounts therefore, the artful *Carthaginian* had dug ſeven different Gang-ways under Ground, which all led from his Lodgings to ſo many different Iſſues, through which he might make his Eſcape, either by Sea or Land. While the *Roman* Ambaſſadors were at the Court of the King of *Bithynia*, *Hannibal* did not appear there. This old Fox, it's ſaid, continued cloſe in his Den, ready to leave it upon the firſt Alarm. But all his Preparations were uſeleſs. *Flamininus* preſſed the King to ſurrender up this irreconcileable Enemy, who made no Uſe of his Liberty, but to draw Kings and Nations into the ſame dangerous Enterprizes which had been his Ruin. However, we are aſſured, and not without Probability, that *Pruſias* at firſt made ſome Difficulty of ſacrificing *Hannibal* to the Republick. The *Bithynians* pleaded

59 This is *Plutarch*'s Opinion of *Flamininus*'s Conduct, as to the Death of *Hannibal*. He diſhonoured his old Age, ſays the Hiſtorian, by his furious Perſecution of an Hero whom *Fortune* had deſerted. Would not any one then infer from *Plutarch*, That *Flamininus* was very old, when he contrived the Death of *Hannibal*? Yet he was little more than forty; as appears thus. According to *Plutarch* himſelf, *Flamininus* was not full thirty when he was created *Conſul* the firſt time, in the Year of *Rome* 555; and it is plain, that from that Year, to this preſent Year 570, was but fourteen Years exclusive. So that if we add theſe fourteen to the thirty, which the Ancients give *Flamininus* at that time, he will be but forty four, at moſt, when the Senate ſent him Ambaſſador to *Pruſias*, King of *Bithynia*. And conſequently, that he was not then ſo old as to be diſabled from ſerving his Country, and managing the Affairs of his Republick. That the *Romans* thought ſo is plain; otherwiſe they would not have charged him with the moſt important Commiſſion, to the Eaſt. Beſides, if *Flamininus* had been as old as *Plutarch* pretends, this Author would not be the leſs to blame, to exclude a Man of Experience out of publick Affairs, on account of his Age. He does not reaſon thus, in other Parts of his Works, where he contends, that no Age can excuſe a good Man from undertaking the Care of publick Affairs. Nay, we have a Treatiſe of his, which was written on purpoſe to prove, That the higheſt Pitch of Glory to which an old Man can attain, is to die labouring in the Service of his Country.

60 The Senate had joined with *Flamininus*, *Lucius Scipio Aſiaticus*, and *Publius Scipio Naſica*.

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in Excuſe, the Laws of Hoſpitality, and the Age of this General, which was too great, for him to give any more Umbrage to the *Roman* Senate. He was generally thought to be ſeventy; and ſome Hiſtorians affirm it. Tho' if he was no more than nine[61] when he ſwore an eternal Hatred to *Rome*, he could be but ſixty five now. And laſtly, *Pruſias* inſiſted on the Reputation of this Great General, whom he could not deliver up, without drawing on himſelf the Indignation of all Ages. But the Ambaſſador did not hearken to theſe Remonſtrances. He threatened, and was obeyed. *Since then*, ſaid the King, *I cannot poſſibly ſecure a Retreat in my Dominions for this venerable old Man, purſue the Scheme your Hatred dictates.* Upon which, *Flamininus* thought himſelf at Liberty to make Uſe of the Royal Guards themſelves to go and inveſt the *Carthaginian*, in his Caſtle of *Libyſſa*; and he ſeized all the Avenues to it, and ſet Guards at all the Paſſages which *Hannibal* had made. As ſoon as Troops appeared round the Houſe, a Slave ran to inform his Maſter of it. *Hannibal* charged him to obſerve all that paſſed, and give him a faithful Account; and he was told, that there was no Room for him to eſcape. He had Recourſe therefore to his ſubterraneous Paſſages; but they were all beſet. And then finding that he had no Hopes left, he did not at all he-

Livy, B. 39. c. 51.

ſitate between Death and Captivity. He called for Poiſon, and ſaid, *Let us then deliver* Rome *from her inceſſant Diſquietudes, ſince ſhe cannot have Patience enough to ſuffer an old Man to end his Days in Peace. Nevertheleſs, thy Victory*, Flamininus, *will not do thee much Honour. Thou wouldeſt not have overcome* Hannibal, *if he had not been diſarmed, and ſurprized by Treachery! However, I have at leaſt the Pleaſure of ſeeing* Rome *degenerated from her firſt Virtue. The* Romans *formerly ſent back to* Pyrrhus, *the Phyſician who offered to poiſon him treacherouſly. But now they force a King to violate the Laws of Hoſpitality, in order to kill* Hannibal, *in a very baſe Manner.* This ſaid, he took the ſubtle Poiſon[62], which he carried in the Collet of his Ring, againſt any Accident; and thus died the Hero who was the Terror of the *Romans*, to his laſt Breath. To ſay of him, That *Rome* did not even ſcruple a cowardly Action to get rid of him, is to compleat his Panegyrick. It was doubtful, whether he had moſt Virtues, or Vices. He was reproached with Perfidiouſneſs and Cruelty; but then, on the other hand, his Sobriety and Continence were prodigious. He ſeldom ate ſitting, or lying down; and ſcarce ever drank more at a time than the Quantity of half a Pint of Wine. He indulged not his Paſſions ſo far as to make any Attempts on the Modeſty of any of the many Captives he took in War. It was ſaid of him, that with regard to his Continence he ſeemed to be no *African*. As to military Virtues, he has always been thought to have ſurpaſſed moſt Heroes. Never was Valour more vigorous, and at the ſame time more circumſpect. He often did by open Force, what he could not compaſs by Artifice. But his general Method was to begin with Stratagem, and finiſh with Blows. He was a better Officer than Soldier. In all the Battels which he fought, he ſcarce ever received above one or two Wounds. And what ſeems to prove that his Prudence and Moderation were conſummate, is, that in all the Armies which he commanded, whether *Carthaginian*, or foreign, the Diſcontents of his Soldiers never broke out into open Sedition. He was certainly the greateſt Light of *Carthage*. The Glory of his Republick was never totally eclipſed, as long as he lived. But after his Death, it was utterly extinguiſhed. As to the reducing this Great Man to Deſpair in *Bithynia*, in the Manner before related, it was taken very differently at *Rome*. Some thought *Flamininus*'s Attempt a Reproach to the *Roman* Name. Whilſt the greateſt Part looked on his Negotiation as a Maſter-piece in Policy. *Hannibal* was not ſo very far advanced in Years, but he was ſtill capable of commanding Armies. At leaſt he might, by his Cunning and Intrigues, have put all *Aſia* in a Flame. And laſtly, *Bithynia* was a Country large enough of itſelf to give the *Romans* Umbrage. We ſhall ſee, in *Mithridates*'s Time, how formidable the *Bithynians* were.

61 *Hannibal* was then following his Father in *Spain*; and the Time of his Departure coincides with the Year of *Rome* 515.

62 *Livy* is of Opinion that he drank a Cup of Poiſon. Some have ſaid, that in Imitation of *Themiſtocles* and *Midas*, he killed himſelf with drinking Bull's Blood. Others ſay, he was ſtrangled by one of his Slaves. And Authors are as much divided about the Time, as the Manner, of his Death. Some advance, others poſtpone it, a Year. We follow *Livy*.

So that, all things conſidered, it ſeems plain, That the Endeavours of *Rome* to put *Hannibal* out of a Condition to hurt her, proceeded more from a Regard to her true Intereſt, than a bare empty Deſire of Revenge.

Year of *ROME* DLXX.

§. XXV. THE News which *Marcius* and *Flamininus* brought to *Rome*, one from *Greece*, the other from *Bithynia*, only indirectly affected the Republick. But ſhe was more immediately concerned in the Campaigns of the two *Conſuls*, which were not very fruitful in Events. The War with the *Ligures* had fallen to *Fabius Labeo*; who kept the Natives there to their Duty, and did nothing more. His Collegue *Marcellus* had the Advantage of putting an End to the Diſpute which had ariſen between the *Romans* and that Swarm of *Gauls* which had come from beyond the *Alpes*, and ſettled near *Aquileia*. A Commiſſion had firſt been given for that Purpoſe to the *Prætor L. Julius Cæſar*; whoſe Orders, in caſe he could not make the *Gauls* leave the Country by a Treaty, were, to call in one of the *Conſuls* to his Aſſiſtance, and reduce theſe Uſurpers to Reaſon, by Force of Arms. And the *Prætor*, doubtleſs, found more Oppoſition than had been expected. Beſides, this was an Affair of great Conſequence. The Buſineſs was, how to keep this enterprizing Nation from ever ſettling in *Italy* for the future. The *Conſul Marcius* therefore marched his *Legions* into the Neighbourhood of *Aquileia*. There the Eaſtern *Gauls*, to the Number of twelve thouſand, were building a City in all Haſte, in order to ſettle there. The *Conſul* firſt ſent the *Pro-Conſul Porcius* againſt them, and then appeared himſelf. At the Sight of a *Conſular* Army, theſe Men, who were otherwiſe very peaceable, threw down their Arms; and proteſted, that they did not pretend to turn them againſt the *Romans*. But this was not ſufficient to ſatisfy *Marcellus*. He ordered all their Effects to be taken from them, and commanded them to deliver up their Arms. But the *Gauls* loved their Arms too well to part with them. This was an Affront, which was as bad as Death to them. They therefore ſent an Embaſſy to *Rome*, to complain of the Severity of the *Conſul*. When their Deputies were admitted into the Senate, they repreſented, That the Puniſhment which was going to be inflicted on them, was greater than the Fault they had committed deſerved. *We were grown ſo numerous*, ſaid they, *in the Country from whence we came, that there was neither Land enough for us to cultivate, nor Corn enough to ſupport us. Want alone forced us to leave our native Country; we have found a deſert Country on this Side the* Alpes; *and there we have ſettled, without offering Violence to any Body. We have begun building a City, reſolving to fix there.* Marcellus *ſummoned us to put a Stop to our Work; and we obeyed. We were ordered to leave the Country; and we prepared to do ſo. But all this would not ſatisfy him, without treating us as Men who had ſurrendered at Diſcretion. We were plundered, and ordered to be diſarmed. Have ſome Regard,* Conſcript Fathers, *to the Law of Nations. And don't treat as Conquered Enemies, a Company of unfortunate Men, who, without any Reſiſtance, are ready to obey your Orders.* The Senate anſwered theſe *Gauls*, That they had made an Attempt againſt the Republick, by ſeizing Part of her Dominions, without her Leave; and added, *Be gone; return to your native Country. Take Care to caution your Magiſtrates againſt ſuffering you to make any more Excurſions beyond your Limits. The* Alpes *are the Barriers which divide you from us. All they who ſhall paſs them for the future, ſhall have Cauſe to repent it. As for your Arms, and Effects, they ſhall be reſtored you.* Then the *Roman* Republick ſent away three Deputies, to carry back the Colony of *Gauls* to their native Country. The Magiſtrates of that Nation received the *Romans* civilly; and even reproached them with too much Indulgence for Vagabonds, who had been guilty of a double Crime, in having left their own Country, and in having ſettled in the Lands of the Republick, without her Leave. *By reſtoring them their Arms and Baggage*, ſaid they, Rome *has condeſcended to ſhew them ſo much Favour, as may have ill Conſequences. There is ſome Danger that they will make an ill Uſe of it. This gentle Treatment may be an Inducement to them to paſs the* Alpes *again.* And with theſe Complaints, the *Gauls* joined Preſents to the *Roman* Deputies. Soon after this, the Republick ſent a *Colony* of *Latins* to *Aquileia*. This City was as it were a Key to *Italy*; and it was neceſſary to ſecure it againſt an Irruption of the Natives from the other Side of the *Alpes*. At the ſame time the Senate ſent three *Roman Colonies*, one

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Liv. B. 39. c. 55.

one to *Parma*, another to *Modena*, and the third to [63] *Saturnia*. All this was to keep in Awe the Inhabitants of *Cisalpine Gaul*, in the Heart of *Italy*. *Rome* was very vigilant and watchful of the Motions of the *Gauls*.

Aust. de Vir. Illustr. Val. Max. Plut. Life of *Paulus.*

AND as the *Consul Marcellus* was near *Istria* [64], he desired Leave of the Senate to carry the War thither. What Offence, or Occasion of Distrust, the *Istrians* gave the *Romans*, is not known. However, the *Consul* penetrated into their Country; but was soon recalled to the Capital, to preside in the *Comitia*.

Year of *ROME* DLXXI.

L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS, CN. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS, Consuls.

THE new *Consuls Rome* chose were *Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus*, and *L. Æmilius Paulus*. The last had stood three times for this Dignity; and lost it as often: and it was not without Difficulty that he was now chosen. Then six *Prætors* were elected, as usual. Those two only to whom *Spain* fell, found any Business in their Provinces. *Q. Fulvius* came and succeeded *Aulus Terentius* in *Hither Spain*. The latter had made War with the *Celtiberians* the last Year, with great Glory; these Rebels had advanced as far as to the Country of the [65] *Ausetani*; and *Terentius* had fought several Battels with them, to Advantage; and had seized the Places they had fortified. So that upon his Return he was honoured with an *Ovation*. And *Fulvius*, his Successor, gained yet more Glory in his Province. We shall see him triumph, at his Return. In *Hither Spain*, *Sempronius* was lately dead of a languishing Fit of Sickness; and then *Manlius Vulso*, his Successor, was hastened thither. The Troops had continued idle, and observed no Discipline, during the whole Year that their General was sick; and it was *Manlius*'s whole Business, to get together his scattered Troops, and keep them to military Discipline. So that his Year was barren of Events, and he gained little Glory.

Livy, B. 40. c. 1.

AT *Rome*, the new *Consuls* were no sooner entered upon their Office, but they found it necessary to offer Expiations, on account of some pretended Prodigies; which, rightly understood, were only natural Events. It was looked upon as a Miracle, that a new Island appeared all at once in the Sea, near *Sicily*. All the Temples in *Rome* were opened, and Processions made to them, to avert the ill Consequences of the Presage. And then these Trifles were succeeded by Business of more Consequence. Two Armies were raised, to act in *Liguria*. The *Consuls* were each to command two *Legions*, as usual; but they were to be larger than ordinary. Each *Legion* contained five thousand two hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse. And to each *Consular* Army were added fifteen thousand auxiliary Foot, and eight hundred Horse. Besides, as *Marcellus*, now nominated *Pro-Consul*, was encamped in the Neighbourhood of *Aquileia*, seven thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse, were raised among the Allies, to recruit his Army. *Rome* also took Care to recruit the two Armies in *Spain*. She sent to each *Spanish Province* four thousand *Legionaries*, and two hundred Horse raised in the City; and seven thousand Foot, with three hundred Horse, furnished by the Allies. So that she had this Year six Armies on foot; three in *Liguria*, (for besides the two *Consuls*, *Fabius* kept in this Country the Forces he had commanded the last Year,) two in *Spain*, and a sixth in the extreme Parts of East *Italy*, on *The Adriatick Gulph*. It does not appear, that the Republick had then Enemies enough to give her Cause to put herself to so great an Expence. But she extended her Care to Futurity; and thought it an Advantage to keep her Soldiers in Exercise. Besides, a Storm was gathering, on the Side of *Macedon*, which it might be dangerous not to guard against; and *Rome* thereby prepared for any Event.

Liv. B. 39. c. 53.

§. XXVI. *PHILIP* could not conquer the Suspicions he had of his Son *Demetrius*. The young Prince's Attachment to the *Romans*, was a Crime that the jealous Father could never forgive. The King's Uneasiness had broke out the last Year. Nevertheless, in order to conceal from the *Romans* his Resentments, and to prepare for making War with them some time or other, he turned his Arms,

63 The City of *Saturnia*, is no longer in being. It stood in *Hetruria*. Its Ruins are now in the State of *Florence*, and retain the same Name.

64 See what we have said of *Istria*, *Vol.* 3. The *Istrians* had probably revolted afresh, and by their Revolt, forced the *Romans* to carry their Arms into this Country. It is certain, that these People had been brought into Subjection to the Republick, ever since the Year of *Rome* 532, in the *Consulship* of *Marcus Minucius Thermus*, and *Lucius Scipio Asina*.

65 The Country of the *Ausetani* contained a Part of the present *Catalonia*, on the Side of *Garonne*. We have spoken of these People more than once already.

and vented his Spleen, againſt ſome Nations in *Thrace*, with whom *Rome* was not at all concerned. He fell upon the *Odryſæ* [66], *Dantheletæ* [67], and *Beſſi* [68]; took *Philippolis* [69], and from thence fell down upon the Country of the [70] *Deuriopes*, between the Rivers [71] *Panyaſus* and *Erigonus* [72] in *Theſſaly*. There, near *Stobi*, he had a Deſign to build a City, and call it after the Name of his Son *Perſes*. This was to ſhew how much he loved the elder Brother better than the younger; and that Preference appeared much more plainly the next Year. As his Hatred to *Demetrius* was in Proportion to that which he bore to *Rome*, he no longer obſerved any manner of Decency towards either, in Word or Action; as ſoon as he found an Opportunity to ſhew his Averſion to both. In order to ſhew, that he had Thoughts of making War with the Republick, he removed all the Inhabitants of the maritime Cities in his Dominions, and tranſplanted the beſt Families into the Heart of *Thrace*. In the room of theſe he ſettled thoſe Barbarians on the Coaſts, who he thought would prove more faithful to him than the native *Macedonians*. But it is ſcarce to be imagined what Curſes theſe People, who were obliged to leave their native Country, uttered againſt the King, during their Removal. They ſet out in Companies for the Places aſſigned them. But the Fear of their Conductors did not hinder them from breaking out into Invectives againſt a rigorous Prince, who ſacrificed them to his Diſtruſts. *Philip* carried his Suſpicions even to madneſs. He put to Death a great Number of Perſons of Diſtinction, whom he thought attached to *Demetrius*, or the *Romans*; and then extended the ſame Rage towards the Children, which he had vented on their Fathers. Leſt ſome of their Poſterity ſhould revenge the Death of thoſe whom he had murdered, he deſtroyed whole Families. We may judge of the reſt by the following Inſtance. *Herodorus* was a Man of the firſt Rank in that part of *Theſſaly*, which was ſubject to the *Macedonian*; and *Philip*, upon a bare Preſumption, had taken away his Life. But that was not enough. *Herodorus* had had two Daughters. The eldeſt was named *Theoxena*, the youngeſt *Archo*. The two Siſters were both married in their Father's Life-time, and both had Children: and the King entertained the ſame Suſpicions of the Sons-in-Law, as of *Herodorus*; and killed both. *Theoxena* reſolved to ſpend her Days in Widowhood. But *Archo* choſe for a ſecond Husband the moſt illuſtrious Lord of the Country of the [73] *Æneates*, named *Poris*. By him ſhe had many Children; and dying, left them under their Father's Care, very young. *Poris* found this too heavy a Burden for him; and his Affection for his Children, made him pitch upon his Siſter-in-Law *Theoxena*, to make her his Wife. The virtuous Widow conſented to this ſecond Marriage, purely out of Affection to her Siſter's Children, and made it her whole Buſineſs to bring them up, with as much care, as ſhe did the Son ſhe had had by her firſt Husband. *Poris* and *Theoxena* were very happy after their Marriage, and the Tranquillity of the Publick increaſed it. But an Edict of *Philip*'s ſoon diſturbed their Repoſe. It inflicted Death on the Children of all thoſe whom the King had ſacrificed for Reaſons of State. This equally affected *Theoxena* her ſelf, her own Child, and her Siſter's Children: And the Fate which hung over her own Head did not alarm her ſo much, as that of her Son, and her Couſins.

Year of ROME DLXXI.
L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS, CN. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS, Conſuls.

Livy, B. 40. c. 3.

66 The *Odryſæ*, a People of *Thrace*, lived in the Neighbourhood of the River *Hebrus*.

67 The *Dantheletæ* poſſeſſed the Country which lay next to the Springs of the *Hebrus*, towards the Frontiers of *Macedon*.

68 The *Beſſi* inhabited that Country of *Thrace*, which is watered by the River *Neſſus*, and borders upon Mount *Hæmus*. *Eutropius* places it between the River, and the Mountain; and calls the chief City in it *Uſcudama*. It is the ſame which has ſince been called *Hadrianopolis*, and is now *Adrianopole*.

69 *Philippopolis*, which ſtood on the Banks of the *Hebrus*, near Mount *Hæmus*, took its Name from *Philip*, the Father of *Alexander the Great*, and retains it to this Day.

70 The Canton of the *Deuriopes* in *Macedon*, lay between the Rivers *Erigonus*, and *Panyaſus*. *Philip* had formed a Deſign to build a City there, and give it the Name of *Perſeis*, in honour to *Perſes* his eldeſt Son, according to *Livy*.

71 The *Panyaſus*, now the *Spirnaza*, is a River of *Macedon*, which diſcharges itſelf into the *Adriatick* Sea, after it has run through *Pelagonia*, *Tripolis*, and the Country of the *Eordæi*.

72 The River *Erigonus*, nor the *Viſtrizza*, riſes in the Hills of *Illyricum*, and falls into the River *Axius*.

73 In ſeveral Copies of *Livy*, we find it *Æniones*, and not *Æneates*. But *Sigonius* put the latter inſtead of the former, who inhabited a Country of *Theſſaly*. Whereas it is evident, that a City of *Macedon* is here ſpoken of. By *Livy*'s Account therefore, he ſeems to have had in view the City of *Ænea*, which formerly belonged to *Thrace*, and was afterwards annexed to *Macedon*. It was thought to have been built by *Æneas*; and is ſuppoſed to have been the ſame Place which is now called *Moncaſtro*, near *The Thermaic Gulph*.

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Poor Children! ſaid ſhe, *the only Remains of an illuſtrious and virtuous Family! Shall I ſee you in the Hands of a Tyrant, expoſed to his Cruelty and Luſt? Have I, with ſo much Pains, formed you to Virtue, to ſee it all deſtroyed by the Licentiouſneſs of a vitious Court? Die, my dear Children, Die. Death is the only Reſource you have to ſecure your Innocence.* Thus ſpake the generous *Macedonian*. But her Husband who heard her, found out an Expedient to remove the Uneaſineſs of his Wife. *Let us eſcape*, ſaid he, *out of* Philip's *Hands. I have Friends in* Athens, *whoſe Hoſpitality will make us Amends for our Loſſes. And let us firſt leave* Theſſalonica, *where we reſide. We have a plauſible Pretence for ſo doing.* There was to be celebrated, a few Days after, at 74 *Æneas*, a publick Feaſt, in honour of *Æneas*, the Founder of *Rome*, to whom the City was dedicated. And *Poris*'s Deſign was to buy a Ship there, to embark with his Family for *Eubœa*, and go and ſettle at *Athens*. And he had like to have fully executed his Deſign. The Feſtival was ſpent in Rejoicings. *Poris* and his Attendants embarked at three in the Morning, as if in order to return to *Theſſalonica*. Nay, they had weighed Anchor: and on a ſudden, a contrary Wind aroſe, which drove them back towards the Shore. At break of Day, the *Macedonian* Guard in the Port, ſaw the Ship ſtruggling with the Waves, and ſent out a Sloop, with Orders to the Pilots and Seamen, to bring the Fugitives aſhore. *Poris* endeavoured to perſuade the Crew to purſue their Voyage; he lifted up his Eyes to Heaven, to implore the Aſſiſtance of the Gods; but all in vain. Whilſt *Theoxena* was more intrepid than her Husband. When all Hopes were loſt, ſhe called to mind her former Deſign of preventing *Philip*'s Villanies, by the Death of her Family. And ſhe offered her own Son, and her tender Wards, Poiſon, and a Dagger, to chooſe which they pleaſed, according to their Age, or Courage. She embraced them all together, and ſaid to them, *Let us die! This is the only Revenge we can take upon the Tyrant, who perſecutes us. Let him not have the Pleaſure of uſing us as he pleaſes. The Sword, or Poiſon, will deliver us; and we ſhall meet again among the Shades.* She ſaid no more, and was immediately obeyed. The youngeſt choſe the Poiſon, the oldeſt the Dagger. And as faſt as they expired, they were thrown overboard. There was not ſo virtuous a Man and Wife, left in *Greece*, as *Poris* and *Theoxena*. They tenderly embraced one another, and leaped together into the Sea. An Action, upon Pagan Principles, truly heroical. *Rome* and *Greece* have much extolled it; and all the Odium of it fell upon *Philip*. And it is the Opinion of one Hiſtorian, that the Curſes, which were uttered againſt the King of *Macedon* on this Occaſion, drew down upon him all the Plagues, which overwhelmed him. Heaven, ſays he, to revenge the Death of a Father and Mother, ſo unjuſtly reduced to Deſpair, determined, that *Philip* ſhould thirſt as much, for the Blood of his own Child.

XXVII. INDEED *Perſes* was continually exaſperating his Father againſt Prince *Demetrius*. He thought, that Crimes and Calumnies were his only Defence againſt the Favour of the *Romans*, and the Affections of the *Macedonians*. *Rome* had bred up the younger of the two Brothers, and was already deſirous of ſeeing him on the Throne. And he was, generally ſpeaking, the Idol of the *Macedonians*. In order therefore to form his Plot, *Perſes* ſounded his Father's Confidents whom he thought he could bring into his Intereſts; but none at firſt hearkened to his Propoſals. It was plain that *Demetrius* was nearer the Throne than his Rival and the Courtiers thought it dangerous to leave the ſtronger Party, to join with the weaker; which might be their Ruin. But afterwards *Philip* declared himſelf ſo openly againſt *Demetrius*, that many of the Courtiers inclined to favour *Perſes*. They thought that the King's Friendſhip for his eldeſt Son, might counterbalance the Protection *Rome* gave the younger. Nay ſome, who had the moſt Penetration, already foreſaw, that the King's Anger, and *Perſes*'s Intrigues, were ſuch, that they would ſoon Attempt the Life of the younger Prince. Hence the ſecret Cabals, which ſome, who were wholly devoted to their Intereſt, held with *Perſes*. However, nothing at firſt appeared. The whole Buſineſs of the Faction that oppoſed *Demetrius*, ſeemed to be to increaſe *Philip*'s Diſtruſts of the *Romans*. But his Jealouſy turned into Fury. The Factious gradually diſpoſed him to take

74 See what we have ſaid of this City, *Vol.* I.

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Arms againſt the Republick; and the more angry the King was with *Rome*, the ſtronger was his Hatred to *Demetrius*. Snares were often laid for the young Prince, in the Converſation the King and his Sons had with the Courtiers. They maliciouſly turned the Diſcourſe on *Rome*, and the *Roman* Republick. *Rome*, ſaid ſome, *is ill built, unwholſome, and has few Decorations. That Republick*, ſaid others, *is ſubject to many Inconveniencies in her Government. What Cabals are there among her Magiſtrates! What inteſtine Seditions! What Diſputes between the Nobility and the People!* Others leſſened the moſt illuſtrious *Romans*. *Are they to be compared*, ſaid they, *with* Pyrrhus, *or* Hannibal? At this young *Demetrius* took Fire, in Defence of his Friends; and gloried in having been brought up by the *Romans*. Theſe Things were indeed of no great Conſequence in themſelves; but they increaſed the Suſpicions of *Philip*. *Perſes* and his Faction took Advantage of them, to ruin *Demetrius* with his Father. They had already ſucceeded ſo far as to get him excluded from the Council, whenever any Buſineſs was to be tranſacted, which related to the *Romans*; and their Calumnies did not ſtop there. *Perſes* ſeized the Opportunity of inſtilling them further into the King's Mind. *Philip* had ſent as far as to the 75 *Baſtarnæ*, that is, the People of the Countries now called *Podolia* and *Volhinia*, in hopes of obtaining from them the Succours he wanted, for the War he deſigned to carry on againſt the *Romans*. A Company of the greateſt of the Nobility of this Country, moſt of them in the Flower of their Age, were already come to *Macedon*, to offer the King their Services. And one among the reſt was come to treat of a Marriage for his Siſter, with the preſumptive Heir of the Crown. Upon which *Perſes*, whoſe Inclinations were perhaps engaged elſewhere, took this Opportunity to drop the Propoſal of the *Sarmatian* Prince, and to prejudice the King more ſtrongly againſt his Brother, at the ſame time. *Why Sir*, ſaid he, *do you take ſo much Pains to ſeek for Reinforcements againſt* Rome? *There is a much more neceſſary Step to be taken, if you would render the Plots of the imperious Republick abortive. You harbour, I won't ſay a Traitor, but at leaſt a Spy, in your own Boſom.* Demetrius's *Body is here; but his Heart is at* Rome. *Your Subjects adore him, and you neglect him. You will ſoon ſee the* Roman *Senate diſpoſe of your Dominions, as they pleaſe.* This was touching the old King in the moſt tender Part. However, he did not ſeem moved at it; but the Wound pierced his Heart, and revived all his Jealouſies. And *Perſes*, who well knew what an Aſcendent he had gained over the King, took all Opportunities to improve it.

Every Year, in the Month of *April*, the *Macedonians* celebrated a military Feaſt, with a great deal of Pomp. There was alſo at the ſame time a Review, and a Luſtration of all the Soldiers in the Kingdom. The Ceremony began with ſacrificing a Dog, which was cut in two pieces, in the middle of his Body. One half of this Victim was put on the right ſide of the Plain, where the Review was, and the other on the left. When the Field was prepared, and conſecrated by this Act of Religion, the Proceſſion began in great Form. At the Head of it were carried, as ſo many Trophies, the old Suits of Armour, which the ancient Kings of *Macedon* uſed to wear, when they went to Battel. Then followed King *Philip*, and his Sons *Perſes* and *Demetrius* by his Sides. Then came the Royal Guards, and the reſt of the Troops; and in the laſt Place all the People. They were pleaſed to ſee the old King *ſupported* by two Princes, the elder of whom was thirty Years of Age, and the younger five and twenty. He was a happy Father, to have Children of Age to ſucceed him. But *Philip* did not know his own Happineſs; much leſs how to make a good Uſe of it. His falſe Policy created Diſorders in his Family, and made him unhappy. After the Review, it was cuſtomary for the King to give a ſort of Feaſt, which ended in a kind of Battel, wherein no Blood was ſpilt, but the Soldiers uſed the ſame Motions, as in a real Battel. Inſtead of offenſive Arms they made uſe of Switches, and never gave any dangerous Blows. It was natural for the two Princes to appear each at the Head of his Party; and the Army was divided into two Parts. *Perſes* led up one, and *Demetrius* the other; and as they were Competitors for the Crown, they fancied

Q. Curtius, B. 10.

Livy, B. 40. c. 6.

75 Some Authors pretend, that the *Baſtarnæ* inhabited that part of *Sarmatia Europea*, which lies towards the *Euxine* Sea. *Pliny* and *Ptolomy* reckon theſe People among the *German* Nations, and place them in the Neighbourhood of the *Daci*.

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they were now going to contend for it by Force of Arms. The Succeſs of this feigned Battel, was deemed a Preſage of the Superiority the one was to gain over the other; and this made the Sight the more affecting. The Soldiers on both Sides ſeemed likewiſe to eſpouſe the Quarrels of their two Leaders. The Battel was fought with more Vigour and Fury, than was uſual in this ſort of Sports. They gave one another ſlight Wounds on both Sides; but *Demetrius*'s Party had all the Advantage. This therefore gave *Perſes* more Uneaſineſs than can well be imagined. His Jealouſy, and ill Humour increaſed exceedingly upon it. He had more Sorrow and Concern in his Countenance, than a General would have had after a real Defeat. When they went out of the Plain, *Demetrius* invited his Brother to come and ſup with him. But *Perſes* declined it, with an Air of great Uneaſineſs; and retired to his own Palace, attended only by a few of his particular Friends. Nevertheleſs he took care to ſend a Spy, to obſerve all that was ſaid and done at his Brother's Houſe, during the Repaſt that he was going to give to the Officers of his Party. The Joy was very great there. They talked of the Review, and the Battel, and they jeſted upon their Adverſaries not ſparing even the Generals. *Perſes*'s Spy joined in with the Company, and heard all that was ſaid. But four of the young Gueſts diſcovering him, roſe from Table, drew him out of the Hall, unknown to *Demetrius*, and handled him roughly. In the mean time, Wine and good Cheer enlivened the Converſation more and more. Towards the cloſe of the Repaſt, *Demetrius* ſtood up, and in a ſudden Fit of good Humour ſaid, *Come, let us go and take a ſecond Supper with my Brother! Perhaps we may by that means diſpel the Melancholy in which he come from the Review.* There was an Air of Frankneſs and Candor in this, which was worthy of a Pupil of the *Romans*; and all the Gueſts came into the Propoſal, except thoſe who had uſed the Spy ill. However, *Demetrius* obliged them to follow him; but they, for fear of being inſulted in *Perſes*'s Palace, had Arms under their Clothes. When two Princes are at Variance, it is ſcarce poſſible for either of them to conceal any thing that paſſes from the other. *Perſes* was immediately informed, that under the Pretence of making Merry together, his Brother was bringing armed Men into his Palace. The Prince indeed was eaſily convinced, that there could be no Deſign againſt his Life. Four Men armed were not to be feared in his own Palace, and in the midſt of a numerous Retinue. But nevertheleſs, he thought this a fine Opportunity to put a bad Conſtruction on the Viſit *Demetrius* was coming to pay him. He therefore ſhut his Gates againſt his Brother, and from the Window cried out, that he would not open them to Aſſaſſins who were come to murder him. *Demetrius*, a little warmed with Wine, exclaimed againſt the falſe Pretence, and complained of the Affront. The Quarrel of the Princes ſoon made a Noiſe through all the City. The next Day *Perſes* came to his Father's Court, as ſoon as poſſible, with great Uneaſineſs in his Looks. The King asked him whether he was well, and what was the Cauſe of his Melancholy. *Perſes* anſwered, *I am yet alive, my Lord; but it is by very good Fortune. Laſt Night* Demetrius *came to my Houſe with an armed Force to take away my Life. His Violence is now no longer a Secret. His Attacks are open.* At theſe Words the King trembled with Horror; but ſtill kept his Temper, and only ſaid, *I will ſend for your Brother; and if he is guilty, will do you Juſtice.* The Accuſer had great Dependence on his Artifices; but much more on the King's Prejudices againſt *Demetrius*.

§. XXVIII. HOWEVER, *Philip* did not think it proper that he ſhould be the only Judge of his Children; and he joined with himſelf two old Men of great Experience, who had no Concern in the Court-Diviſions, and ſeldom appeared there. The Name of the one was *Onomaſtus*, and that of the other *Lyſimachus*. And whilſt they were ſent for, and preparing to come to the Palace, the King haſtily retired to his Apartment, oppreſſed with a Multitude of Reflections, and much divided in himſelf, between the Father and the Judge. At length *Lyſimachus*, *Onomaſtus*, and the two Princes came; and the King conducted them into an inner Cloſet, and ſpake thus. *Unhappy Father that I am! I muſt either condemn one of my Children for* Fratricide, *or the other for Calumny! I have long foreſeen this Storm. Your mutual Coldneſſes, Sons, your ſecret Cabals, your Diſcourſes, and your Suſpicions, plainly enough foretold the Evils that are now come upon me. Nevertheleſs, I flattered myſelf that time would quell theſe riſing Diviſions.*

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ſions. I ſaid, the moſt bitter Enmities are not eternal. The Ties of Blood will at laſt get the better of my Childrens Paſſions. When Perſes *and* Demetrius *were very young, they loved one another tenderly. I taught them to maintain Love and Concord. I ſet before their Eyes the Misfortunes, that Differences between two Brothers have produced in ſeveral States. I propoſed to them the Examples of Princes, who maintained their brotherly Affection, even upon the Throne. And yet alas, what Fruit am I now reaping from all my Inſtructions! Two ambitious Brothers are diſputing who ſhall have my Spoils, before I am dead. They only ſuffer me to poſſeſs the Throne, till ſuch time, as one or other of them can get rid of his Rival; and then the Survivor will murder his Father, after he has aſſaſſinated his Brother. One Crime draws on another; and the firſt is the only one that is committed with Reluctance and Remorſe. Ambition will make Men ſtick at nothing. Begin then, Children, Begin, You unnatural Brothers, the tragical Scene which you have long been preparing! Let your reciprocal Accuſations be the Preludes to a bloody War! Your Father hears you. Torment him as much as you can, with the Relation of your Crimes!* This ſaid, they all burſt into Tears, and their Sorrow kept them for ſome time in a profound Silence. But at length *Perſes*, by his Father's Orders, aſſumed the Diſcourſe, and ſpoke thus. *Liv. B. 40. c. 08.*

Your Invectives, my Lord, are as ſtrong againſt me, as my Brother. Nevertheleſs, I am the Perſon injured. Ought I, in order to convince you of the wicked Attempts of Demetrius *againſt me, to have opened my Doors laſt Night, at an unſeaſonable Hour, and ſuffered myſelf to be ſtabbed to the Heart? After he has murdered his Brother, you then, it ſeems, will no longer doubt of his Fury. And my Death alone can convince you. It is not without ſome Deſign, that a Faction places me beneath my Brother, and would have me thought a ſuppoſititious Child: And yet my Father himſelf confirms the Calumny of thoſe who envy me, by the Reſpect he ſhews my younger Brother. Inſtead of inveighing againſt a Criminal, whoſe Crime is notorious, he reproaches me as much as him. Muſt I then, in order to pleaſe you, drop my Complaint? Is that what gives you Pain? If ſo, I will ſtifle it; but I will pray the Gods, that one who would have killed his Brother, and eſcapes with Impunity for it, may not be the Death of his Father. The Ambition of* Demetrius *firſt begins with me, in order to come at laſt to you. But be that as it will, ſhall I be denied a Privilege which the meaneſt Subject has, of bringing my Complaint before my King? Muſt I hold my Tongue, when Men attempt my Life Sword in Hand? If you had been preſent when they came to break in upon me, ſhould I not have had a Right to claim your Aſſiſtance? I therefore now am doing to Day, what I ſhould have done Yeſterday. Anſwer me, Brother. Are we upon a Foot of giving Entertainments to one another in the Night? A Party of Pleaſure then could not be the only Motive that brought you to my Houſe, at that time. You have a Mind to reign. That is the Foundation of all your Proceedings. My Age, the Law of Nations, and my Father's Equity, are Obſtacles in your Way. My Death would deliver you from a troubleſome Competitor; and when I am gone, my Father will not ſacrifice the Remains of his Family, to revenge my Ruin. This is the Scheme you have laid. You are bent on my Deſtruction. Did you not in effect avow as much, at the late Review? You turned a religious Show, and a Diverſion, into a Battel. And if I had not ſuffered myſelf to be vanquiſhed there, I had certainly been killed. From the Plain you would have carried me to an Entertainment at your Houſe. But would not my Life have been in Danger there? I could ſcarce eſcape in a Battel fought with Switches. Should I then have eſcaped Poiſon, or the Sword, in the Night? And then after you had given me all theſe Grounds for Suſpicion, you came to enter my Houſe, with armed Men. Ought I then to have opened my Doors to you? I had refuſed to ſup at your Houſe; and ſhould I have run the Hazard of receiving you at my own? Ah, my Lord, if* Demetrius *had entered it, I ſhould never have gone out of it, but to a funeral Pile. Is this a trifling, or a falſe Accuſation? Can you deny that you came to the Gate of my Houſe in the Night, with a Guard? Can you deny, that ſome of your Attendants were armed? Let them be brought hither, and they will not diſown it themſelves. You are then manifeſtly guilty, and all my Father's Curſes ought to fall upon you. But as for me, let my Father open his Boſom to me! What Refuge have I but in his Breaſt! I am not ſafe from my Brother's Snares, either in the Diſcharge of religious*

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ligious Ceremonies, or in a Plain and before your Face, or at a Feaſt, or by Day, or by Night. I have no Recourſe but to the Gods, and to You. I cannot fly to the Romans. *They hate me, my Lord, becauſe I purſue your Intereſts. They will immediately look on* Macedon *as a Kingdom ſubject to them, as ſoon as they ſhall have ſettled* Demetrius *on the Throne. The* Macedonians *themſelves ſeem to have given me up, to adopt my Brother. You ſaw it Yeſterday. Your Soldiers only wanted Swords to ſacrifice me to their Hatred. The* Macedonian *Nobility honour* Demetrius, *on account of the Protection* Rome *gives him. His Court is more numerous than yours. They ſay, it is on his Account that the Senate ſhews you Favour. So that I have nothing to ſupport me but You, and my Birth-right. All thoſe who go from hence to* Rome, *return prejudiced in favour of my Brother. They already give him the Title of King; and if I complain of it, I am accuſed of Ambition, even by my Father. Is then demanding my Right any Injury to his Pretenſions? After you, my Lord, I acknowledge no Man to be my Superior. I own I aſpire at the Crown, and who can diſpute it with me? Whether my Father gives it me in his Life-time, or leaves it me at his Death, it is an Inheritance that is my due. But can my Brother uſurp the Throne, without a Crime? Will he walk over my Head to it? Yet this, my Lord, is what* Demetrius *attempted, but laſt Night. My Life is continually in Danger. Deliver me then from the Aſſaſſins, which I ſhall always have Reaſon to fear, as long as they continue unpuniſhed. You may now put my Life out of Danger, by puniſhing thoſe who have attempted it; but if they once take away my Life, it will not then be in your Power to revenge it.*

WHEN *Perſes* had done, *Philip* looked on *Demetrius*, and made Signs to him to anſwer. But the young Prince's Tears and Grief deprived him for ſome time of the uſe of Speech. At length being commanded by his Father to juſtify himſelf, he ſighing began thus. *Alas what Defence can I make! Falſe Tears have rendered my real ones ſuſpected. My Brother accuſes me of an Attempt upon his Life, when his very Accuſation is Death to me. He and his Faction have long been labouring to give you ill Impreſſions of me; and to load me with the odious Name of Aſſaſſin, which they themſelves have deſerved. They would even make me ſuſpected of a Deſign upon the Life of my Sovereign. And laſtly, to rob me of my Father's Protection; they pretend, that they have nothing but his Protection to oppoſe to the Intereſt of the* Romans, *who favour me. That is, they would make the Power of my Friends my Ruin, by cauſing them to be ſuſpected. The Affair of laſt Night ſerves as a Foundation for the Calumny. All the reſt are idle Suſpicions, which they would make Proofs of the Attempt, with which they charge me. And he has alſo contrived his Accuſation thus, on Purpoſe that I might be confounded, and not prepared to anſwer. If I had been ſo long guilty of Treaſon, my Accuſers ſhould not have waited till I had come armed to* Perſes's *Houſe before they had accuſed me. To have a Deſign to deprive my Father of his Throne, and my Brother of his Life, are two different Crimes. Yet they are deſignedly blended together in the ſame Cauſe. The Accuſation, ſo far as it relates to the former, has been long premeditated. Nevertheleſs I am to give my Anſwer to it immediately, without any Preparation. The Deſign of blending theſe two Articles together, is only to confound me. Let us then ſeparate them as well as we can, under the preſent Surpriſe. I am charged with a Deſign to rob my Brother of a Crown (which by the Law of Nations, and the Cuſtom of* Macedon, *belongs to the eldeſt Son) by an Attempt upon his Life.* Perſes *alſo inſiſts, that I deſign, with the Aſſiſtance of the* Romans, *to deprive my Father of his Crown. But is this double Accuſation well laid together? If I have ſuch a Dependence on the* Romans, *as to promiſe myſelf that they will give me this Crown; what Occaſion have I to get it by a Crime? Had I nothing in view but the barbarous Pleaſure of wearing a Crown, ſtained with the Blood of a Brother? Beſides, would not that be the moſt effectual Means I could take to diſappoint myſelf? Would virtuous* Rome *ſupport the Ambition of a* Fratricide? *Would not* T. Flamininus, *who is ſaid to be my Protector and Counſellor, that* Flamininus, *who loved his own Brother ſo tenderly, abandon a Villain polluted with the moſt odious of all Crimes? Would* Macedon *acknowledge a King who ſhould be diſhonoured with ſuch abominable Villanies? But to proceed.*

Let us now ſee who beſt deſerves the Name of an Aſſaſſin; whether Perſes *for his falſe Accuſation, or I for this open Attempt. My Crime is ſuppoſed to have been*

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been committed Yeſterday. His breaks out to Day, and in the Preſence of my Judges. It is ſaid, That I would have aſſaſſinated him at the time of the Review; That I would have poiſoned him at the Supper to which I invited him; and laſtly, That under a Pretence of a Party of Pleaſure, I carried armed Men to his Houſe to murder him there. Theſe are very heinous Things. If they are true, I don't deſerve to live. And if they are falſe, they fall upon my Accuſer. But is it at all probable, that I ſhould have laid a Plot to aſſaſſinate Perſes, *on the Day of an Expiation, in my Father's Sight, in the Preſence of a great Army, in the Face of the Sun, and only with Switches? Had I, or any of the Soldiers of my Party, any Swords? No; but I at leaſt deſigned Murder in the Invitation I gave to a Supper, where Poiſon was ready prepared. Was I then mad, to chooſe ſo improper a time to execute my Deſign? Should I have firſt exaſperated you in a Battel, before I invited you to the fatal Supper? I ſhould rather have concealed my Deſign under a feigned Reconciliation, and Expreſſions of Love. And what happened? You refuſed to ſup with me. It was plain then that you was alarmed; and I could not but conclude that you would guard againſt our Attempts. And yet this, it ſeems, was the time choſen to ſtrike the Blow. As to drinking indeed, pardon me, Sir, if in our Mirth laſt Night I exceeded the Bounds of Sobriety. The Entertainment, the Company, and a kind of Victory, drew me into it. But if I had had a Deſign to have killed my Brother in his own Houſe, would not I have kept ſober, for one Day, at leaſt? Or would I have ſuffered my Accomplices to have got drunk? But, ſays* Perſes, *I am a Stranger to all the reſt. All I know is, that People came armed with Swords to attack me in my own Houſe. How do you know that, unleſs by your Spies? You have ſome then about me. Be it ſo. Is their Account true? Yes, ſay you; examine thoſe in your Train, who had hid Arms under their Veſts. But there is no Occaſion to examine them as to that Matter. They own the Fact. The Queſtions that ought to be put to them are, Whether thoſe Arms were deſigned for an Attempt upon you? Whether they took them by my Orders, or with my Privity? and laſtly, whether they had not ſome other Deſign, beſides that of killing you? And yet after all, whether they have done well, or ill, am I reſponſible for it? The Truth is, they uſed one of your Spies ill. They were afraid, he, or you, would revenge it; and they took that Precaution without my Knowledge. This is their Crime. And what have I to do with it? But further. Was it our Deſign to aſſaſſinate you, by open Force, or treacherouſly? If openly, why were we not all armed? Why had only thoſe four their Swords, by whom your Spy had been abuſed? And if the Deſign was to kill you treacherouſly, it was ſurely a very ill-concerted Scheme. Should they have committed the Aſſaſſination in my Preſence? Should I have expoſed myſelf to the Mercy of your Attendants, and of a numerous Court, with only four Swords to defend me? Or were they to ſtay till I was gone, before they made the Attempt. If ſo, how could ſuſpected Men hope to have free Acceſs to you? Would they not have expoſed their Lives to certain Danger, to no manner of Purpoſe? All this pretended Plot in the Night, is then a mere Fable, invented only to defame and ruin me.*

From thence my Brother paſſes on to my ambitious Deſires of the Crown. Perſes *ſeems to ſay, why dare the People venture to name only* Demetrius *for the Throne? Can* Philip *have any Succeſſor but myſelf? And this is the true Cauſe of all the Jealouſy that tranſports you beyond yourſelf. Hence come the Accuſations you have formed, and hence the Tempeſts you endeavour to raiſe in my Father's Breaſt. I deſire the Kingdom in the Life-time, and contrary to the Inclinations, of my Father! This were to render myſelf unworthy of a Favour, for which I can have no pretence, but Virtue. But you ſay, I expect the* Romans *will give it me. If then* Rome *ſeems to have an Affection for me, ſhall what is an Honour to me, be made a Crime? I made no Intereſt to be ſent to* Rome, *either as Hoſtage, or Ambaſſador. It was your Pleaſure, my Lord, that I ſhould go; and I obeyed. And in both my Journies, I endeavoured to behave myſelf in ſuch a manner; as not to be a Diſgrace to my Father, or the Nation I repreſented. It is to you then that I am indebted for the Good-will of the* Romans; *and I ſhall ever have an Affection for them, as long as they maintain Peace with us. But if they break it, I ſhall be the firſt to declare myſelf their Enemy. My Affection to them did not begin in time of War; and it will be at an end with the Peace. I hope it will not then*

turn

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turn to my Prejudice to have been the Pledge, and Band of the Concord which reigns between us and Rome. *Indeed, if their Friendſhip has made me guilty of the Crime againſt my Father, or Brother, let me be puniſhed for it; I have deſerved it. But if I am innocent, why muſt I ſuffer by odious Suſpicions? This is not the firſt time,* Perſes, *that you have exclaimed againſt me in private Converſation; though you never made publick your ſecret Grudges till this Day. You, who ought to have been my Advocate with my Father, if any one elſe had accuſed me, are now become my Accuſer yourſelf. And how hard is it for you to chooſe this time to put me upon my Defence! You ſay yourſelf I have been upon a Debauch all Night. I am ſcarce recovered from the Diſorders of it; and yet am now brought hither to meet my Judges, and plead my own Cauſe in a Charge of* Parricide, *without Advocate, or Patron. Had I been to plead for any other Perſon, I would have taken time to prepare myſelf; though I ſhould then have run no Hazard without it, but that of being thought a bad Orator. But now my Life lies at ſtake, and yet I am forced to anſwer without any Preparation. I am ſent for to the Palace, without the leaſt Knowledge of the Buſineſs; and am ſuddenly ſurprized with a ſtudied Declamation againſt me. Then I anſwer it as well as I can; and Sentence is immediately pronounced. If any Perſon but a Father were the Judge, I ſhould call this Proceeding unjuſt. But his Scepter aſſures me of the ſtricteſt Equity. O that he had the ſame Affection for me, as for my Brother! However, he will at leaſt pity an innocent Child, who is unjuſtly accuſed.* Perſes *deſires my Death; and I, my Lord, only deſire to live to be your Defence. Will an ambitious Man, who ſeeks the Life of his Brother, be ſcrupulous of taking away that of his Father too?*

AT theſe laſt Words *Demetrius* burſt out into a Flood of Tears; and *Philip* was moved by it. He roſe up; took *Onomaſtus* and *Lyſimachus* aſide; and after he had conſulted with them for ſome time, returned to his Children. *This Affair,* ſaid he to them, *is a Matter of too great Conſequence to be immediately determined. I will examine into it at my Leiſure. In the mean time I ſhall narrowly obſerve all your Steps, and watch all your Motions.* The Force of Innocence, and ſome Remains of Affection, got the Aſcendant in the Father's Breaſt. Nevertheleſs, he never forgave *Demetrius* his Attachment to the *Romans*. An inveterate Hatred, or if you will, ſtrong Jealouſies of State, got the better of paternal Love in *Philip*'s Heart. He carried on his Preparations for a War with *Rome*, without Intermiſſion; but did not communicate his Deſign to his younger Son. Nay, the Diſtruſts of the Father were ſo ſtrong, that he could not be ſatisfied till he had got rid of this imaginary Enemy. We ſhall, in a Year more, ſee *Philip* ſacrifice *Demetrius* to his Jealouſies. As for the War with *Rome*, he did not (as we have already obſerved) begin it in his Life-time. He left it as an Inheritance for his Son *Perſes*, to whom he tranſmitted both his Crown, and his Hatred.

§. XXIX. IN *Italy* the *Romans* had no Enemies left but the *Ligures*; and the Republick ſeems to have made War with them only to keep herſelf employed. However, the two *Conſuls* ſet out together for *Liguria*, and gained ſome Advantages there over thoſe weak Enemies. Which was enough for the Senate to order Thanks to be returned the Gods by *Supplications*, for one Day only. Nevertheleſs, we don't find that the Expeditions of *Bæbius* and *Tamphilus* brought the Republick any other Advantage, but that of forcing two thouſand *Ligures* to ſubmit to her. And they did not addreſs themſelves immediately to the *Conſuls*, but to the *Pro-Conſul M. Marcellus*, who lay encamped on the Borders of *Gallia Tranſpadana*. But *Marcellus* did not think fit to determine the Fate of theſe *Ligures* of his own Head. They belonged to the Province of the *Conſuls*. He therefore ſent to the *Conſcript Fathers* for their Directions; and they ſent him Orders to refer the two thouſand *Ligures* to the *Conſuls*, and if he beforehand took them under the Protection of the Republick, to diſarm them. Thus was a due Subordination preſerved among the *Roman* Officers, and all were entirely dependent on the Determinations of the Senate.

AND whilſt *Bæbius* and *Æmilius* were making War with the *Ligures*, the two *Curule Ædiles* expoſed themſelves, one by his Extravagance, and the other by his Debauchery. The former was one *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, the latter one *A. Hoſtilius Mancinus*. *Gracchus* celebrated *Games*, with a Magnificence before unknown in *Rome*. And in order to defray ſo great Expences, he made not only the

the *Latins*, and the *Provinces* in *Italy*, but likewiſe foreign Nations, to contribute to them. Theſe were burdenſome Exactions; and therefore the Senate thought it neceſſary to reſtrain the Profuſeneſs of the *Ædiles* in theſe Shows. They fixed the Expence of them. And as to *Mancinus*, his Debauchery gave greater Offence. Though a *Curule Ædile*, he ran about in the Night, and played the Debauchee. After an Entertainment where he had feaſted intemperately, he took it into his Head, to go and Sup with a famous Courtizan, named *Mamilia*; and carried with him a Perfumer, who was the Miniſter of his Pleaſures. When he came to her Door he made a great Noiſe there; but the Lady was not inclined to receive him. He ſtill preſſed for Admittance, and made more Noiſe. Upon which ſhe threw down a Stone upon him from a Gallery, and wounded him in the Head. For this the *Ædile* made a Complaint againſt her to the People, and ſhe was cited to appear. She appealed to the *Tribunes of the People*, to whom it belonged to take Cognizance of Affairs which were to be brought before the *Comitia*; and their Judgment was ſuch, as became the Severity of ancient *Romans*. They diſmiſſed *Mancinus*'s Complaint, becauſe it was an indecent thing for an *Ædile* to be found at an unſeaſonable Hour of the Night at a Harlot's Door; acquitted *Mamilia*; and the *Ædile* became the Jeſt of the Town. Which ſhews us, That though the Manners of particular Perſons in *Rome* were much changed, the Magiſtrates ſtill did their Duty, in endeavouring to ſuppreſs Diſorders, by not ſuffering them to eſcape unpuniſhed.

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Aul. Gell. B. 6. c. 1.

§. XXX. As to the States that were conquered, and pacified, the Republick ſtill preſerved her Superiority over them. There aroſe a Diſpute between King *Maſiniſſa*, and the Republick of *Carthage*; and the Affair was brought before the *Roman* Deputies who reſided in *Africa*. It related to a certain Tract of Ground, which *Maſiniſſa* had taken Poſſeſſion of, with ſome Appearance of Juſtice. This Diſtrict had belonged to his Father, and had been taken from him by *Gala*, and *Syphax*, during the Wars between thoſe *Numidian* Kings. After this, *Syphax* had transferred the Property of this Country to the *Carthaginians*, in Conſideration of his Marriage with *Aſdrubal*'s Daughter; and *Carthage* had enjoyed it ever ſince. But *Maſiniſſa* had lately claimed it, as a Part of his Father's Dominions; and all his Fear was that the Deputies would, for fear of being thought partial, rather adjudge the Land to old Enemies, than to an ever-faithful Friend. The *Carthaginians* on the other hand pretended, that the Country in Diſpute had been part of their Territories, before it belonged to *Gala* and *Syphax*: And in ſhort, the Deputies durſt not pronounce a definitive Sentence about it. They referred the Affair to the Senate of *Rome*; but left *Maſiniſſa* in Poſſeſſion of the Diſtrict he had ſeized, proviſionally, till the Cauſe was determined. Thus *Rome* maintained herſelf in that Juriſdiction, which ſhe had aſſumed over all the Sovereigns in the Eaſt and South.

Liv. B. 40 c. 17.

In the mean while, the time for the great Elections drew near. The Campaign in *Italy* was ended. The Army of the *Ligures* was diſperſed, and fled for Refuge, ſome to their Woods and Mountains, others to their Cities and Villages. And then the *Conſuls* finding that they had nothing more to do, deſired leave of the Senate to disband their Troops, and return to the City. But the *Conſcript Fathers* determined, that only one of them ſhould come to *Rome*, and preſide in the *Comitia*; and the other winter at *Piſa*, with his Army. Then the Collegues agreed among themſelves, that *Cn. Bæbius* ſhould return to *Rome*, his Brother being one of the Candidates for the *Conſulſhip*; and the Centuries were aſſembled in *The Field of Mars*. There *P. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *M. Bæbius Tamphilus*, ſupported by his Brother, were choſen *Conſuls*; and ſix *Prætors* were elected as uſual. Theſe drew Lots for their Provinces; and the *Prætorſhip* of *Rome*, to hear the Cauſes of *Citizens*, fell to *Petilius Spurnius*; the Cognizance of Cauſes between Foreigners and *Citizens*, to *Q. Fabius Maximus*; the *Prætorſhip* of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, to *Fabius Buteo*; That of [76] *Apulia*, to *L. Duronius*; That of *Sicily*, to *L. Claudius*; and laſtly, That of *Sardinia*, to *M. Pinarius Poſca*. The latter had a great deal to do in his Province. He found it all in a Flame, through the Revolt of

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[76] *Duronius* was ſent to *Apulia* to defend the Sea-Coaſts of the Southern Provinces of *Italy*, againſt the Robberies of the Pirates.

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the 77 *Ilians*. Such was the State of the Republick, when *Cethegus* and *Tamphilus* entered upon their Office.

§. XXXI. As to Affairs Abroad, *Rome* had nothing more at Heart, than to revenge the cruel Death of Prince *Demetrius*. *Philip* had at last determined to sacrifice him to the Hatred he had conceived against the *Romans*. In order to have a Pretence to destroy him with some Appearance of Justice, the jealous Father sent to *Rome*, by way of Embassy, two Persons, who were devoted to *Perses* and secret Enemies to his Brother. Their Names were *Apelles* and *Philocles*, and their Commission was to find out what Correspondence *Demetrius* kept up at *Rome*; and particularly what passed between him and *T. Flamininus*, whom *Philip* always dreaded as his Conqueror. The King was most anxious to discover, whether *Demetrius* had not had some Discourse with the *Roman* about the Succession to his Crown; or got some Promise from him, that it should be given to him. It was plain the two Deputies had nothing to do at *Rome*, but clear up *Philip*'s Suspicions; because they neither demanded any thing of the Senate, or carried on any Negotiation in form. Nevertheless, *Demetrius* was ignorant of the Plots of his Enemies. By the Situation he was in at Court, he seemed not to have any great Reason to fear the Anger of his Father, or to hope for gaining his Affection. Indeed, the continual Sollicitations of *Perses* to *Philip* were more to be dreaded by him. Nevertheless, *Demetrius* depended on his own good Conduct, and his Innocence. But these are bad Grounds for a perfect Security when a Man is to contend with Jealousies and Distrusts. The young Prince acted with great Caution, that he might not give just Occasion for Complaint. He broke off all Correspondence with *Rome*, and no longer spoke of her with that Zeal and Vehemence, which made him to be taken for a Partizan of the *Romans*. He neither wrote to any of his Friends there, nor received any Letters from them. And these were indeed wise Precautions. But they were not enough to remove old Prejudices, and conquer a violent Ambition.

Whilst *Philip* was waiting for the Return of the Ambassadors he had sent to *Rome*, he engaged in an Enterprise against *Mædica*, a vast Country which bordered upon *Thrace* and *Macedon*. He had several Reasons for leading his Army so far, though he had no Design to enlarge his Dominions by any important Conquests. His chief Aim was to deceive the *Romans*, who took Umbrage at his assembling together so many Troops. Besides, it was necessary to exercise his Soldiers, and inure them to Fatigue, before he employed them against *Rome*. And lastly, the King was very desirous of marching up to the Top of Mount 78 *Hæmus*. He had met with a popular Tradition, that one might from thence see *The Black Sea*, *The Danube*, *The Adriatick Gulph*, and the end of the *Alpes* in the East of *Italy*. And he pretended to take a View there with the naked Eye of the Rout he was to take, in order to carry the War into the Heart of the Republick. He therefore began his March, accompanied by his two Sons, but gave great Preference, in point of Favour, to the eldest. The whole Court perceived it. The Officers of the Army immediately concluded from thence, that *Perses* would infallibly be placed on the Throne, notwithstanding the Defect of his Birth. And the greater part of the Courtiers made their Court to the Heir of the Throne. When they came into *Pæonia*, of which one *Didas*, a great Favourite, was Governor, the King there first discovered his Intention to send back *Demetrius*, and not suffer him to attend him to the end of his Journey. Nevertheless, he gave even this Affront he was going to put on the young Prince, a Turn of Civility and Affection. *Son*, said he, *I see that the farther we advance towards* Mædica, *the more our Difficulties and Dangers increase upon us; and I cannot be satisfied to hazard all my Hopes of Posterity together. It would be highly imprudent to expose* Perses *and* Demetrius *too, to the Danger of Battels. Besides*, Macedon *ought not to be left exposed to both foreign and intestine Enemies, during my Absence. Return then, and make yourself Master of the Art of Government.* Demetrius saw the Bait which was hid under these fine Speeches. The King had dropped some half Words in his Voyage, concerning his chief Design; and the Prince had Re-

77 According to *Pliny* and *Solinus*, the *Ilians*, who inhabited the Western Parts of *Sardinia*, were descended originally from the *Trojans*.

78 Mount *Hæmus*, the highest of all the Mountains in *Thrace*, divides that whole Country from *Lower Mœsia*, to the North. The *Italians* call *Monte Argentaro*.

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ſon to infer from thence, that he was thought an improper Perſon to be of a Council, wherein Meaſures were to be taken for going into *Italy*. Nevertheleſs he obeyed, and ſeemed content to leave *Perſes* in the ſole Poſſeſſion of the King's Favour.

However, the King took care to place thoſe in whom he could confide, about *Demetrius*; to watch his Steps, and give an Account of his Conduct. He charged *Didas* to accompany the young Prince back to the Capital, as it were by way of doing him Honour. Whether *Perſes* was conſulted in the Choice of this treacherous Villain is not known; but it is certain, that *Perſes* got him into his Intereſt; and *Didas* with Joy undertook to be a Spy upon *Demetrius*. He was very artful, capable of the blackeſt Treachery, and well inſtructed in the Arts of Flattery, and of inſinuating himſelf into the Favour of Princes, by ſerving their Paſſions. And this Part he acted by *Demetrius*, with a Dexterity worthy of his Character. By his Diſcourſes you would have thought him the moſt zealous Friend to *Rome*. He was always by the Prince's Side, ever joining with him in the ſame Thoughts, and Diverſions, and miniſtring to his Pleaſures. By this means *Didas* gained the Confidence of the Prince, who firſt let him into ſome of his Secrets; and ſoon after the Traitor ſo far gained upon him, that he concealed nothing from him. Happy *Demetrius!* had he turned back without any Attendants!

Whilst *Demetrius* was returning to *Macedon*, *Philip*, attended by *Perſes*, advanced towards *Mædica*. He croſſed vaſt Deſerts, and in ſeven Days march came to the Foot of Mount *Hæmus*. There he tarried but one Day, to chuſe a Guard which was to attend him to the Top of the Mountain; and the reſt of his Troops encamped in the Valley. The King had *Perſes* always by him; and with him now purſued his March. To a certain height, the Aſcent of the Mountain was not difficult. The Ways were beaten. But the higher they climbed, the more their Fatigues increaſed. They were every Moment ſtopped by impenetrable Coppices, and thick Buſhes, where never Man had gone. And at length they came to a Place, entirely covered with thick Trees, whoſe Branches were ſo cloſely intermixed with one another, that the Light could ſcarce penetrate through them. They dug their Way with Spades, and long marched on in a kind of Night; and when they came out of the Wood, they found themſelves in a thick Fog, which made it as dark as the Trees had done. At length, on the third Day, *Philip* and his Attendants reached the Top of Mount *Hæmus*: But in vain ſought for that wide Proſpect, which Fame had ſo much commended. They could neither ſee *The Black Sea*, nor *The Danube*, nor the Extremities of the *Alpes*. However, the King and his Troop agreed not to diſcover their Diſappointment, as to the main Point in view. They left the Publick in their Credulity, and ſpared *Philip* much Raillery. Nevertheleſs he was much tired, and much mortified, at having ſucceeded ſo ill; and when he had offered Sacrifices to *Jupiter* and the Sun, on the Top of the Mountain, left it. He was three Days in aſcending it, but came down in two. The Nights were very cold on the Top of *Hæmus*, to a Man of his Age; and he returned to the Valley. When he came to his Camp, the King found that the five Days which he had been abſent had produced a Scarcity in it. The Troops, which the trifling Curioſity of the King had brought into this Danger, were ready to periſh with Hunger; and he therefore tarried only one Day there to refreſh his Guard, which he had carried with him to the Top of *Hæmus*. From thence he marched into the Country of the *Dentheletæ*, with as much Precipitation, as if he had been purſued by an Enemy. The Inhabitants of that Province were in Alliance with *Macedon*. Then the *Macedonian* purſued his Rout to *Mædica*; there beſieged *Petra*; commanded the Attack on the ſide of the Plain himſelf; and ordered *Perſes* to inveſt it by the Eminencies. The Beſieged ſurrendered, and gave Hoſtages; but as ſoon as *Philip* was gone, abandoned their City, and retired to the Rocks. And thus ended the King's Expedition. His Curioſity was not ſatisfied, his Conqueſt did him no good, and his Army returned to *Macedon* much fatigued, and in great Diſorder.

§. XXXII. And the more uneaſy *Philip* grew, the more his Averſion to *Demetrius* increaſed. *Didas* fomented the Diviſion between the Father and the Son. This Traitor had followed the Prince from *Pæonia*; and had made an ill uſe of the Familiarity with which *Demetrius* honoured him. By his Inſinuations and Flatteries,

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Flatteries, he had drawn a Secret from the Prince, which he immediately communicated to *Perſes*, and *Perſes* to the King. *Demetrius* being tired out with the Treatment of his Father, continually expoſed to the Perſecutions of his Brother, and weary of the Court, propoſed to retire to *Rome*; and this Deſign he had opened to *Didas*, whom he thought his Friend. *Pæonia*, of which this Traitor was Governor, lay in the Road to *Italy*; and the Prince deſired him to ſuffer him to paſs ſafely through his Province, and make his Eſcape that Way *incognito*. *Didas* promiſed whatever was deſired; and then informed the Court of it. When *Philip* received the News, he was beſieging *Petra*; and he immediately ordered *Herodorus*, an avowed Friend to *Demetrius*, to be arreſted. Then he ſent Orders to keep the Prince always in ſight, and prevent his Eſcape. So that when *Philip* returned to *Macedon*, he could not look on *Demetrius* without Rage. But though his Deſign of flying to *Rome* was a Crime, it was not ſufficient to eraze all the Tenderneſs of the Father. *Philip* ſtill waited with Impatience for the return of his Ambaſſadors from *Rome*; and pretended that he would, according to their Informations, either condemn the Prince to die, or acquit him. Some Months paſſed, and *Demetrius* was ſtill in Diſgrace with the King, and in a kind of Captivity in his Father's Court. He was narrowly watched, and every Step obſerved. A melancholy Situation for a virtuous Prince; who could only reproach himſelf with one falſe Step; and that he had been forced into, by the Rigour of a Father, and the Hatred of a Brother!

AND whilſt *Demetrius* was languiſhing thus in *Macedon*, and durſt not even acquaint the *Romans*, his Protectors, with his Caſe; the vileſt Calumny was hatching againſt him, at *Rome*. *Philip*'s Ambaſſadors, at the Inſtigation of *Perſes*, forged a Letter, which they fathered upon *Q. Flamininus*, and pretended that it was directed to Prince *Demetrius*. This forged Letter was to this Effect. *If your Deſire of a Crown has carried you ſo far, as to draw you into Attempts againſt your own Blood; don't flatter yourſelf that I will ever enter into your Intereſt, ſo far as to ſacrifice Honour and Honeſty to it. I hate the impious Deſigns of ambitious Men.* The Authors of this Forgery had counterfeited the Hand and Seal of *Flamininus*, and, as they pretended, intercepted the Letter. They brought it to the King, who was ſtruck with it; and he now thought he had enough in his Hands, to juſtify his own Suſpicions, and the Accuſations of *Perſes*. The Ambaſſadors had ſo managed the Plot, that it had an Air of Probability in it, which was taken for Truth. There were in the Letter the Marks of the *Roman* Virtue. The Propoſal the young Prince had made, was very ſuitable to the Inclinations which the King preſumed his Son had. And the Crime which *Flamininus* diſapproved of, was at leaſt the Murder of a Brother. Indeed the Letter itſelf was yet to be enquired into, whether counterfeit, or not. But ſtrong Prejudices made the King overlook an *Eclairciſement*, which Multitudes of Suſpicions made him think needleſs. All the Precaution he took was to put *Herodorus*, *Demetrius*'s chief Confident, to the Torture. And this faithful Servant died in Torments, without laying any Charge upon his Maſter. As to *Perſes*, he became his Brother's Accuſer, a ſecond time. He made loud Exclamations, and pathetick Complaints againſt him; and at length Innocence fell a Sacrifice to the Appearances of Guilt. Nevertheleſs, *Philip* did not openly pronounce Sentence of Death upon his Son. He was ſtill afraid of the *Romans*, and willing to keep up his own Reputation. He reſolved to deſtroy him privately by Artifice. *Philip* pretended to take a Journey to *Demetrias*, and before his Departure, ſeparated his two Sons. He ſent the elder to *Amphipolis*, to receive the Hoſtages that were ſent to him from *Petra*; and the younger to *Pæonia*, committing him a ſecond time, to the Care of *Didas*. It is pretended, that he gave private Orders to this Governor, rather to diſpatch *Demetrius* by Poiſon, than the Sword; and the King's will was put in execution by the Traitor, with all the Readineſs and Submiſſion that could have been expected from him. *Demetrius* had fixed his Abode at 79 *Æſtræum*, where he enjoyed the Pleaſure of being at a Diſtance from the Court. But his Tranquillity was

Livy, B. 40. c. 23.

79 In the Text of *Livy* we read *Aſterium* inſtead of *Æſtræum*. But it is certain the former City belonged to *Theſſaly*. Whereas, a City of *Paonia* here ſpoken of, which *Æſtræum* was.

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soon disturbed. *Didas* either instituted a new Feast at [So] *Heraclea* on purpose, or assisted there at a Sacrifice of ancient Institution. The Prince was invited to it; and either not suspecting the Treachery of the Governour, or because his Father had made him subject to *Didas*, came to the publick Feast. He there received the Honours due to his Birth; and knew not that he was to be one of the Victims. The Day was spent in religious Offices; and at Night *Didas* gave an Entertainment. The Prince did him the Honour to be present at it; and as soon as he had drank the Poison prepared for him, was sensible of it, and found that he was a dead Man. A sudden Chill ran thro' his whole Body, and he left the Table, and retired to the next Apartment. There, whilst he was calling on the Gods to attest his Innocence, complaining of the Misfortunes his Father had brought upon him, and uttering his Abhorrence of the Treacheries of *Perses* and *Didas*, two Assassins entered the Room, seized him, wrapped him up in a Cloth, stopped his Mouth and Nose, and suffocated him. Thus, by a kind of double Death, a Prince perished in the midst of his Age, whose only Reproach was, That he was beloved by the *Romans*. *Philip* himself was sensible of the Loss he had in him, when it was too late. His true Policy had been to have kept the Ballance even between his two Sons. His old Age would have been spent in more Tranquillity if he had divided his Favours between them, and equally encouraged the Hopes of both. Whereas we shall soon see him overwhelmed with the Calamities which his Son *Perses* will bring upon him, overcome with Grief for having destroyed *Demetrius*, die in Despair, and leave his Scepter to a Prince very unworthy to bear it.

§. XXXIII. The Death of *Demetrius* threatened *Rome* more and more with a new War with *Macedon*; but the Time for its breaking out was not yet come. The Republick was in a manner only employed in *Liguria* and *Spain*; for we look on the Revolt of the *Ilians* in *Sardinia*, as little or nothing. Besides, a Plague infested both City and Country, and would not suffer either *Rome* or her Allies to make the usual Levies. Nevertheless, *Rome* kept up four Armies for *Liguria* only, exclusive of the *Prætorian Legions* in *Cisalpine Gaul*, and *Apulia*. The *Consuls* were each to have his Army in *Liguria*. But they found it difficult to compleat their *Legions*, at a time when they could not help excusing the Sick from the Service. So that at present the *Pro-Consul Paulus Æmilius* continued alone in *Liguria*, with the Troops he had commanded there the last Year; and the *Ligures* made all their Efforts against him. This *Pro-Consul*, with a Body of about eighteen thousand Men, advanced towards the Frontiers of the *Ingauni*, a People of *Liguria*; and had scarce pitched his Camp there, before the *Ingauni* sent Deputies to him, in Appearance to treat of Peace. But their real Design was to observe the *Roman* Trenches, discover the Number of Troops that defended them, and take proper Measures for besieging the Camp. *Paulus Æmilius* refused to give the Deputies an Audience, unless the whole Nation would entirely submit; and then the Envoys made it their Business to gain time. They demanded a Truce, under Pretence that it would be difficult to persuade a fierce, clownish People, to surrender themselves up to the *Romans* so suddenly. And when this Truce was granted them for ten Days, the Deputies likewise desired the *Roman* General not to suffer his Troops to cut any Wood, or Forrage beyond the Mountains; *Because*, said they, *our Lands there are sowed, and your Troops will commit great Waste in them.* Whereas at the Bottom, the real Aim of these perfidious Men was only to hinder the *Romans* from seeing the great Army which they were assembling, with as much Silence as possible, in their Plains. This formidable Army consisted of forty thousand Men; and after it had first hid itself behind the Mountains, came immediately and appeared before the *Roman* Camp. It was in an Instant surrounded on all Sides, and not one Gate of it left free. The *Pro-Consul* would fain have gone out into the Plain, and fought a pitched Battel there; but the Besiegers would not suffer him. They made surprizing Efforts all Day long, to make a Breach in the Ramparts; but the *Romans* defended them with extraordinary Valour, and with

[So] This City of *Heraclea*, is a different Place from the *Heraclea* situated in the North Part of *Macedon*. We have already mentioned the latter, under the Name of *Heraclea Sintica*. The former was near *Paronia*, and belonged to the *Lyncestæ*. For this Reason it was called *Heraclea Lyncestidis*.

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their Darts kept the Approaches to the Camp clear. When Night came on, the Enemy retired, reſolving to renew the Attack the next Day; and *Paulus Æmilius* thought it impoſſible for him to decamp. However, before Morning, he ſent away two Horſemen; one to *Cn. Bæbius* his Collegue in the *Conſulate* the laſt Year, and now *Pro-Conſul*, as well as himſelf, who lay encamped towards *Piſa*; and the other to the Senate. He ſent *Bæbius* and the *Conſcript Fathers* word, that he was beſieged in his Camp, by an Army infinitely ſtronger than his own; and deſired the former, to come in Perſon, with his Troops, to his Aſſiſtance; and intreated the latter, to ſend away the *Conſuls* immediately to deliver him. But it unfortunately happened, that *Bæbius* had now no Army. He had delivered up his Troops to the *Prætor* of *Sardinia*, who was to tranſport them thither to ſuppreſs the revolted *Ilians*. And as to the *Conſuls*, they peremptorily refuſed to begin their March, till their *Legions* were compleat. The Contagion hindered the filling the Levies. Nevertheleſs, upon the expreſs Orders of the Senate, they ſet out with the few Troops they had; picked up what other Troops they could in the Way; and formed a kind of tumultuary Army, the *Rendezvous* for which they fixed at *Piſa*. Nor was this all the Senate did. They ordered the *Prætor Publius* to raiſe two *Legions* in all Haſte, and inliſt the Veterans themſelves, who were not paſt fifty Years of Age. Nay, their Precautions went ſtill further. They ordered two Men to equip a Fleet to cruiſe on the Coaſts of *Liguria*, and carry Reinforcements and Proviſions to *Paulus Æmilius*; or, in caſe of Need, to ſerve for a Retreat for the Troops, after a Defeat. But, as diligent as the *Romans* were, the Reinforcements came too late. *Paulus Æmilius* waited for them ſome Days; and when he could have drawn up his Troops in the Plain, had declined expoſing his ſmall Army to the Danger of a Battel. But at length, when he found that his two Horſemen did not return, he took it for granted that they were fallen into the Enemy's Hands. And in this Extremity, he took a Reſolution which was dictated by his Courage, and the preſent Neceſſity. This was to fight the Enemy, who retired to their Tents every Night, and renewed the Attack every Morning. As ſoon as it was Day therefore, the *Pro-Conſul* drew up his *Legionaries* behind the Gates of his Camp. He trebled the *Cohort* of his foreign Guard, gave the Command of it to one of his Lieutenant-Generals, and drew it up in Battalia, behind *The Prætorian Gate*. At *The Right Gate*, he poſted the *Haſtati* of his firſt *Legion*, and the *Principes* to ſupport them. At *The Left Gate*, he drew up his third *Legion*, with this Difference, that the *Principes* were in the Front of it, and the *Haſtati* in the Rear. The Cavalry of the right Wing were ordered to march out at *The Quæſtorian Gate*; and the *Triarii* of the two *Legions* were left to guard the Camp. Each of theſe Battalions had General Officers to command them; and the *Roman* General flew from Gate to Gate in his Camp, giving his laſt Orders, and exhorting his Troops different Ways. *We have only Traitors to deal with*, ſaid he to ſome. *The* Ligures *attack us during the Truce we granted them. They are therefore drawing down on themſelves the Anger of the Gods, the Avengers of Publick Faith, and the Law of Nations. What!* ſaid he to the others, *will you ſuffer a Company of* Ligures, *a Parcel of Peaſants got together, to have the Impudence to beſiege a* Roman *Camp? The Enemies you are going to attack, are the ſame which you have ſo often chaſed in their Mountains; and will you ſuffer them to do what neither* Pyrrhus, *nor* Hannibal, *nor* Philip, *durſt ever attempt?* And others he animated with the Fear of Diſgrace. *If you are beaten by the* Ligures, ſaid he, *what will be ſaid of you at* Rome? *What will the Conquerors of* Carthage, Macedon, *and* Syria, *think of you? Will you dare ſhew yourſelves in the City?* Thus *Æmilius* rouzed the Courage of the *Legionaries*; and they all immediately anſwered, That they waited only for his Commands, to correct the Inſolence of the *Ligures*. This Chearfulneſs in the Soldiers, was a happy Preſage for the General; and when the *Ingauni* appeared, all was ready. In their firſt Attacks, theſe People had marched in good Order out of their Camps; (for they had two behind the Mountains;) but now, that they thought themſelves ſure of having no Enemy to oppoſe them, they marched in Confuſion. They drew near to the *Roman* Camp, in a tumultuous Manner; and when they were within Reach of it, all of a ſudden a great Shout was made on the Top of the Ramparts. The four Gates of the Camp were thrown open; the *Pro-Conſular* Troops ſallied out, like ſo many Torrents

Torrents let looſe upon Men in Diſorder, and ſtupified with Surprize; and the *Ligures* made ſo little Reſiſtance, that it could ſcarce be called a Battel. There was a terrible Slaughter made of them. The Cavalry cut in Pieces thoſe whom the Infantry had broken. Fifteen thouſand *Ingauni* were left dead upon the Spot; two thouſand five hundred made Priſoners of War; and the reſt fled for Refuge to their two Camps, which were both taken from them, by the *Romans*. The Conſequence of this Victory was, that the whole Canton of the *Ingauni* ſubmitted to the *Romans*, and gave them Hoſtages. And then the *Pro-Conſul* impriſoned the Pirates of this Nation, who had ſo long infeſted the Coaſts of *Italy*, and diſturbed Trade, as far as to *Spain*; and took from them two and thirty Ships. The News of this Victory filled *Rome* with Joy; and Thankſgivings were ordered to be given to the Gods, for three Days. The Senate put a Stop to the extraordinary Levies that were making in the City, and among the Allies; and *Paulus Æmilius* had Leave to return to *Rome*, and disband his Troops. By this Action his Name became more famous than ever; and he triumphed. Tho' he had a little too raſhly led his Army into the Defiles, his Victory was too glorious a one, not to be rewarded with a Triumph. He had ſupported himſelf in a bad Situation, with Conſtancy, and had extricated himſelf by his Valour. This made ſtrong Impreſſions of his Merit on the Minds of the People, who will hereafter raiſe him a ſecond time to the *Conſulate*; and then we ſhall ſee him conquer *Macedon*, and be honoured with a much more magnificent Triumph, wherein *Perſes* will be led in Chains before his Chariot. The Day of *Æmilius*'s firſt Triumph was alſo farther remarkable, for an Embaſſy that then came to *Rome*, from all the *Ligurian* Nation. They demanded an eternal Peace with the *Romans*, and promiſed never to take up Arms again, but with the Conſent of the Republick. However, the Senate ſeemed to lay little Streſs on theſe Promiſes. They referred the Ambaſſadors to the *Conſuls*, whom they had ſent towards their Province.

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App. in Iberic.

§. XXXIV. The News which came from *Spain* gave the *Romans* as much Joy as the Defeat of the *Ligures*. Advices came, that in *The Hither Province*, almoſt all the *Celtiberian* Nation was reduced. They had long maintained their Revolt; but had never brought a more numerous Army againſt the *Romans*, than now. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* was now *Prætor* in *Hither Spain*, the ſecond time; and it is certain the *Roman* Troops were not equal in Number to thoſe of the Revolters. However, *Fulvius*'s Ability ſupplied that Defect. Early in the Spring, he took the Field, entered the Country of the [81] *Carpetani*, and encamped near [82] *Æbura*, after he had left a moderate Garriſon in the City. The *Celtiberians* alſo, depending on their Numbers, advanced into *Carpetania*; and poſted themſelves at the Foot of a Mountain, within Reach of the *Roman* Camp. The wiſe *Pro-Prætor* ſuffered the Ardour of the Enemy for a Battel to cool, for ſome time; (the *Roman* Generals had often ſucceeded by this phlegmatick Way of proceeding) and permitted only a ſmall Body of his Horſe to appear in the Plain, under the Command of his Brother, ſometimes to watch the Enemy, and ſometimes to give them falſe Alarms. This Management laſted four Days. The *Celtiberians* marched out of their Camp every Morning, in Order of Battel, and bid the Enemy Defiance. But *Fulvius* did not ſtir. Both Parties went forraging behind their Camps only. So that there were no Rencounters, or Parties taken. This ſeeming Fearfulneſs of the *Romans*, increaſed the Confidence of the *Celtiberians*. But nevertheleſs, they were tired with going ſo often to offer Battel, and having it declined; and they therefore kept themſelves cloſe in their Entrenchments, in full Aſſurance that the *Romans* would not attack them firſt. Which was the very Point *Fulvius* wanted to compaſs. After he had removed their Diſtruſt, he took Advantage of their Security. He ſent out ſilently in the Night a Part of his Horſe, and ſix thouſand Auxiliaries, to go and poſt themſelves behind the Mountain againſt which the *Celtiberian* Camp lay. The Enemy were in great Tranquillity, and had no Thoughts of being attacked, even by Day. Nevertheleſs *Fulvius*, at break of Day,

Livy, B. 40. c. 30. 38.

[81] It were needleſs to repeat what we have already ſaid of theſe People. It is ſufficient to know that they were Maſters of the Territory of *Toledo*, and of *La Mancha*, in *New Caſtille*.

[82] Beſides the City of *Æbura* in *Portugal*, the ancient Geographers mention two other Cities of that Name; one in *Batica*, and the other in the Country of the *Edetani*. That of which *Livy* ſpeaks ſeems to have been ſituated on the Banks of the *Tagus*, near *Talavera la Reyna*.

ordered

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ordered a great Body of Cavalry to advance quite up to the Enemy's Trenches; and then the *Celtiberians* marched out in their Turn, to chaſe the *Romans*. However, the latter did not retire to their Camp, till they heard the Signal given for their Infantry to enter the Plain.

THE whole *Celtiberian* Army was formed, and marched a great Pace, towards the *Roman* Camp, reſolving to take it by Force. They were but five hundred Paces from it, when the *Romans* gave a great Shout, in the Bottom of their Trenches. This was the Signal agreed on with the Detachment which they had ſent away the Night before, to the Mountain behind the *Celtiberian* Camp; and then the Rebels were attacked in two Places. Their Camp was firſt inveſted by the *Roman* Squadron which came out of their Ambuſcade; and *Fulvius* opened three of the Gates of his Camp, and marched out into the Plain the Troops which he had kept ready drawn up, within them. This ſudden Reſolution aſtoniſhed the Enemy; and their Surprize was much increaſed, by what their laſt Line ſaw in the Camp which they had quitted. It was all in a Flame. As the *Celtiberians* had left only five hundred Men to guard it, it was ſoon taken by the Detachment. The *Romans* who commanded it, ſet Fire to that Part of it which could be ſeen by the two Armies; and this filled the *Romans* with Joy, and the *Celtiberians* with Terror. The latter found that they had no Retreat, in caſe of a Defeat; and their whole Dependance therefore muſt be on the Succeſs of a Battel. Nevertheleſs, they thought the *Roman Legions* impenetrable; and therefore made their main Efforts on the Side of their left Wing, againſt the *Spaniſh* Auxiliaries in the *Roman* Army. They were ready to have broken thro' them; when *Fulvius* ſent the ſeventh *Legion* to their Aſſiſtance. The Troops the *Pro-Prætor* had left in Garriſon at *Æbura*, came alſo, and fell on the *Celtiberians*; and to complete their Misfortune, the *Roman* Detachment likewiſe which had burnt their Camp, came to bear their Part in the Action. It drew near, and was going to attack the *Celtiberians* behind; and in this Extremity therefore, after they had already loſt a great many Men, they disbanded and fled. So that the *Romans*, inſtead of having Enemies to fight with, had now nothing to do but to purſue Fugitives. The Cavalry, which was divided into ſeveral ſmall Bodies, came up with them, and made a terrible Slaughter of them. Twenty five thouſand of the Enemy were killed on the Field of Battel. The *Romans* made four thouſand eight hundred Priſoners of War; and took above five hundred Horſes, and ninety eight Standards. And this conſiderable Victory coſt the *Romans* only two hundred *Legionaries*, ſeven hundred of the *Latin* Troops, and two thouſand four hundred of the *Spaniſh* Auxiliaries. *Fulvius* ſpent the Night in his own Camp, and the Detachment lay in the *Celtiberian* Camp which they had taken. The next Day the *Romans* ſtripped the Dead, and diſtributed the Rewards of Valour.

§. XXXV. BUT *Fulvius* did not content himſelf with having gained a Battel. In order to make his Victory uſeful, he left his Wounded in *Æbura*, croſſed the Country of the *Carpetani*, and fell upon [83] *Contrebia*, a City of the *Celtiberians*. The Garriſon were not in a Condition to ſuſtain a Siege; and they called in Succours. The Cities and Towns in the Neighbourhood were very deſirous of ſaving the Country, by preſerving *Contrebia*, and their Troops marched in haſte towards it. But they were retarded in their March by Rains, and the Overflowings of the Rivers. So that the *Contrebians* deſpaired of Relief, treated with the *Romans*, and delivered up the Place, very ſeaſonably for *Fulvius*. The Weather was ſo bad, and ſuch continual Rains fell, that an Army could not keep the Field. However, the *Legions* found Shelter in the City they had newly conquered. Soon after, the Storms ceaſed, and the Roads were paſſable; and then the *Celtiberian* Troops began to move again, and haſtened to deliver a City, which was already taken. They knew not that it had ſurrendered; and their Army advanced, and was ſurprized not to find the *Romans* before the Place. They thought the Rains had forced them to raiſe the Siege; and their Confidence increaſing upon it, they marched in great Diſorder. But when they were within Reach, *Fulvius* opened two Gates, made a vigorous Sally, and if all the Succours had come up

Livy, B. 40. c. 33.

83 The City of *Contrebia* belonged to *New Caſtille*. The *Spaniſh* Geographers place it upon the little River of *Henares*, and in old *Celtiberia*. It is now called *Tortoſa*, and is a different Place from the City of that Name in *Catalonia*, which ſtands at the Mouth of the *Ebro*.

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together, the Slaughter had been ſtill greater. However, the *Romans* killed about twelve thouſand *Celtiberians*, made five thouſand Priſoners, and took from them four hundred Horſes, and ſixty two Standards. Theſe two Victories pacified *Celtiberia*, and procured the Brave *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* the Honours of a Triumph; which he could not enjoy, till the next Year, after his Return to *Italy*. In *Further Spain*, the *Pro-Prætor Manlius Vulſo* had alſo ſome Advantages over the *Luſitanians*; but none of his Victories equalled thoſe of *Fulvius*.

In the mean time, the Revolt ſtill continued in the Province of *Sardinia*, and the Iſland of *Corſica* being near it, was infected with it. The *Prætor M. Pinarius* undertook ſome Expeditions there, which brought theſe Iſlanders to their Duty. In a Battel fought with the *Corſicans*, *Pinarius* killed two thouſand of their Men. From thence he went to *Sardinia*, and by ſome Battels, in which he always had the Advantage, brought the Revolters to Reaſon. The *Corſicans* were forced to give Hoſtages; and paid the Tax that was laid upon them in Wax. Two thouſand Pounds weight of it were demanded of them. They had then no Gold or Silver; and probably traded among one another only by Barter.

§. XXXVI. Whilst the *Roman* Generals were ſupporting the Glory of the Republick in different Places, the People and Senate of *Rome* made it their Buſineſs to reform Abuſes in the State. A *Tribune of the People* was the Author of a Law, which the prevailing Luxury of the Age made neceſſary. The People ſet no Bounds to the Entertainments they gave. Beſides that the Richneſs and Number of the Diſhes made the Expences of them exceſſive, ſuch great Numbers of People came to them, as made theſe Aſſemblies ſuſpected. The Ambitious canvaſſed for Suffrages, not ſo much by ſhewing their Merit, as giving Treats. It was therefore neceſſary to remedy this Diſorder; and it was done by Degrees. A zealous *Tribune of the People*, named *Orcius*, began with fixing [84] the Number of the Perſons that any one ſhould invite to an Entertainment at his own Houſe. [85] *Cato* contended for this Law, with all his Eloquence; and the Harangues he made to the People were full of Complaints of the Offences committed againſt it. Nor was this all. It was ſoon after found neceſſary to moderate the other Exceſſes of ſumptuous Tables. Many young Debauchees ſacrificed even their Modeſty to the Paſſions of thoſe who entertained them. Beſides, they often came from an Entertainment, heated with Wine, to aſſiſt in the *Comitia*, when the moſt important Affairs of the Republick were under Conſideration. To put an End to theſe Diſorders therefore, it was declared unlawful for any Man to ſpend more at one Feaſt than a hundred *Aſſes* * of Braſs. Afterwards, it was found neceſſary to extend this Law to all *Italy*, and to ſubject both the Gueſts and the Maſters of the Feaſts to the Penalties of it. And at laſt, even the Quantity of Meat to be ſerved up at an Entertainment, was ſettled by Law. Indeed all theſe Laws ſhew the Inclinations of the *Romans* to Intemperance; but they at the ſame time ſhew the Zeal of the Republick to reſtrain it.

Macrob. Sat 3. *c.* 17.

* 6*s.* 5*d.* ½. *Engliſh.*

Another [86] Law, which was made in the *Conſulſhip* of *Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Bæbius Tamphilus*, was more uſeful to the Republick, and more laſting, than the *Orcian*. *Aquilius Gallus*, the *Tribune of the People*, was the Author of it. This *Plebiſcitum* contained three Articles. The firſt regulated what Reparation ſhould be made to private Perſons for Damages done them, by killing a Slave, or an Ox; it enacted, That the higheſt Price ſhould be paid for them, that Slaves or Oxen were ſold for, that Year. The ſecond Article ſettled what Reparation ſhould be made for Injuries done to the *Citizens*, by ſpoiling their Lands, or Tools, or by robbing them of the Benefits they ought to reap from them, by forming unjuſt Companies. But theſe Regulations afterwards grew obſolete, and of no Force. Whereas the third Article continued always in Force, as well as the firſt. It enacted, That for Things loſt, or burnt, or broken, Reſtitution ſhould

Digeſt. l. 9. *ad Leg. Aquil. Tit.* 2.

Ulpian, ibid.

84 *Macrobius* expreſly ſays that the *Orcian* Law was publiſhed in the third Year after *Cato*'s *Cenſorſhip*. We have therefore Reaſon to fix the Publication of it to the Year 572.

85 Nevertheleſs, according to *Feſtus*, under the Word *Percundatum*, *Cato* ſeems at firſt to have oppoſed the Publication of the *Orcian* Law. But then, the ſame Author, when he explains the Word *Obſonitavere*, obſerves, that *Cato* changed his Opinion, and afterwards joined with the *Tribune Orcius*.

86 Moſt *Civilians* have given us the Interpretation of this Law, without ſaying in what Year it was made. All we know is, that in *Tully*'s time it was thought ancient, as he ſhews in his Book *Of Illuſtrious Orators*.

Year of *ROME* DLXXII.

P Cornelius Cethegus, M Bæbius Tamphilus, Conſuls.

be made to the Owners, according to any Price that thoſe Things bore within thirty Days after. This Law took place of all thoſe that had been made before, in relation to theſe Matters, and even of the Law of *The Twelve Tables*. And therefore the Civilians have taken very great Pains to explain and interpret *The Aquilian Law*.

These Regulations were made at *Rome*, whilſt the *Conſuls* were yet in *Liguria*. Their Year was very barren of Exploits, *M. Bæbius* was therefore recalled to the City, to preſide in the *Comitia* for electing new *Conſuls*; and then the Son-in-law oppoſed his Father-in-law, in the Election. This Rival for the *Conſulate* was one *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, whoſe Mother *Hoſtilia* had married *Calpurnius Piſo*, after the Death of *Flaccus*. This Woman, who idolized her Son, was very zealous for him; but it happened, as in Decency it ſhould, that *Calpurnius* got the better of his Wife's Son. He was choſen *Conſul* with *A. Poſthumius Albinus*. Six Perſons were alſo choſen *Prætors*, who drew Lots for their Provinces. *Hoſtilius Mancinus*, and *Minucius Augurinus*, continued at *Rome*, to judge Cauſes there. *Cornelius Mammula* went to *Sicily*; *C. Mænius*, to *Sardinia*; *T. Sempronius* was appointed to relieve *Fulvius Flaccus*, in *Hither Spain*; and *L. Poſtumius*, to ſucceed *Manlius Vulſo*, in *Further Spain*. After the Provinces of the *Prætors* were ſettled, thoſe of the *Conſuls* were fixed; and they both marched to *Liguria*. *Rome* had then no conſiderable War to maintain in any other Place [87].

§. XXXVII. As

87 In this Year, ſays *Livy*, there were dug up, at the Foot of the *Janiculus*, two Stone Monuments like Tombs, the Joints of which were faſtened with Lead. They were diſcovered by ſome Labourers, who were removing the Earth of a Field which belonged to a *Citizen* of *Rome*, named *Lucius Petilius*. He was then Secretary to the Magiſtrates. Both theſe Tombs were eight Foot long, and four broad. According to the *Greek* and *Latin* Inſcriptions which were upon the Stones that covered them, one of them contained *Numa Pompilius*'s Body, and the other contained ſeveral Volumes of his Writings. *Petilius* opened them, with the Advice of his Friends; and found no Footſteps in the firſt of a human Body. Time had conſumed the Bones, as well as Fleſh; in the Space of near five hundred Years, which had paſſed between the Death of the ſecond King of *Rome*, and this Year 572. But the Manuſcripts, were found entire. They were made up into two Bundles, which were tied with Strings, covered with Pitch, or Wax. Each Bundle contained ſeven Books; the Writing of which was very freſh. *Pliny* alſo relates this Fact, on the Credit of *Caſſius Hemina*. According to this Author, the Oil of Cedar which was put upon theſe Books, had preſerved them from Corruption all this while. The ſeven firſt, which were written in *Latin*, contained the Law of the *Pontifices*. The others were written in *Greek*. They treated of the Philoſophy which prevailed in *Numa*'s time. They were, according to *Valerius of Antium*, a Collection of *Pythagorean* Doctrines. This latter Writer probably deſigned by this Lie, to give Credit to the falſe Opinion of ſeveral Hiſtorians, which contended that *Numa* had been *Pythagoras*'s Diſciple. But be that as it will, *Petilius*'s Friends had the Curioſity to read Books which were ſo venerable for their Antiquity. Then they were communicated to many Citizens. So that in a little time, all the City was acquainted with this new Diſcovery. *Quintus Petilius*, then *Prætor* of *Rome*, earneſtly deſired the Manuſcripts of *Lucius Petilius*. The latter lay under Obligations to the *Prætor*, who by his Intereſt had procured him his Secretary's Place: And *Quintus* run over the two Collections. In ſo doing, he obſerved that the Maxims aſcribed to *Numa* tended to deſtroy Polytheiſm, and the ſuperſtitious Ceremonies with which the old Way of Worſhip had been overburdened ſince the Death of this Lawgiver; and this was enough to make the *Prætor* believe, that they were fictitious Books, made only to do Prejudice to the Eſtabliſhed Religion. He concluded that they ought to be burnt, as pernicious Books. Nevertheleſs he left it to the Diſcretion of the Proprietor of them; and *Lucius* had Recourſe to the *Tribunes of the People*, who brought the Affair before the Senate. The *Prætor* offered to ſwear, that it was dangerous for any one to read theſe Books; and upon *Quintus*'s Word, the two Bundles were condemned to the Flames, without farther Examination. And in order to make the Proprietor amends for his Loſs, a Sum of Money was ordered to be paid him, according to the Value that had been ſet upon them, by the *Tribunes*, and *Prætor*. But *Lucius* had too great a Soul to accept of the Money. However, in Obedience to the Decree, the Books were burnt by the *Victimarii*, whoſe Buſineſs it was to flay the Victims.

This is *Livy*'s Account of this Fact; which other Hiſtorians repreſent differently. None of them agree, as to the Number of the Books. *Plutarch* and *Valerius Antias* ſay, there were twelve *Latin* ones, on Religion; and twelve *Greek*, on Philoſophy. *Varro* and *Lactantius* make them to have been but twelve in all. And *Livy* makes them fourteen. According to *Pliny*, *Varro*, and *St. Auſtin*, *De Civitate Dei*, the Secretary's Name was *Cneius Terentius*. But *Lactantius* and *Valerius Maximus* call him *Petilius*. Doubtleſs, the latter was a *Freedman* of the *Petilian* Family, from which, according to Cuſtom, he had taken that Name; and had, by the Intereſt of his *Patron*, obtained the Secretary's Place. We have elſewhere obſerved, that this Sort of Employments were granted only to *Freedmen*. Nor are the Hiſtorians better agreed, as to the Manner in which theſe Books were found. *Plutarch* ſays, that the two Monuments were diſcovered by ſome Streams of Water, which waſhed away the Earth. *Valerius Maximus* ſays, that only the Philoſophical Books were burnt; and that the Senate ſaved the *Latin* ones, which treated of the *Pontifical* Law. Nor is this all. *Pliny* makes both *Numa*'s Body and the Books, to have been in one Tomb. Theſe different Accounts therefore, tho' they all confirm the Fact, leave us in doubt which to prefer, as to the Circumſtances of it.

Livy obſerves alſo, that in the Year 572, not the leaſt Rain fell for ſix Months. The Drought made the Lands barren; and that Barrenneſs produced a general Famine. And the ſame Hiſtorian, among the other memorable Events of this Year, mentions the Dedication of two Temples; one of which ſtood near the Gate *Collina*, and was conſecrated to *Venus Erycina*; the other was in *The Herb Mar-*

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A. Postumius Albinus, C. Calpurnius Piso, Conſuls.

Livy, B. 40. c. 35.

§. XXXVII. As ſoon as *Poſtumius Albinus*, and *Calpurnius Piſo*, had taken Poſſeſſion of the *Faſces*, they went to preſide in the Senate. The firſt Buſineſs that was brought before the Houſe, related to *Hither Spain*. After *Fulvius* had vanquiſhed, and, in part at leaſt, pacified the *Celtiberians*, he ſent three [88] Officers from the Army to *Rome*, to deſire two Things of the *Conſcript Fathers*. Firſt, That they would return the Gods Thanks for his Victory; and ſecondly, That they would disband the Troops which had conquered under him in *Spain*, and give him Leave to return with them to *Italy*. Theſe Brave Men had indeed been long in the Service, in a foreign Country. They had received no Pay all the Year; neither had proper Care been taken for their Subſiſtence. They were now very deſirous of returning to their native Country; and it was to be feared, that if they were not recalled, they would deſert, or a general Revolt would be the Conſequence. So that nothing could be more reaſonable than *Fulvius*'s Requeſt. Nevertheleſs, it did not paſs without Oppoſition. *Tiberius Sempronius* was juſt nominated to ſucceed *Fulvius* in *Hither Spain*; and it was his Intereſt to find a well diſciplined Army there, which had made themſelves formidable to the *Celtiberians*. He therefore examined one of the Deputies ſent by his Predeceſſor, in full Senate, in this Manner. *Is* Celtiberia *indeed entirely ſettled in Tranquillity? May I abſolutely depend upon it, that the old Revolt there is entirely quelled? For my own Part, I have ſome Reaſon to believe that only ſome of the neareſt Cities of the Provinces are ſubdued. And if that be the Caſe, is it not better to keep the old* Legions *in my Province, and ſend thither Recruits to ſupply the Places of thoſe who are not able to ſerve any longer? If I only carry new Levies with me, ſhall I not have Reaſon to fear new Inſurrections? Will the* Celtiberians *ſtand in Awe of unexperienced Troops, commanded by a new General? I declare to you beforehand,* Conſcript Fathers, *that if I have the old Troops of* Fulvius *I ſhall not be afraid to march againſt the Enemy; but if I have only undiſciplined Troops under me, I ſhall confine my ſelf to my Trenches, and not ſtir out of them.* The Deputy could not ſay that *Hither Spain* was entirely pacified. *Who can anſwer,* ſaid he, *for the ſudden Commotions, and ſecret Deſigns of an untractable Nation? It is doubtleſs right to have an Army to oppoſe them. But then, at the ſame time, who can anſwer for the Submiſſion of our old Troops in* Spain? *They are fatigued with a long Stay in a foreign Country, and demand their* Congè. *And can this be refuſed them? Both Juſtice and Compaſſion plead for them. And for my own part, I have heard them proteſt, when aſſembled round the General's Tent, That they would not continue in* Spain, *unleſs he did; and that if he came away, they would come with him.* This ſaid, the Senators were going to put it to the Vote; but the *Conſuls* ſuſpended it, by ſaying; *That according to Order, the Senate ought firſt to ſettle the Affairs of the* Conſuls, *before they determined any thing concerning the* Prætorian *Armies.* Upon which, it was immediately decreed, That the Army of each *Conſul*, who were both to act in *Liguria*, ſhould conſiſt of two *Legions*, fifteen thouſand Auxiliaries, and eight hundred Horſe; That all theſe ſhould be new-raiſed Men; and That the old *Conſuls*, as ſoon as their Succeſſors arrived, ſhould disband their Troops. After this, the Requeſt of the *Prætor Sempronius* was taken into Conſideration; and the Senate found Means to gratify the Deſires of the *Legionaries* in *Spain*, and at the ſame time ſatisfy the new *Conſul*. They ordered, That the Soldiers who had been in the Service beyond Sea for ſix Years, ſhould be diſmiſſed, and the reſt continue in the Army. *Sempronius* had alſo Leave to raiſe two *Legions*; that is, ten thouſand four hundred Foot, and ſix hundred Horſe. This new Body, when added to the reſt of the *Legionaries* which *Fulvius* had under his Command, would doubtleſs be ſufficient to keep the *Celtiberians* in Awe. As to *Fulvius*, *Supplications* were ordered as he deſired; and he had Leave to diſband the oldeſt of his Soldiers, and bring them with him into *Italy*. Indeed, in a Year wherein the Plague had raged in *Italy*, it was no eaſy Matter to make all

et, and dedicated to *Piety*. The former was conſecrated by *Lucius Porcius Licinus*; and the Honour of dedicating the latter fell to *Manius Acilius Glario*, who had vanquiſhed *Antiochus the Great*, in the Battel of *Thermopylæ*. The Conſecrator erected to the latter a gilt Statue; which according to *Livy*, was the firſt Statue gilt with Gold that had ever been ſeen in *Italy*.

88 One of theſe three Officers was *Lucius Minucius*, who was Lieutenant-General in the Army in *Spain*; and the other two were *Titus Manius*, and *Lucius Terentius Maſſa*, both *Legionary Tribunes*.

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theſe Levies. Nevertheleſs, eight complete *Legions* were raiſed; tho' the Republick did not ſeem to be in any great Want of them. Of ſuch Importance did the Senate think it to the State, to keep her Subjects in continual Exerciſe, without Interruption! Even a Plague was not deemed a ſufficient Excuſe for the Youth not to ſerve the whole Term that the Law required.

THE Plague daily raged more and more in the City. The *Prætor Minucius* was dead of it; and after him the *Conſul Calpurnius*, who had oppoſed his Son-in-law in the *Conſulſhip*. And the Death of theſe Great Men gave Riſe to Applications never before made. After the *Romans* had, in vain, tried all ſuperſtitious Remedies; after they had conſulted the *Sybilline* Books; erected Statues of Gold to *Apollo*, *Æſculapius*, and the Goddeſs *Salus*; and made publick *Supplications*, at which every Citizen above twelve Years of Age aſſiſted, crowned with Flowers, and holding Laurel-branches in their Hands; they at laſt fancied, that the Diſtemper was more owing to Witchcraft, than the Infection of the Air. Some Reports had alſo baſely been whiſpered about, relating to ſome Poiſonings which were not to be neglected. The Senate therefore gave a Commiſſion to *Claudius Pulcher*, created *Prætor* in the room of *Minucius*, to make Enquiries about it in the City, and within ten Miles of it. *Mænius*, the *Prætor* nominated for *Sardinia*, had alſo Orders to make the ſame Search in all the reſt of the *Roman* Dominions, before his Departure. And whilſt the *Prætors* were employed in theſe Acts of Juſtice, it was neceſſary to chuſe a Succeſſor for the deceaſed *Conſul Calpurnius*.

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The Perſon choſen was *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, the Son-in-law, who had oppoſed the late *Conſul*; and this Choice created Jealouſies, which opened the Eyes of many People. They ſuſpected, that the Mother of the new *Conſul* had poiſoned her Husband, to pave the Way for her Son's ſucceeding him in the *Conſulate*. Which was the more probable, becauſe *Hoſtilia* had been very impatient at her Son's having been three times refuſed that Dignity. And at length, Witneſſes appeared, who ſwore, That *Hoſtilia* had told *Fulvius*, when under great Concern for having failed of the *Conſulate*, That before two Months were at an End, he ſhould be promoted to it. Her Husband was actually dead in two Months; and *Fulvius* had ſtill continued making Intereſt, during the Life of his Father-in-law. Upon theſe Teſtimonies, *Hoſtilia* was firſt accuſed, and then convicted, of poiſoning, and condemned for having murdered her Husband. The Hiſtorians have not told us what Puniſhment was inflicted on this ambitious Mother, and treacherous Wife. But be that as it will, her Crime did not affect her Son. He continued *Conſul*, and gained ſome Reputation, in that Dignity.

§. XXXVIII. *LIGURIA* had been the Province aſſigned the two *Conſuls*. But the Death of *Calpurnius*, and the Election of his Succeſſor, kept both *Poſtumius* and that Succeſſor at *Rome*, longer than they deſired. So that *Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Bæbius Tamphilus*, with the Title of *Pro-Conſuls*, ſupplied the Place of the two *Conſuls*, and did their Duty. Theſe two Generals made their *Proconſulate* memorable in a barren *Conſulſhip*. They entered together into the Country of thoſe *Ligures* who were called *Apuans*; and the bare Appearance of the *Pro-Conſuls* was ſufficient to reduce this fierce Nation. The unexpected Arrival of two Armies ſurprized theſe *Ligures*, who were not upon their Guard; twelve thouſand of theſe Rebels came and ſurrendered to the *Romans*; and the Country was left defenceleſs. Then the *Pro-Conſuls*, who were victorious without fighting, formed a Deſign which crowned their Expedition. After they had conſulted the Senate, they thought it neceſſary to tranſplant the beſt Part of theſe *Ligures* from the Mountains, which ſerved them for Retreats. Without this, they thought the War would never be ended with this invincible People. And the Deſign was put in Execution, without any Oppoſition. The Republick had a vaſt Tract of Ground in *Samnium*, the ancient Inhabitants of which had been deprived of it. This Canton was called *The* 89 *Tauraſian Fields*; and *Bæbius Tamphilus* and *Cornelius Cethegus* removed theſe *Ligures* thither, with their Wives, Children, and Effects. But how hard did theſe Wretches ſtruggle to avoid the Blow which threatened them! Nothing was more terrible

89 See what we have ſaid of the Situation and Extent of *The Tauraſian Fields*, *Vol.* 2. The City of *Tauraſium* gave them this Name. But ſome Commentators upon *Livy*, and among others *Sigonius*, are of Opinion, that the Fields here ſpoken of were *The Tauraſian Fields*, ſo called from an ancient City in *Bruttium*, the Ruins of which are now to be ſeen three Miles from *Samnium*.

terrible to them, than to be removed from their native Country, from the Temples of their Gods, and from the Tombs of their Anceſtors. They offered to give Hoſtages, or to deliver up their Arms. But the Republick would not hear them; and they were forced to obey. The Sum allowed them for their [90] Removal, was a hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds weight of Silver. This Sum was diſtributed among forty thouſand Perſons of free Condition, to buy them Houſes in their new Habitations; and *Rome* aſſigned them Lands in Fee, for them to cultivate. The Commiſſion for diſtributing theſe Lands was given to the two *Pro-Conſuls*; but they deſired the Senate to allow them five Perſons to aſſiſt them with their Advice. The Diſtribution of the Lands was made without any Diſturbance. Then *Bæbius* and *Tamphilus* returned to *Rome* with their Armies, and received the Honours of a Triumph. It was obſerved, that they were the firſt Generals who ever triumphed, without having gained pitched Battels. The *Romans* were grown leſs rigid than formerly. They no longer judged of the Merit of the Services done the Republick, by the Quantity of the Enemy's Blood that had been ſpilt. As for the *Legionaries*, they refuſed to attend the *Pro-Conſuls* in their Triumph. There were no Diſtributions of Money to be expected after the Conqueſt of a poor Country, from which no Spoils had been brought. So that the Victors were attended in their Proceſſion only by ſome vanquiſhed *Apuans*, who had been forced to leave their native Country. This taught *Rome* the Method of tranſplanting Rebels from one Country to another; and ſhe afterwards found, that by changing their Climate, ſhe often changed their Manners and Inclinations.

Year of *ROME* DLXXIII. A. Postumius Albinus, Q. Fulvius Flaccus, Conſuls.

But the Submiſſion of the *Apuans* had not ſubdued all *Liguria*. After the *Pro-Conſuls*, the *Conſuls* for the Year alſo found Employment there. They both entered it different Ways. *Poſtumius Albinus* inveſted two Mountains of the *Apennines*, one of which was then called [91] *Baliſta*, and the other *Suiſmontium*; and then the *Ligures*, which had taken Refuge there, were ſoon ſtarved. The *Conſul* ſet good Guards to all the Avenues, and intercepted their Proviſions: So that the Rebels were forced to ſubmit for Want, or periſh with Hunger. In the flat Country, *Poſtumius* grubbed up their Vineyards, and burnt their Houſes. From thence he went to the Coaſts, and overrun the Countries of the [92] *Ingauni*, and *Intemelians*. There Complaints were brought to him againſt an Officer of Conſideration, who was the Brother of the *Conſul Fulvius*, and a *Legionary Tribune*. During the two Months that he was to command the Army in chief, he had diſbanded it without Orders; and the Senate baniſhed him to *Spain* beyond *New Carthage*. As for the disbanded *Legion*, *Poſtumius* ſent after it, treated the Officers roughly, and brought them back to *Piſa*. Their Deſertion was irregular; and they had therefore ſix Months Pay taken from them of their annual Allowance. And ſuch of them as ſhould not repair to their Colours, were ordered to be deprived of their Goods, and ſold to the beſt Bidder. *Fulvius* on the other hand made War ſucceſsfully in that Country of the *Apuans*, which lies next to the River *Macra*. He forced ſeven thouſand of them to ſurrender at Diſcretion; and their Fate was the ſame as that of their Countrymen. They were put on Ship board, landed at *Naples*, and from thence conducted to *Sammium*, there to increaſe the Number of the tranſplanted *Ligures*, and enjoy the ſame Advantages with them.

§. XXXIX. During theſe Expeditions in *Italy*, *Sempronius* prepared to ſet out for *Hither Spain*, his Government. But in the mean time, whilſt he delayed to come thither, doubtleſs, on Account of the Difficulty of making the Levies, *Fulvius* took the Field, as ſoon as the Seaſon would permit. All the Parts of *Celtiberia*, which had not yet ſubmitted to the *Romans*, were delivered up to be plundered by the Soldiers; and then theſe unfortunate People were tranſported with Rage. They made ſurpriſing Efforts to raiſe new Levies; and to revenge ſo many Hoſtilities, added Artifice to Force. They reſolved to poſt themſelves in a

[90] Theſe hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds weight of Silver, at the Rate of twenty *Franks per Mark*, amount to ſix Millions *French*.

[91] Theſe two Mountains are Branches of the *Apennines*. *Cluver* thinks that *Livy* means the Mounts *Cervera*, and *Pineſe*, which are near the Springs of the River *Lavagna*.

[92] We have deſcribed the *Ingauni* and *Intemelii*, in the preceding Volumes.

Year of ROME DLXXIII.

A. Postumius Albinus, Q. Fulvius Flaccus, Conſuls.

Wood called 93 *Manlius*'s *Paſs*, through which the *Romans* muſt neceſſarily go, in order to meet the new *Prætor*. Accordingly *Poſtumius Albinus*, who was come into *Further Spain* to take Poſſeſſion of the *Prætorſhip*, gave *Fulvius* Notice to repair to *Tarragona*, upon the Arrival of *Sempronius*, who was to ſucceed him. The *Pro-Prætor* marched on in haſte, that he might be preſent at *Sempronius*'s landing, and took his Way through the *Paſs*, which the *Celtiberians* had ſeized before him. But how great was his Surpriſe, when he ſaw the Enemy which were in Ambuſh, come and fall on the advanced-Guard of the *Romans*! Nevertheleſs, this did not diſconcert him. His Army was upon full March with their Baggage on their Shoulders; and he ordered all the Ranks to throw down their Bundles, and take to their Arms. He, in an inſtant, formed his Troops, as well as the Time and Place would ſuffer him; and cried out, running through the Lines, *We have only Cowards to deal with. Our Enemies have a Mind to honour our Return to* Rome. *Let us then carry thither our Swords again dipped in their Blood.* An Engagement followed, and the *Romans* faced every Way. Both the *Legionaries*, and the Cavalry of the Allies, performed extraordinary things. But the Enemy got Ground of the auxiliary Troops of the *Spaniards*, who were armed like themſelves; and they were already in Diſorder. And then the Enemy returned to the Charge upon the *Legionaries*, whom they had hitherto found impenetrable. In order to break into them, the *Celtiberians* formed two Battalions, with ſharp Points, an Order not uncommon among them; and in this way of Attack they ſucceeded. The Onſet was ſo violent, that the *Legions* could ſcarce withſtand it. The Point of a *Celtiberian* Battalion was breaking into the *Roman Legions*; and then the General addreſſed himſelf to the *Legionary* Cavalry in the two Wings, in this manner. *What! Will you continue idle? Without you, all is loſt. Do you give the Word of Command*, anſwered theſe brave Men, *and it ſhall be obeyed. Give your Horſes the Reins then*, replied *Fulvius*, *and fall all together with the utmoſt Fury on the Extremity of the pointed Battalion.* The *Roman* Horſe had already ſucceeded more than once in this way of Attack; and it had now a better Effect. The brave Troopers, as if they had devoted themſelves to Death, rode through and through the Point of the Battalion, and put it into Diſorder: and all the Force of the Enemy ſeemed to have been in this ſaliant Angle. As ſoon as that was broken, the reſt of the *Celtiberian* Army loſt their Courage: it wavered, retired, and was borne down before the Enemy. The *Legionary* Cavalry by this Example, raiſed the Emulation of the Cavalry of the Allies; and as ſoon as they ſaw the Enemy move, without waiting for the General's Orders, they gave their Horſes the Reins, and with the ſame Impetuoſity, rode through the thickeſt Battalions. Then the *Celtiberians* had no Refuge but in Flight. *Fulvius* ſaw the Diſorder of the Enemy from the Center of his Army; and made a Vow to build a Temple to *Fortuna Equeſtris*, and to celebrate *Games* in Honour of *Jupiter*. Immediately the Enemy left their Ranks in great Conſternation; the *Romans* purſued them; and there had been a greater Slaughter made of them, if they had not found a Retreat in the Woods. Nevertheleſs, ſeventeen thouſand of them were killed; three thouſand two hundred made Priſoners; and the *Romans* took from them eleven hundred Horſes, and ſeventy ſeven Standards. The *Romans* had no Camp to force. *Fulvius* loſt four hundred and ſeventy two *Legionaries*, one thouſand and nineteen of the *Italian* Auxiliaries, and three thouſand of the *Spaniſh*. Thus the brave General extricated himſelf out of great Danger, by a moſt happy Victory; and crowned with theſe new Lawrels, arrived at *Tarragona*, where he found that *Sempronius* had been landed two Days. His Succeſſor congratulated him upon his late Glory, and gave him the Decree of the Senate. The two Generals agreed between themſelves what Troops ſhould be carried into *Italy*, and what kept in *Spain*; and the ſame Fleet that had brought *Sempronius* with the new Levies, carried back *Fulvius* with the old Soldiers. *Fulvius* ſet ſail, and after a happy Paſſage, came to *Rome*, and lodged in the Suburbs. His Fame had reached *Rome* before him; the People were informed

93 *Manlius*'s *Paſs* ſeems to have bordered on the Country of the *Vaccæi*, and that of the *Vectones*. At leaſt there was a City called *Manliana*, in that Neighbourhood. But ſome place it near *Mallen*, and others near *Villa Franca*, which belongs to the Kingdom of *Leon*.

of his Exploits; and the *Comitia*, which were ready to assemble in the *Campus Martius*, cast their Eyes upon him, to promote him to the *Consulate*, before he had triumphed. News was brought him, that the Republick had raised him to the highest Dignity, and given him *L. Manlius Acidinus* for his Collegue; and then the *Consul* elect was wholly intent on making Preparations for his Triumph. He entered the City in great State, followed by the Soldiers he had brought back with him; and to grace his Procession, had carried before his Chariot, on Handbarrows, six score Crowns of Gold, thirty one Pounds weight of [a] Gold in Ingots, and a hundred and seventy three thousand pieces of Silver, coined at 94 *Osca* in *Spain*. The Bounties he gave his Troops were also considerable; no less than five hundred *Denarii* [b] to every common *Legionary*; a thousand [c] to every *Centurion*; and fifteen hundred [d] to every Trooper. *Fulvius* also made the same Presents to the Soldiers, Officers, and Troopers of the *Latin* Auxiliaries; and generally speaking, all those he had brought back with him, had their Pay doubled for the Year. Thus *Fulvius* gained all their Hearts, after he had brought from *Spain* even more Glory than Riches.

Year of ROME DLXXIII.

A. Postumius Albinus, C. Calpurnius Piso, Consuls.

[a] 1488 *l. Sterl.* at 4 *l. per Oz. Arc.*
[b] 16 *l.* 2 *s.* 11 *d. Arbuthnot.*
[c] 32 *l.* 5 *s.* 0 *d.*
[d] 48 *l.* 8 *s.* 9 *d.*

§. XL. Before the *Consular* Year was expired, the Senate was informed of the Piracies which had been so much complained of for some Years, on the Coasts of the *Adriatick* Sea. The Authors of them were not known at *Rome*. But at length *Duronius*, who had been nominated *Prætor* of *Apuleia* the last Year, sent Word, that one of the Kings of *Illyricum*, had been the Cause of them. His Suspicion was founded on this, That all the Ships of the Pirates that had been seen in those Seas, had come from his Dominions. To which he added, That he had sent a Deputation to that Prince, whose Name was *Gentius*, to make Complaint to him, but could not obtain an Audience. And this Pride would doubtless have drawn a War on *Illyricum*, if the King had not guarded against it. He sent an Embassy to the Senate, and pleaded for his Excuse, That when the *Roman* Deputies came to *Illyricum*, he was sick, in the furthest Parts of his Dominions. Nevertheless it was objected to him, That the *Romans* and their Allies had received considerable Injuries in his Dominions, and That he actually kept some *Citizens* of *Rome* in Captivity at 95 *Corcyra*. The Ambassadors answered, in the Name of their Master, That he desired the Senate not to hearken to what his Enemies reported to his Prejudice. And *Rome* followed her old Maxim. She had Regard to the King's Submissions, and pardoned him. Besides, he was near enough to *Macedon* to be managed.

In the same Year was published the famous *Plebiscitum*, known by the Name of *The Villian Law*. *L. Villius* 96 *Tappulus*, then *Tribune of the People*, had got it passed in the *Comitia*. The Age necessary for entering on the great Magistracies had been determined 97, only by Decency, or Custom; and *Villius* got a Law made for that Purpose. It was thereby enacted, That no Man should be *Quæstor* 98, before he was one and thirty Years of Age; *Curule Ædile*, before he was seven and thirty; *Prætor*, before he was forty; or *Consul*, before he was forty three. This Law continued in force till the Fall of the Republick; and did so much

Cicero Philip.

94 *Osca* is still in being, in the Kingdom of *Arragon*, and is called *Huesca*.

95 The *Corcyra* here spoken of, is *Corcyra the Black*, which stands on the Coasts of the *Adriatick* Sea, over against *Dalmatia*.

96 This *Lucius Villius* seems to have been the Son of another Person of the same Name, who governed *Sardinia*, in quality of *Prætor*, in the Year of *Rome* 554. In some Historians, the Copyists have altered his Name. Some call him *Junius*, others *Julius*, contrary to the greatest Number of Authors.

97 Not that the *Romans* had not fixed the Age proper for Magistrates before the *Tribune Villius*'s time. As early as in the Year of *Rome* 411. in the Consulship of *Caius Marcius Rutilus*, and *Quintus Publius Philo*, the *Tribune of the People*, *Lucius Genucius*, had got a Law passed, which forbad all Citizens to aspire a second time at the Office they had enjoyed once, in less than ten Years after it. *Livy* tells us plainly enough, with Regard to the *Consulship* of the Great *Scipio*, that before *Villius*'s time, *Rome* had by several Regulations settled the proper Age for entering upon Offices. And this we have examined into in the preceding Volumes, when we spoke of the *Consuls*, Senators, and *Quæstors*. But we may affirm, That either these Laws were not express enough; or That a contrary Usage had prevailed, and gained a Right of Prescription.

98 At least we guess so from *Cicero*'s Words. He says of himself, that he enjoyed the Offices of the Republick exactly at the Age prescribed by the Laws. Now it is certain, That he was *Quæstor* in *Sicily* at the Age of thirty one; *Ædile* six Years after, that is, at thirty seven; *Prætor*, at forty; and *Consul*, at forty three.

Honour

Year of Honour to the Author of it, that he from thence had the Surname of *Annalis*, which was always continued in his Branch of the Family 99.

ROME DLXXIV.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus, L. Manlius Acidinus, Conſuls. *Val. Paterc. B.* 2.

§. XLI. And now, the time was come for the *Conſuls* elect to enter upon their Office; and two Brothers took Poſſeſſion of the *Faſces* together, for the firſt time. *Fulvius* and *Manlius* had the ſame Father, though the latter bore the Name of the *Manlian* Family, into which he had been adopted. The *Faſti Capitolini* alſo give him the additional Surname of *Fulvianus*, and thereby ſhew us his Family, as the Hiſtorians do. But their enjoying the *Conſulſhip* together was not the only Innovation introduced into the Republick. When *Bæbius* was in Office, he had got a Law paſſed, that for the future, only four *Prætors* ſhould be elected inſtead of ſix, and that each ſhould continue two Years in his Province: And this Law, which had been neglected, was now revived. Only four Perſons were promoted to the *Prætorſhip*. The Cognizance of Proceſſes between the *Citizens* only, fell to *Mucius Scævola*; that of the Affairs of Foreigners, to *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*; *Sicily*, to another *Mucius Scævola*; and *Sardinia*, to *Valerius Lævinus*. But this Suppreſſion of two *Prætorſhips* did not laſt long. *Rome* found that ſhe had more need to multiply than diminiſh them.

Aul. Gellius, B. 12. *c.* 8. *Val. Max. B.* 4. *c.* 2. *Cicer.*

Then a new Election of *Cenſors* opened another new Scene to the Republick. *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, the preſent *Pontifex Maximus*, who had been honoured with two *Conſulſhips*, and had been ſent into *Egypt* by the Republick, to be Guardian to young King *Ptolomy*, was pitched upon for one of them; and the Colleague the People inclined to give him, was that *Fulvius Nobilior*, who had enjoyed one *Conſulſhip*, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by taking *Ambracia*, and had been honoured with a Triumph. The only Objection to their Promotion, was indeed an old Enmity which they once had to one another. What Concord could be expected between two Men, who hated each other? Yet both the Office and the publick Good required that they ſhould agree. Nevertheleſs, the Eſteem the People bore for both one and the other prevailed. They were nominated *Cenſors* together. It was cuſtomary for the new *Cenſors*, on the Day of their Election, to ſeat themſelves in their *Curule Chairs*, in the *Field of Mars*, where the Elections were made, over againſt the Altar of that God, before the Aſſembly was diſmiſſed. A great Number of the old Senators now appeared at this Ceremony. And then one of them, named *Cæcilius*, whoſe Age, and Merit gave him Authority to ſpeak, addreſſed himſelf to the new Magiſtrates in this manner. *We have not forgotten, that in the Place where the People have juſt now choſen you, it is your Province to correct our Manners, and not ours to reform yours. Nevertheleſs, give me leave to repreſent to you an Affair, which gives many People a great deal of Concern. We deſire to ſee you as much united in Affection, as you are by Merit and Office. Never was an Election of* Cenſors *more applauded than yours. You are agreeable to all the People, and diſagreeable only to each other. But though your Enmities have been open, and time has confirmed them, they have hitherto been prejudicial only to yourſelves. Whereas, now it is to be feared that the Republick may greatly ſuffer by them. And therefore, we who are under juſt Apprehenſions on that Account, intreat you to be reconciled, and become Friends. Before this Altar, and in the Preſence of the God who preſides in this Place, put an end to your Animoſities. We have raiſed you to the ſame Dignity, in Expectation of finding that you will be of the ſame Mind. Let there be a good Underſtanding between you, and act in concert in all Caſes; whether you are to draw up the Liſt of Senators, or reform the* Knights, *or make an Enumeration of the People, or ſet a Value on their Eſtates, or to put an end to the Ceremony with a* Luſtration. *Let the Preamble to all your publick Acts be this.* May our Regulations turn to the Advantage of my Colleague, as well as to mine. *Shall then theſe affectionate Requeſts make no Impreſſion on your Minds? Will you barely give them a hearing?* Romulus *became Friend to* Tatius, *after they had fought a Battel in this very Place. Let not your Hatred then be perpetual. Peace naturally ſucceeds War; and the moſt inveterate*

99 *Livy* tells us, that in the Year 573, the Senate, by an extraordinary Privilege, gave the Citizens of *Canna* Leave to draw up their publick Acts in the *Latin* Tongue; which had hitherto been done in *Greek*. This Privilege was not indifferently granted to all the Cities, that were ſubject to the Republick.

Enemi

Enemies often become the moſt faithful Friends. The more warm your Diſſentions have been, the more laſting will your Friendſhip be, after a real Reconciliation.

THE Advice was affecting, and the Aſſembly applauded the Senator for it. Their Murmurings were a Teſtimony of their Deſires; and the two Perſons concerned, who were Men of Honour, were ſtruck with them. They firſt mutually reproached one another. *Æmilius* complained, That *Fulvius* had twice oppoſed his Promotion to the *Conſulſhip*; and *Fulvius*, That *Æmilius* had more than once affronted him, brought him before the Judges, and forced him to give Security for a Sum in Diſpute. And after this firſt Storm, a Calm followed. The Perſons reciprocally offended, were not of a Temper never to forgive. Their Reaſon got the better of their Reſentment. They both agreed, That it became them to comply with the Deſires of the Senate, and People, and to perfect a Reconciliation, which was neceſſary for the publick Good. And at length, upon the repeated Inſtances of the Aſſembly, they complied, gave each other their Hands, and walked together to the *Capitol*, there to ſtrengthen the Bands of their new Friendſhip. What had paſſed in the *Campus Martius* was reported to the Senate; and *The Fathers* equally commended the Zeal of the illuſtrious *Citizens*, who had interpoſed to bring about a Reconciliation; and the Readineſs of the two Parties to grant the Deſires of the People and Senators.

Year of ROME DLXXIV.
Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS, L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS, Conſuls.

§. XLII. THE Friendſhip which follows open Ruptures, is generally the moſt conſtant. The Parties pique themſelves upon taking care not to fall a ſecond time into the Broils, which diſhonour them. And thus the two Collegues exerciſed their Office with the moſt perfect Concord. They drew up the Liſt of the Senators together; and only erazed the Names of three, as unworthy of Seats in that auguſt Aſſembly. *Æmilius*, who was more ſevere, would have degraded a much greater Number; but *Fulvius* prevailed upon him to ſhew Favour to thoſe who were leaſt Criminal. And as a Teſtimony of his Eſteem, *Fulvius* conſented that *Æmilius* ſhould be firſt named in the Liſt, and thereby made *Prince of the Senate*. So that his Collegue was now *Pontifex Maximus*, *Cenſor*, and *Preſident* of the moſt auguſt Body in the Republick, at the ſame time. But the two *Cenſors* were more ſevere to the *Roman Knights*. They reviewed them with critical Eyes. We may judge of the reſt by the following Inſtance. A *Knight*, named *Antiſtius*, againſt whom there were ſome Complaints, appeared in his Rank before the *Cenſors*; and *Æmilius*, to degrade him, took from him the Horſe which the Republick gave him. His Friends cried out immediately, *What will his Father ſay! Young* Antiſtius *is a Man of Honour, and blameleſs.* To which *Æmilius* briskly replied, *You ſay ſo; but I don't believe a Word of it.* Thus the Judgments of the *Cenſors*, and the Fear of being diſgraced by them, preſerved good Manners, in the two firſt Orders of Men in the Republick. *Cicer. de Orat.*

THE Application of publick Funds, to the Decorations and Convenience of the City, and the Repair of the great Roads all over the State, was alſo another part of the *Cenſorial* Office. And *Æmilius* and *Fulvius* very amicably agreed, to divide the Sums paid into the Treaſury between them. Each had his Share of the Revenues, which he applied as he liked beſt. Nevertheleſs, they reſerved ſome part of the Money for Uſes, to which both agreed to appropriate it. *Æmilius* for his part, undertook ſeveral publick Works. He firſt raiſed a Cauſeway near *Terracina*; which was not univerſally approved of. The *Cenſor* had a Country-houſe there; and it was ſuſpected, that under the Appearance of the publick Good, he conſulted only his own private Intereſt. Then he erected a Theatre near the Temple of *Apollo*, with all the Decorations and Conveniencies proper for it. He alſo ordered the Inſide of the Temple of *Jupiter* on the *Capitol*, and the Columns without it, to be cleaned and whited; and he removed ſome old *Colours* which had long hung upon it, and ſome Bucklers, which were known to be Silver, tho' thought to be of Braſs. But *Fulvius* employed the publick Money more uſefully. He made a *Key* for the City of *Rome*; and erected the Peers of a Stone-Bridge, the Arches of which were finiſhed by other *Cenſors*. He built a fine Palace behind the Place where the Bankers lived; and a Fiſh-Market, which he ſurrounded with Shops. By his Means another Market was alſo built, and ſurrounded with Piazza's near *The Gate Trigemina*; and he erected Porticoes over againſt the Port, near the Temple of *Hercules*, behind that of *Æſculapius*, and not far from that of *Apollo*. *Plin. B. 35. c. 3.* *Livy, B. 40. c. 51.*

Year of *ROME* DLXXIV.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus, L. Manlius Acidinus, Conſuls.

Apollo Medicus. With the Money the *Cenſors* had reſerved for a joint-Undertaking, they propoſed to build an Aqueduct, agreed for a Price, and were going to raiſe the Arches of it. But one *Licinius Craſſus* oppoſed it. It was to paſs through his Land, and would be prejudicial to him. The *Cenſors* ſettled Taxes in ſeveral Places; and reſtored to the Publick ſeveral Oratories, which private Perſons had uſurped. But the Work that gained them moſt Credit, was the Alteration they made in the manner of giving Suffrages. Formerly all the People of the ſame *Tribe* were admitted into the Voting-place in Confuſion, without obſerving any Order. But the preſent *Cenſors* required that for the future, they ſhould be admitted only according to their Rank and Dignity. The Senators for Inſtance and *Knights* were to go together, and after them, the Perſons of the ſame Profeſſion, or Trade, in Companies. *Æmilius* alſo during his *Cenſorſhip*, dedicated many Temples. At length the two Collegues made a *Cenſus* of the People. The Number of the *Citizens* who were fit to bear Arms was two hundred ſeventy three thouſand two hundred and forty four. And all things conſidered, it may be affirmed, that few *Cenſors* did the Republick more Service than theſe reconciled Enemies.

§. XLIII. Whilst they were buſy in drawing up the Liſt of the Senators, the *Conſuls* ſet out for their Provinces, which were both in *Liguria*. There was no War in *Italy* but there; and the two Brothers went into different Parts of the Enemy's Country. The eldeſt was a great Soldier; and nothing ſtopped him. He marched his Troops over ſteep Rocks, and through Foreſts, which ſeemed impaſſable. He ſurpriſed the Enemy in the Plain, gave them Battel, took their Camp, killed three thouſand two hundred Men, and forced the whole Country to ſurrender at Diſcretion. Then, in order to deprive theſe obſtinate Men of all Opportunities to revolt, *Fulvius* forced them to leave their Mountains, and ſettle in the flat Country. Thanks were returned to the Gods at *Rome* for this Victory, as ſoon as the News came thither; and *Fulvius* had no ſooner finiſhed theſe Exploits, but he received freſh Orders. The *Gauls*, which lived near the extreme Parts of the *Alpes*, towards the Shore of the *Adriatick* Sea, out of *Italy*, were ſtill deſirous of entering it, and ſettling there. Though driven away from the Neighbourhood of *Aquileia*, a few Years ago, they were returned thither, to the Number of three thouſand Men. They behaved themſelves peaceably, and moſt humbly entreated the Republick, to give them leave to ſettle there. But the Name of the *Gauls* was odious to her. She had already ſuffered too much by their Neighbourhood. And *Fulvius* was the Man pitched on to drive them from the Confines of *Italy*. The Senate ordered him to enquire after the Authors of this new Tranſmigration, and to puniſh them. He did ſo, returned to *Rome*, and triumphed. It muſt be owned indeed, that the Honour the Senate and People granted him, was more Matter of Favour, than Merit. His Exploits were of no great Importance. But nevertheleſs, he gained much more Glory than his Brother *Manlius*. The latter had not ſignalized himſelf by any Expedition. *Fulvius* therefore entered *Rome* in Triumph; but his Proceſſion was not pompous. He had brought no Money from his Province. A few Arms taken from the *Ligures* were all that were carried before him. Nevertheleſs, he gave each of his Soldiers three hundred pieces of Braſs. And one thing was obſerved of this Triumph, which was, that it happened to be on the very ſame Day that *Fulvius* had triumphed over the *Celtiberians*, the laſt Year.

§. XLIV. *CELTIBERIA*, after the Loſs of ſo many Battels, was not yet ſubdued. The *Spaniards* of this Country, perſiſted obſtinately in their Revolt. *Sempronius Gracchus* had the laſt Year marched his Army into *Celtiberia*, as ſoon as his Predeceſſor *Fulvius* had reſigned the Command of it to him; and it is probable, that he employed the firſt Month after his landing in *reconnoitring* the Country, trying its Strength, and diſciplining the new Levies he had brought from *Italy*. The next Year (for he was to continue two Years in his Province) he formed Scheme for completing the Conqueſt of *Celtiberia*. *Sempronius* was equal to the braveſt Generals of his time, for Valour and Prudence. And in order the more effectually to reduce the troubleſome Enemies he had to deal with, he invited *Poſtumius Albinus*, who commanded in *Further Spain*, and was then reſiding in *Luſitania*, to bring his Troops to him. His Deſign was to finiſh the War with

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the *Celtiberians*, in Conjunction with his Collegue. *Poſtumius* began his March accordingly, but was ſtopped by the *Vaccæans*; who rebelling likewiſe, gave him more trouble than he expected. But before we relate his Exploits, we will return to *Sempronius*.

The moſt diſtant Corner of *Celtiberia* was not yet ſubdued; and *Sempronius* penetrated into it. He firſt fell on the City of [100] *Munda*, attacked it by Night, and took it. He demanded Hoſtages for it, put a Garriſon into it, took ſome Caſtles, ravaged the Corn Fields, and continued his Rout towards [101] *Certima*. This was the ſtrongeſt City in the Country; and it was neceſſary to beſiege it in Form. But as ſoon as the Inhabitants ſaw the *Mantelets*, and other Machines approach, they ſent a Deputation to the *Roman* General; and *Sempronius* was ſurpriſed at the Frankneſs of theſe honeſt *Spaniards*. *If we were able to reſiſt you*, ſaid they, *we would ſuſtain a Siege with Conſtancy. Give us leave therefore to ſeek for Succours among our Countrymen. You will then get ſome Honour by conquering us.* The *Roman* was ſo indulgent, as to give them Leave to go and beg for Aſſiſtance wherever they could get any; and they went, and brought with them to the *Roman* Camp, ten Envoys from the *Celtiberian* Army. They came to the Camp, in the Heat of the Day, and deſired ſomething to drink. Accordingly ſome Drink was readily given them, and they repeated their Requeſt, and quenched their Thirſt. After this, the oldeſt Man in the Company addreſſed himſelf to the *Prætor* in this manner. *We are curious to know*, ſaid they, *whether your Forces are equal to the Greatneſs of your Enterpriſes. You ſhall be convinced of it inſtantly*, replied the *Conſul*; and immediately ordered the Troops to arm, and paſs in review before him, in the Preſence of the Deputies. And this Sight, an Account of which was carried to the *Celtiberian* Camp, determined the Enemy to continue unactive. The Inhabitants of *Certima* in vain lighted Fires on the Tops of their Towers: No Succours appeared. They had therefore nothing to do, but to ſurrender at Diſcretion. And they did ſo, paid the *Romans* two Millions four hundred thouſand * *Seſterces* [102], and delivered up to them forty Troopers of the chief of their Nobility, for Hoſtages.

* 19375 *l. Sterl. Arbuth.*

And now the Diſtruſts of the *Celtiberians* was one Reaſon why *Sempronius* ſhould march againſt them. Their Camp, from whence they had ſent the Deputation, was near *Alcea* [103], a City between the *Tagus*, and the † *Anas*. And at firſt little Engagements paved the Way for a general Action. The *Prætor* ſent out a large Detachment of his Auxiliaries, which the Enemy took for a whole Army; and then drew up his *Legionaries* behind the Gates of his Camp, to be in a Readineſs to make a Sally, upon the firſt Orders. At the ſight of the Detachment which appeared alone in the Plain, and in cloſe Order, to deceive the Enemy; the latter thought themſelves ſuperiour in Number. Then they marched out of their Trenches with Confidence, and haſtened towards the *Roman* Battalions, which retired in a little Diſorder. This *Sempronius* waited for; and then his *Legionaries* marched out, and fell on the *Celtiberians* with ſuch Fury, that they could not withſtand them. They were routed, and made great Efforts to regain their Entrenchments, but loſt many Men in their Rout. The *Romans* killed nine thouſand of them, made three hundred and twenty Priſoners, took thirty ſeven Standards, and drove them from their Poſts. Whereas the *Romans* loſt only a hundred and nine Men; and the Conſequence of this deciſive Blow was, that *Celtiberia* was plundered, and deſtroyed with Fire and Sword. It is ſaid, that *Sempronius* took a hundred and three Cities and Towns. But be that as it will, his Victory was certainly complete, and his Army got a great deal of rich Booty in the Country.

† The *Guadiana.*

§. XLV. Nevertheless, the City of *Alcea* was ſtill to be taken; and upon bringing up the Machines, the Inhabitants, after a ſlight Reſiſtance, retired to the Citadel, capitulated the next Day, and ſubmitted to the Dominion of the *Ro-*

100 We know of no other City of *Munda*, but that which ſtood in *Batica*, and is now called *Monda*, according to *Cluſius* and *Mariana*.

101 Modern Geographers finding it impoſſible to diſcover the Situation of the ancient City of *Certima*, make it the ſame Place as *Cetina*, a City which ſtood on the Banks of the River *Salo*, now *Xalon*, on the Confines of *Arragon* and *Caſtille*.

102 Two Millions four hundred thouſand *Seſterces*, amount to three hundred thouſand *Livres*.

103 *Alcea* is commonly placed in *New Caſtille*, near *Uceles*.

mans.

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mans. Among the Captives there were two Sons and one Daughter of the moſt powerful *Spaniſh* King in that Country. His Name was *Turrus*. He deſired an Audience of the *Prætor*, and when admitted, addreſſed himſelf to him thus. *Can I hope to have my own, and the Lives of my Children ſaved? Live*, anſwered *Sempronius* graciouſly, *and your Children ſhall have their Liberty, and live with you. I am very ſenſible of your Goodneſs*, replied *Turrus*; *and am thereby encouraged to ask another Favour of you. Give me leave to ſerve in your Army, and join my Forces to yours. I heartily repent of having followed evil Counſels, and choſen a dangerous part.* The Offer was accepted; the faithful *Spaniard* continued ever attached to the *Romans*, and did their Republick important Services.

Livy, B. 40. c. 49.

The *Prætor* alſo thought [104] *Ergavica* of ſuch Importance, that it was neceſſary to Stop, and take it. It was both a great and powerful City. He haſtened thither, and the terrified Inhabitants opened their Gates, and received the *Romans* as Friends. But this Submiſſion, according to ſome Authors, was only a Feint, proceeding from ſudden Terror. As ſoon as the *Roman* Army was gone, *Ergavica* again joined the Rebels. It was therefore neceſſary to return thither; but the *Prætor* found in his Way an Army of *Celtiberians* encamped at the Foot of Mount [105] *Caunus*, and there fought a Battel, which laſted from Day-break till Noon. And this Action, though bloody, was not deciſive; all the Advantage the *Romans* gained by it was, that they were the more ready to fight a ſecond Battel the next Day. Then *Sempronius* continued Maſter of the Field, and ſtripped the Dead. The Enemy were beaten. Nevertheleſs, though their Army was weakened, it was not yet diſperſed; but by a third Battel, the *Romans* gained an unqueſtionable Superiority. Twenty two thouſand of the Enemy were killed upon the Place, three hundred made Priſoners of War, and ſeventy two of their Standards taken. So that after this memorable Victory, *Ergavica* probably paid dear for her Perfidiouſneſs. At leaſt, it is certain, that the whole Country ſubmitted with more Sincerity than before.

App. in Iberic.

It is indeed ſurpriſing, that after the Loſs of ſo many thouſand Men, *Celtiberia* ſhould not be exhauſted. Yet ſtill, as faſt as the War was ended in one Canton, it was renewed in another. *Carabis* [106] was a City in Alliance with the *Romans*; and the *Celtiberians* thought themſelves ſtrong enough to beſiege it. It was reported, that it would infallibly be taken; and this made it neceſſary for *Sempronius* to loſe no time, in endeavouring to deliver it. But the Approaches to it were ſo well-guarded, that it ſeemed impoſſible to give the Beſieged Notice, that Succours were coming to them. Nevertheleſs, it was very neceſſary to prevail on the Garriſon not to ſurrender too precipitately; and a *Roman* Officer, named *Cominius*, found Means to enter the City, and keep up the Spirits of the Beſieged. He dreſſed himſelf like a *Spaniard*, fell in with the Enemy's Forragers, and went with them into their Lines. From thence he made himſelf known to the Beſieged, and was received into the City. The Aſſurances he gave the Beſieged kept up their Courage; the *Roman* Army appeared; and the *Celtiberians* diſperſed themſelves. But ſtill they had no Deſign to continue in Peace, and cultivate the Friendſhip of the Conquerors. Their Intention was not to deceive the *Roman* General with ſpecious Appearances of a Reconciliation. *Cato* had formerly diſmantled ſeveral *Spaniſh* Cities; and the Inhabitants of theſe Places had built themſelves another City, which they called [107] *Complega*. There were a great many Soldiers in it; and there now came from thence near twenty thouſand, in the Habits of Supplicants, and carrying Branches of Lawrel in their Hands, under Pretence of deſiring Peace. They advanced in good Order towards *Sempronius*'s Camp, as if were to preſent their Petitions to him; but this pacifick Air did not laſt long. As ſoon as theſe Deceivers came to the Foot of the Entrenchments, they ſeized their Arms, made great Shouts, and overwhelmed the *Romans* with Showers o

104 *Molet* places *Ergavica* in the Kingdom of *Arragon*, near *Alcaniz*. Others think its Situation agrees better with that of *Santaver* in the Kingdom of *Toledo*. *Sanſon* pretends it ſtood in the Neighbourhood of *Mondejar*, which belongs to *New Caſtille*. Inſtead of *Ergavica* we read *Ergavia* in the printed Copies. But the latter belonged to the Kingdom of *Navarre*; and we don't find that the *Roman* Armies had yet penetrated ſo far.

105 Mount *Cannus*, now *Moncayo*, borders u on *Caſtille* and *Arragon*.

106 *Appian* is the only Author who mentio *Carabis* in *Spain*, and he does not tell us its Sit ation.

107 Some don't diſtinguiſh *Complega* from *C trebia*, others confound it with *Centobriga*; a the ancient Geographers have not given us ſufficie Light to determine ſuch Diſputes.

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Darts. Then *Sempronius* immediately formed a Deſign to revenge the Fraud of his Enemies; and to that end, retired with his Troops through one of the Gates of his Camp, as if terrified at this ſudden Attack. The *Spaniards* fell greedily to plundering the Tents and Baggage; but *Sempronius* immediately returned upon them, and made a terrible Slaughter of them, whilſt they were buſy in pillaging. *Complega* was taken, and became ſubject to the *Romans*. And this was the laſt Blow the formidable *Prætor* gave the *Celtiberians*, before he returned to *Rome*. He pacified all *Celtiberia*, and all the other Nations, which her Example had drawn into the Revolt. He diſtributed Lands among thoſe of his Soldiers who had none; made Rules for them, which were obſerved to Poſterity; and by a Treaty, ſecured the Fidelity of the Inhabitants. And before he left *Spain*, *Sempronius* reſolved to leave there ſome Monument to perpetuate his Memory; and to that end changed the Name of a City in the Diſtrict of *Tarragona*, and gave it his own. It was formerly called *Illurcis* [108], but *Sempronius* named it *Gracchuris*, from his own Surname of *Gracchus*.

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Feſtus Pomp.

On the other Hand, *L. Poſtumius* defeated the *Vaccæi* and *Luſitanii*, in ſeveral Battels. We are aſſured, that he killed near forty thouſand of them. So that after his return to *Italy* the next Year, he obtained the Honours of a Triumph with *Sempronius*. They made their Proceſſions on two Days, immediately following one another. *Sempronius* brought into the publick Treaſury forty thouſand *Pounds weight of Silver, and †*Poſtumius* twenty thouſand. Such plentiful Harveſts did the Republick reap, from the continual Wars her *Prætors* carried on with the *Spaniſh* Nations!

Livy, B. 41. *c.* 7.

* 120000 *l. Sterl. at* 5 *s. per Ounce.*

† 60000 *l. Sterl*

§. XLVI. This every thing ſucceeded in *Spain* as well as the Republick could deſire; but in *Greece* a Storm was gathering, which threatened a ſpeedy War. *Perſes* had mounted the Throne of *Macedon* ſince the Death of *Philip*. This unfortunate Father had drawn on himſelf all the Misfortunes, which oppreſſed him in his old Age. He gave too much Credit to the falſe Reports of *Perſes*, and carried his Diſtruſts of the *Romans* to exceſs. And from the time that his Son *Demetrius* was poiſoned, whom he had ſacrificed to his own Suſpicions, and his Hatred to *Rome*; he did not enjoy one happy Day. He firſt went to *Demetrias*, to paſs the Winter there, in order to diſpel his Uneaſineſs, by change of Place. The Loſs of *Demetrius* was not the only Cauſe of his Grief. The ſurviving Son gave him continual Torment. *Perſes*, whoſe Pretenſions were now no longer oppoſed by a Rival, ſhook off the Reſpect which he owed to his Father; and uſurped the Authority and Office of a King. All the Lords in *Macedon* made their Court to him. The Father had only the Title of King, which it was hoped Death would ſoon deprive him of. Nay, the *Macedonians* even anticipated the fatal Moment in that Particular; and gave his Succeſſor likewiſe the Name of King before his Father's Death. Hence the Deſertion, and in a manner Solitude, in which *Philip* ſpent the reſt of his Days.

The King had but one faithful Friend, and inſeparable Courtier left; which was *Antigonus*, the Nephew of another *Antigonus*, who had formerly been *Philip*'s Tutor, when very young. This *Antigonus* was related to the Kings of *Macedon*, and had all the Qualities neceſſary for filling a Throne with Dignity. He was of a mature Age, and Nature had given him a majeſtick Stature and Preſence, worthy of a Sovereign. He was much famed for Wiſdom, Politeneſs, and eſpecially Bravery, and Experience in War. But this Friend, who was ſo conſtant in his Friendſhip to *Philip*, even in his Afflictions, ſeems to have acted upon a view of Intereſt, as well as Principles of Honour, in his Attachment to the old King. After *Perſes*, none had ſo good a Right to the Crown as *Antigonus*; and *Perſes* was ſaid to have ſome Defects in his Birth. So that the Hopes of reigning was doubtleſs a very preſſing Motive to *Antigonus*, to be very aſſiduous about the King, who was diſſatisfied with his Son; and the Rage of *Perſes* againſt his Competitor increaſed in Proportion to the Ground he got in *Philip*'s Affections. Whilſt on the other hand, the Fury of his Rival increaſed *Antigonus*'s Earneſtneſs to ſupplant *Perſes*. He was afraid, that if he failed of the Throne, he ſhould find his King

[108] The City of *Illurcis* ſtood on the Banks of the *Ebro*, near *Navarre*. It was afterwards rebuilt, or enlarged by *Sempronius Gracchus*, and from that time called *Gracchuris*. See *Pompeius Feſtus*.

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a moſt implacable Enemy: and therefore uſed all his Policy, to give *Philip* an utter Averſion to *Perſes*. The old King often lamented the Loſs of his ſecond Son, in the Preſence of *Antigonus*. *O that he was yet alive!* ſaid he; *O that I had* Demetrius *to oppoſe the wicked Attempts of* Perſes! It was *Antigonus*'s Buſineſs to put the Father frequently in mind of the Son he had unjuſtly deſtroyed. But his moſt eſſential Point was to make known to him the Calumny that *Perſes* had raiſed againſt his Brother, and make the King ſenſible of it. Indeed there was Reaſon to believe, that *Apelles* and *Philocles* had carried on the Intrigue which had been the Ruin of *Demetrius*. They had been *Philip*'s Ambaſſadors at *Rome*, and it was conjectured, that they might eaſily have forged the pretended Letter of *Flamininus*. Nay, it was ſaid, that *Xychus*, the Secretary to the Embaſſy, had divulged the Secret of the counterfeit Letter. But after all, ſuch Marks as theſe were not ſufficient to convict a Perſon; and Conviction was neceſſary to undeceive *Philip*.

This was the State of the Affair, when *Antigonus* accidentally met *Xychus*. He ſeized him, carried him to the King's Palace, and put him under a Guard till further Orders. Then he immediately went into the King's Apartment, and addreſſed himſelf to him thus. *I have often heard, my Lord, that you deſired to be fully and truly informed of the Proceedings of your two Sons. You have entertained ſome Doubts, whether* Demetrius *was really guilty, or* Perſes *had accuſed him falſely. And now it is in your own Power to ſearch that Matter to the Bottom. I have brought into this Palace the only Man that can reſolve your Doubts.* Xychus *is in the Hands of your Guards; and you may call for him, and examine him.* If *Philip* had not been diſpleaſed with the only Son he had left, he would perhaps have waved an Enquiry, which could only end in freſh Grief. But his Reſentments towards *Perſes* made him ſeize this Opportunity of diſcovering this Myſtery of Iniquity. *Xychus* ſeemed ſtunned when he came into the King's Preſence. He firſt denied the Fact, and then wavered. And at length, by his Inconſiſtencies, made it probable, that the Rack would extort the Truth from him. Nay, without waiting for the Torture, he confeſſed the Cheat, in which he had been forced to be an Agent. Upon his Depoſition, Orders were ſent to arreſt *Philocles* and *Apelles*; but the latter was abſent from Court. Upon the firſt Notice of *Xychus*'s Examination, he had made his Eſcape to *Italy*. However *Philocles* was ſeized; and ſome ſaid, that he at firſt denied his having any Hand in the Cheat; but that upon being confronted with *Xychus*, he confeſſed all. Whilſt others ſay he died upon the Rack, without owning, to the laſt, that the Letter was forged. But be that as it will, *Philip* was but too well convinced that he had too haſtily condemned an innocent Son, who was worthy of the Crown.

And now, the Hatred the King conceived againſt *Perſes*, was boundleſs. It was as great as his Grief at the Loſs of *Demetrius*. In the mean time *Perſes* could not but know, that his Father had diſcovered his Perfidiouſneſs; and at any other time, he would have fled. But his Power was now too well ſettled in *Macedon* for him to retire. All the Precaution he took, was always to keep at ſome Diſtance from the King. He thought this alone might guard him againſt the Rage of a Judge, whom time might ſoften. Indeed, *Philip* was both inconſolable, and highly exaſperated. He found nothing to comfort him under his Grief, except *Antigonus*; and this artful Courtier was ever labouring to increaſe his Rage. He painted *Perſes* in very lively Colours; though there was no need of Exaggeration, to make him odious. One Day when the King was quite borne down with Sorrow, he took *Antigonus* aſide, and beſpoke him thus. *Pity my woful State. I had been more happy if I had never been a Father. One of my Sons is dead, and the other has murdered his Brother. However, I have ſtill one virtuous Relation left, who is worthy of the Throne of our Anceſtors. You,* Antigonus, *are the Nephew of a Guardian who was a Father to me. Be then a Son to me; and mount my Throne. You will be a ſecond* Demetrius *to me. As for* Perſes, *I had rather die, than ſee him enjoy the Fruits of his villainous Intrigues in Peace.* And the King did more than he promiſed. He never ſhewed ſo much Regard for his own Sons, as he now did for *Antigonus*. He carried him to all the Cities of *Macedon*, and recommended him to the Governors and Nobility of the Country. *Perſes* was then in *Thrace*, where he was increaſing his Party, and was forming an Army ſufficient to ſupport his Pretenſions. It was therefore neceſſary to equip *Antigonus*

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Antigonus's Forces to thoſe of *Perſes*. And to this end *Philip* ſent the Prince, whom he deſigned for his Succeſſor, to conclude in Perſon, a Negotiation, which had been long ſince begun, with the *Baſtarnæ*.

§. XLVII. These *Baſtarnæ* inhabited *Sarmatia* in *Europe*, pretty near the Mouth of the *Boriſthenes*: And when *Philip* was yet wholly intent on going, like *Hannibal*, and making the *Roman* Republick tremble in the Heart of her Dominions; he had ſet on Foot an Alliance with theſe *Sarmatians*, though ſo far diſtant from his Dominions. The Method he had taken to bring theſe Barbarians into his Service, and keep them ſteddy to him, was this. The [109] *Dardani* his Neighbours, and perhaps his Subjects, were a turbulent reſtleſs People, always ready to fall upon *Macedon*, as ſoon as her Kings were engaged in foreign Wars. *Philip* therefore had reſolved to extirpate the *Dardani*, and ſettle in their room a Colony of *Baſtarnæ*, who would very readily come from the furtheſt Parts of *Europe*, and ſettle in a temperate Climate. *Theſe Foreigners*, ſaid he, *when in Poſſeſſion of* Dardania, *will eaſily enter into* Italy, *through the Country of* [110] *the* Scordiſci. *Theſe People, who were originally* Gauls, *will readily grant a Paſſage thro' their Territories, or perhaps join with them, that they may have their Share of the Plunder of* Italy. *Or at worſt, if the* Romans *meet the* Baſtarnæ, *and defeat them; I ſhall at leaſt have got rid of the* Dardani. This was indeed a chimerical Project; but *Philip* was a ſelf-willed old Man. He abſolutely inſiſted, that *Antigonus* ſhould ſet out for *Sarmatia*, to haſten the Tranſmigration of the *Baſtarnæ*. *You will bring this Reinforcement*, ſaid he, *into* Macedon *with you, and may with it oppoſe the Army* Perſes *is aſſembling in* Thrace. Nevertheleſs, *Antigonus* left *Philip* with Regret. His Preſence was neceſſary to keep up the King's Affection for him. Beſides, the Prince had Reaſon to fear that *Philip* might die in his Abſence. There were very juſt Grounds for ſuch Apprehenſions. Age and Vexation weakened the King more and more every Day. From *Demetrias* he removed to [111] *Laodicea*, where he reſided for ſome time. Then he came to *Amphipolis* [112]; and there he was more grieved than ever at the Loſs of *Demetrius*. The weaker he grew in Body and Mind, the more pungent was his Remorſe. He fancied he continually ſaw his Son's Ghoſt reproaching him for his Credulity, and Injuſtice. He thought himſelf beſet with Furies; and theſe Spectres would not ſuffer him to be at Reſt, Day, or Night. Theſe Agonies threw him into ſuch a languiſhing Condition, that his Life was thought to be in Danger. And whilſt the Strength of his Conſtitution ſtill ſupported him, *Antigonus* paſſed the *Danube*, at the Head of a prodigious Multitude of *Baſtarnæ*, who brought their Wives and Children with them. He was already entered into *Thrace*, where *Philip* had gained the Goodwill of the People, in the Places through which he paſſed. In the mean time *Perſes* on the other hand took very different Meaſures. He had his Creatures at his Father's Court. Above all, he took care to gain *Calligenes*, a famous Phyſician, who had the care of the King's Health. *Calligenes*, as ſoon as he deſpaired of ſaving *Philip*'s Life, immediately gave Prince *Perſes* Notice, to make haſte to come and take Poſſeſſion of the Crown, and get himſelf proclaimed King. Ambition gave *Perſes* Wings. Nevertheleſs, the King was dead before he arrived. But *Calligenes* concealed his Death; which was not made known till *Perſes* was preſent. Thus this unworthy Prince mounted the Throne, which he had gained by heinous Crimes.

Nevertheless, *Antigonus* had like to have prevented his Rival. As ſoon as he had entered *Thrace*, he left the Army he had brought on the Frontiers, and made all the haſte he could to *Amphipolis*. He was coming, accompanied only with *Cotto*, one of the *Sarmatian* Lords, to give the King an Account of his Negotiation. But to his great Surprize, when he was at ſome Diſtance from the City, he heard that *Philip* was dead, and *Perſes* had aſcended the Throne. And

[109] We have already ſpoken of the *Dardani*. They are thought to have inhabited that part of *Myſia*, which now contains the chief Countries in *Servia* and *Bulgaria*.

[110] The *Scordiſci*, had come from *Tranſalpine Gaul*, as early as in the time of *Brennus*, and ſettled in the Countries next to *Myſia* and *Pandoſia*. This Country now contains a Canton of *Raſcia*, and *Boſnia*.

[111] There were ſeveral Cities of *Laodicea*, as we have elſewhere obſerved. That here ſpoken of ſtood in the Eaſt-part of *Macedon*.

[112] We ſhall ſpeak of the City of *Amphipolis*, in the forty fifth Book of this Hiſtory.

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to complete his Misfortune, he fell into the Hands of the new King, who put him to Death. As to the *Baſtarnæ*, after the Death of the old King they were denied a Paſſage through the Provinces of *Thrace*. But they opened themſelves one with their Swords. Their Armies were equally numerous, both in Cavalry and Infantry; and they forced the *Thracians* to fly for Refuge to the Mountains, and leave them the flat Country. Nothing could diſperſe them, but the fear of Thunder and Lightning, which the *Baſtarnæ* thought were more frequent, and more terrible, in *Thrace*, than in their more northern Countries. This made them deliberate, whether they ſhould purſue their March; and ſome of them choſe to repaſs the *Danube*. But a Body of thirty thouſand of theſe Barbarians, under the Command of a Leader named *Elonicus*, arrived in *Dardania*, and ſettled there.

In the mean time, *Perſes* took all means poſſible to preſerve the Crown. He thought it neceſſary to ſend an Embaſſy to *Rome*, to notify to the Republick his Acceſſion, deſire her Friendſhip, and entreat her to give him the Title of King. But the Senate was not ignorant that theſe firſt Steps of the *Macedonian* were only feigned Submiſſions. They already knew that the Son would be a more bitter Enemy to *Rome* than the Father had been. But nevertheleſs they would not declare againſt him, till a more convenient time came, and the Proceedings of *Perſes* made it neceſſary. When *Philip* died, he had left great Preparations for the War, which to the Day of his Death, he propoſed to carry on with the *Romans*: In his Arſenals were found Arms for ſixty thouſand Men, in his Magazines eight hundred thouſand Meaſures of Wheat, and in his Coffers Money enough to pay ten thouſand foreign Troops for ten Years. All theſe Riches fell into the Hands of a Succeſſor, whoſe Crimes made him unworthy to reign; and who diſhonoured the Throne by numberleſs Iniquities. But we ſhall ſoon ſee that the Calamities which ſpeedily overtook him juſtified that Providence, which ſuffered him to enjoy his Happineſs for a Seaſon. In the mean time, let us return to the Affairs of *Rome*.

Plut. Life of Paul. Æmil.

§. XLVIII. The *Conſul Fulvius* preſided at the great Elections; and *M. Junius Brutus*, and *A. Manlius Vulſo*, were created *Conſuls* by a Majority of Voices. The ancient Cuſtom of chooſing ſix *Prætors* was now revived; ſo that the *Bæbian* Law, which reduced them to four, continued in force but one Year. Two of theſe *Prætors* were detained at *Rome*, to adminiſter Juſtice there. Two others ſet out for *Spain*, to ſucceed *Poſtumius* and *Sempronius*. And of the two others, one went to govern *Sicily*, and the other *Sardinia*. As to the *Conſular* Provinces, *Gaul* fell to *Manlius*'s Lot; and *Liguria*, to that of *Junius Brutus*. Theſe *Provinces* were now ſettled in Peace: So that there were few Hoſtilities to be feared; few Lawrels to be gathered there. But it is well known, that all the *Conſuls* were ambitious of finding Matter for Triumphs in their Provinces. And *Manlius* foreſeeing that little Glory was to be gained in his, and that his Army would languiſh away their time in his Camp, he choſe rather to make himſelf Enemies, than to continue unactive. He marched his Army to the extreme Parts of *Italy*, without the Orders, or Leave of the Senate; and with what Succeſs comes now to be related.

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Iſtria and *Illyricum* had formerly been ſubdued by the *Romans*. Some time before the ſecond *Punick* War, Queen *Teuta* had paid dear for the Robberies ſhe had ſuffered the *Illyricans* to commit. For theſe forty three Years, the *Iſtri*, (who were ſubdued by the *Conſuls*, *Scipio Aſina*, and *Minucius Rufus*) had reſpected the Power of *Rome*, lived in great Submiſſion and Tranquillity, and preſerved the Friendſhip of the Republick. Their prudent Conduct had made them proſperous at Home; and through the Protection of *Rome*, they lived ſecure from all their Enemies Abroad. They were a happy People, had they but known their own Happineſs. But the natural Reſtleſsneſs of Men, who are often tired even with Proſperity, put the *Illyricans* upon Action. They were governed by a King named *Gentius*, the Son of that *Pleuratus*, whoſe Fidelity the *Romans* had experienced in the Wars of *Greece*. *Gentius* was in the Flower of his Age, and Maſter of a great People; who partly conſiſted of thoſe *Gauls*, who had retired thither from *Italy* after their Defeats; and of thoſe who had fled thither for Refuge from *Germany*: And the Hiſtorians ſeem to give the Name of *Gauls* to the Troops which *Manlius* came to engage. And though *Gentius* pretended an Inclination to cultivat

cultivate the Friendſhip of the *Romans*, he was at Bottom perfidious, and underhand ſtirred up his Subjects to Piracy, and to fill all the Coaſt of *Italy* with Terror. Some Complaints of it were brought to the Senate of *Rome*; but theſe Hoſtilities were not yet notorious enough, for the *Romans* to look on *Gentius* as a Rebel, and the *Iſtri* as Enemies. Nevertheleſs, the *Conſul* received Intelligence, that ſome *Iſtri*, joined with ſome *Illyricans*, had made Deſcents on the Confines of *Italy*, and threatened to enter it; and there needed no more, to make a Man greedy of Glory haſten to the Place where he hoped to acquire ſome. However, *Manlius* called a Council of War; and the wiſeſt of the Officers in the Army were againſt carrying the War into *Iſtria*, without firſt conſulting the Senate. But others, doubtleſs in Complaiſance to the *Conſul*, thought the Affair preſſing, and of Importance; and that it was neceſſary to ſuppreſs the Inſolence of theſe Corſairs, without having Recourſe to *Rome*. And this Opinion prevailed. The *Conſul* came and encamped near the Springs of the [113] *Timavus*; which emit ſo great a Quantity of Water, that it immediately makes a kind of Lake [114], at about one Mile's Diſtance from the Sea. Orders were given to the *Præfect* who was to guard the Coaſts, to bring his Squadron to the Mouth of the River. *C. Furius* accordingly appeared off the Port which the *Timavus* forms, in the Place where it diſcharges itſelf into the Sea; with him came a great Number of Barks laden with Proviſions for the *Conſular* Army; and there was ſet up there a kind of Market, to which the Soldiers came, to buy what they wanted.

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§. XLIX. In order to render the Communication eaſy, between the Port and the Camp, *Manlius* poſted Guards in ſeveral Places. On the Side of *Iſtria* was poſted a Battalion of *Placentian* Soldiers, and two *Manipuli* of *Legionaries*, to guard the Watering-places. On the Road that leads to *Aquileia*, the *Conſul* placed a whole *Legion*, in order to ſupport the Forragers who ſhould cut Wood in the neighbouring Foreſt. Some auxiliary Troops of the *Gauls* had their Camp in that Neighbourhood; and, not exceeding three thouſand in Number, they hid themſelves from the Enemy behind a Hill. From thence they rambled round the *Roman* Camp, and were very vigilant and careful not to be ſeen. A little King, named *Carmel*, had brought them to aſſiſt the *Romans*. But notwithſtanding the Vigilance of the *Gauls* and *Romans*, neither of them diſcovered, that an *Iſtrian* Army was drawing near the *Conſul*'s Camp. Till at length, it came one Day within Reach of it, when the Advanced-guards of the *Romans* were weaker than ordinary, and the Market was not defended by any Body of Troops, but was full only of unarmed Men, and Traders. The General therefore reſolved to fall ſuddenly on the Battalions of the *Placentians*, and the two *Manipuli* that reinforced it. It was a bold Action; but it ſucceeded beyond the Hopes of the *Iſtrian*. By the Help of a thick Fog which roſe in the Morning, the King of the *Iſtri* advanced with his *Phalanx*, without being ſeen by the *Romans*, till the Sun had diſperſed the Darkneſs; and the Battalion and two *Manipuli* were terrified at the firſt Sight of the Enemy. At that Diſtance, the *Iſtrian* Army appeared to be more numerous than it was; the Remains of the Fog multiplied the Objects; and Fear increaſed the Deception. Under theſe Apprehenſions, the *Roman* Guard left their Poſts, and haſtened towards their Camp. They were out of Breath when they entered it; and their Fear had taken away the Uſe of their Speech. Nevertheleſs, there was a great Diſturbance at the Gates of the Camp. The Soldiers knew not what had obliged a Battalion and two *Manipuli* to retire in Diſorder; and ſome ſaid that the Enemy, by the Help of the Fog, were got into the Camp. Upon this therefore, there was a general Alarm, and a *Roman* Soldier cried out, *To the Sea! To the Sea!* The Multitude caught the Cry, it paſſed from Mouth to Mouth, and nothing was heard in the Camp, but *To the Sea! Let us fly to the Sea!* A Body of *Romans* pretended firſt to take this Cry for Orders; and then they fled, and gained the Port, and were followed by a Multitude of the Soldiers, ſome armed, and ſome diſarmed. And who can govern Men in ſudden Pannicks? The *Conſul* in vain endeavoured to ſtop his Troops, by Intreaties, and Menaces. Their Fright made them deaf to all he ſaid; and then the *Conſul* himſelf was drawn away by

[113] The *Timavus*, called by the *Italians*, *Timavo*, a River of *Carniola*, which falls into the *Adriatic* Sea above *Aquileia*, on the Side of *Trieſte*.

[114] This Lake is the ſame that the *Italians*, now call, *Della Pietra Roſſa*.

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the Example of his Army. So that there remained in the Camp only one *Legionary Tribune*, named *Licinius Strabo*, with three *Manipuli* of his *Legion*; and the Conſtancy of this Brave Man was ill rewarded. The *Iſtri* found the Avenues to the Camp defenceleſs, and the Camp itſelf deſerted. They entered it, and marched on to the *Prætorium*. There the *Tribune* was yet exhorting his *Legionaries* to ſuſtain the Efforts of the Enemy. Accordingly, theſe few *Romans* ſtood their Ground, and fought with Fury. And in one word, theſe Brave Men ſold their Lives dear; and the Diſpute did not end till *Licinius* fell down dead, on a Heap of *Iſtrians*. Such was the Fate of this Brave *Tribune*, who better deſerved to command the Army, than the *Conſul* the Republick had choſen!

After this, the Conquerors penetrated to the *Quæſtor*'s Quarters, without any more Reſiſtance; and there found every thing in great Order, and the Tables ready ſpread for an Entertainment. The Plenty of Diſhes which were already ſerved up, tempted the King of the *Iſtri* to place himſelf at the Table; and it was a rich Banquet, for a Prince who was uſed to live frugally. This Opportunity, and the Victory, much rejoiced him and his Army; and they eat and drank very heartily. In ſhort, there was a general Feaſt in the Camp taken by Aſſault; whilſt the *Conſular* Army was in the greateſt Diſorder and Confuſion. The Victuallers put their Proviſions on board; the Merchants carried off their Merchandizes; the Sailors ſtruck their Tents, and deſtroyed their Barracks; and the Soldiers ſeized the Sloops, in order to get to the Ships. Nay, they fought with one another. The Mariners would not let the Crowd come near their Skiffs; the Soldiers ſtruck the Mariners with their Swords, and threw Darts at them; and the Seamen defended themſelves with their Oars and Crooks. There were ſcarce two thouſand of theſe Soldiers that were armed. Almoſt all the Troopers were on foot. The *Roman* Army was now an Aſſembly of Men, who looked more like Black-guards, than Soldiers. Which if the Enemy had obſerved, it would have been very eaſy to have defeated them. In this Extremity therefore, *Manlius* ſent for the *Legion* which he had poſted on the Road to *Aquileia*; together with the little Army of *Gauls* which *Carmel* commanded. This was his only Reſource.

The *Conſul* obſerved, That ſince the taking of the Camp, the *Iſtri* continued ſurprizingly unactive. They made no Motion at all. They neither ſent out a Detachment to watch the Enemy; nor ſo much as poſted Guards at the Avenues of the Camp. And he from thence gueſſed, That they were either entirely taken up with plundering, or drunk and aſleep. He therefore ordered the few Troops he had left to prepare to follow him. *Let us*, ſaid he to his Soldiers, *wipe off this Reproach which has been caſt on the* Roman *Name. Let us re take the Camp with as much Valour, as the Enemy had good Fortune, in taking it from us.* Then all the Men he had armed marched, by his Orders, towards their own Entrenchments. Every Trooper took up a Foot-Soldier behind him, and the ableſt Soldiers rode two and two on the Beaſts of Burden. *Manlius* loſt no time; ſoon arrived at the Foot of the Rampart, with the *Legion*, and little *Gallic* Army; and then *Atius*, the firſt *Tribune* of the fugitive *Legion*, ſignalized himſelf. After he had exhorted his Men to behave themſelves well, he threw an Enſign over the Wall of the Camp, and, without tarrying till the reſt were come up, entered firſt thro' the Gate of the Camp, as if to fetch the Standard. And this Boldneſs encouraged the *Romans*. They followed *Atius*, and found no Reſiſtance. Thoſe of the *Iſtri* which were but half drunk, had only Preſence of Mind enough to take to their Heels; and the reſt who were dead-drunk, and faſt aſleep, never woke more. It was obſerved, that thoſe *Romans*, who being wounded, or over powered with Numbers, had ſurrendered to the Enemy after the firſt Battel, made the greateſt Slaughter of them. They killed eight thouſand [115] of the *Iſtri*, and did not ſpare one. As for their King, his Subjects put him on horſeback, drunk as he was, and ſaved him by Flight. Thus the *Romans* recovered their Camp, and loſt only a little Wine and Meat. This tumultuous Battel coſt them but two hundred and thirty ſeven Men, the greateſt Part of which had loſt their Lives in the Attack, and in their Flight in the Morning.

[115] *Livy* obſerves, that a private Trooper, named *Caius Popilius Sabellus*, was one of thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt, in this laſt Attack. Though much incommoded by a Wound he had received; he ſpread Death and Slaughter among the Enemy's Troops.

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§. L. The Diſgrace the *Romans* had ſuffered at their Camp, near the *Timavus*, would not have been known ſo ſoon at *Rome*, had it not been for an Accident. Two of the new Inhabitants of *Aquileia*, both *Aquilii*, were bringing a Convoy to the *Roman* Camp, at the very time that the *Iſtri* were Maſters of it. They therefore immediately turned about in all Haſte, and brought the News to *Aquileia*; from whence it ſpread, in a few Days, to *Rome*, and made a great Noiſe there. The People in the Capital were already prejudiced againſt *Manlius*'s Proceedings. He had undertaken the War with the *Iſtri* of his own Head, and without Orders from the Senate. Beſides, Fame had magnified the Misfortunes of his Army. It was thought to be defeated and deſtroyed. The firſt Care therefore of the Republick was to remedy the Misfortunes ſhe took for granted; and ſhe began with commanding extraordinary Levies to be made at *Rome*, and among the Allies. The City of *Rome* was directed to raiſe two new *Legions*; and the Country of the *Latins* to furniſh ten thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe. Orders were ſent to the *Conſul Junius*, to leave *Liguria*, go into *Ciſalpine Gaul*, there raiſe as many Men as he could, and march with them towards *Iſtria*. The Precautions of the *Romans* were exceeding great, even upon the leaſt Occaſions.

In the mean time the *Tribunes of the People* were continually exclaiming againſt the raſh *Conſul*. They were very free of their Invectives againſt him, upon bare Prejudices and uncertain News. But at length, *Junius* came with a conſiderable Reinforcement to *Aquileia*; and from thence gave the Senate an Account of the true Situation of Affairs in *Iſtria*. *Rome* was much rejoiced to find, That *Manlius*'s Rout had been but momentary; That his Army was in being; and That he had humbled the Enemy by retaking his Camp. And the Levies to be raiſed in the City, and among the Allies, were immediately countermanded; and many Troops disbanded, among whom the Plague began to ſpread. On the other hand, the King of the *Iſtri* was yet encamped in the Neighbourhood of the *Timavus*. But he now disbanded his Soldiers; as not thinking himſelf in a Condition to keep the Field, in the Preſence of two united *Conſuls*.

This was the Situation of Affairs, when the *Conſular* Year was near expiring. The Senate therefore wrote to the two Collegues, to agree between themſelves, which of them ſhould come, and preſide at the Elections. But *Manlius* was yet too much defamed in *Rome*, for him to appear there; and he therefore ſuffered *Junius* to go. Nevertheleſs, the Abſence of *Manlius* did not appeaſe the Wrath of two *Tribunes of the People*, who yet appeared more zealous againſt him than their Collegues. It had been already ſettled, That *Manlius* and *Junius* ſhould continue to carry on the War in *Iſtria* the next Year, in Quality of *Pro-Conſuls*; and *Manlius*'s Enemies, who were *Licinius Nerva*, and *Papirius Turdus*, did their utmoſt to prevail on the People to diſannul this honourable Appointment. They would fain have obliged *Manlius* to return to *Rome* as ſoon as poſſible; that they might proſecute him in the *Comitia*. But *Q. Fabius*, who was alſo a *Tribune of the People*, oppoſed the Motion of his two Collegues, and at laſt prevailed. *Manlius* was confirmed *Pro-Conſul* in *Iſtria*, and continued there, at leaſt for ſome time, at the Head of his Army.

Whilst *Junius* was proceeding ſlowly on to the City, to preſide in the Elections, the Senate was taken up with the Buſineſs of the *Levant*. Bad News was brought from *Sardinia*. The revolted *Ilians*, and [116] *Balares*, who had joined together, had prevailed. The *Roman* Army had ſuffered ſo much by Diſtempers, that it was not in a Condition to reſiſt the Rebels. The latter had made themſelves Maſters of the Province. Only ſome few Cities remained faithful, and they demanded ſpeedy Succours. The Misfortune was great, and required a ſpeedy Remedy; nevertheleſs the Affair was poſtponed till after the Elections.

Then the Complaints of the *Lycians*, tho' of leſs Conſequence to the Republick, were heard with as much Attention. It may be remembered, that in the Diſtribution of the Lands conquered in *Aſia*, *Scipio* gave *Lycia* to the *Rhodians*, for their faithful Allies to *Rome*, during the War with *Antiochus*. And when the *Lycians* had changed their Maſters, they were heavily oppreſſed by them. They there-

[116] The *Balares* were a People of *Sardinia*, who have now no Remains. *Pinet* calls this Canton ſituated near *Valeria*, an ancient City, of which we *Baromela*.

fore

Year of ROME DLXXV. M. Junius Brutus, A. Manlius Vulso, Consuls.

fore came to *Rome* for Redreſs under their Misfortunes, and addreſſed themſelves to the Senate in this manner. *We were formerly ſubject to the King of* Syria; *and found his Government very mild, in Compariſon of the Oppreſſions we endure from the* Rhodians. *We now undergo all the Hardſhips of Slavery. We are treated like Perſons bought with Money. All Kinds of Severity are uſed, not only againſt particular Perſons, but againſt the whole Nation. The Honour of our Wives and Daughters is not ſafe. Our Eſtates are at the Mercy of our Maſters. Our Lands are pillaged; and no Appearance of Juſtice is preſerved in the Uſurpations they make upon us.* *Rome* was then the Refuge of the Diſtreſſed. The Senate wrote a Letter to the *Rhodians*, which was carried by the *Lycian* Envoys themſelves, to this Effect. *We never intended to enſlave the Countries we gave you. None of thoſe People that were born free, were reduced to a State of Slavery by us, when we made them ſubject to you. Remember then, that the* Lycians *are Allies to the People of* Rome, *at the ſame time that they are your Subjects.* But the *Rhodians* took this Letter, which had been wholly founded in Compaſſion, in ill Part. We ſhall ſoon ſee this Republick, which was ſo well-affected to the *Romans*, change her Sentiments, and enter into Engagements with the Enemies of *Rome*. So that *Rhodes* did not comply with the Will of the Senate; and her Severities forced the *Lycians* to revolt. They ſet up for Independency, and endeavoured to ſhake off the *Rhodian* Yoke; which laid the Foundation for a long Proceſs, which both Parties carried on at the Tribunal of the *Romans*.

Polyb. in excerpt. Legat. N. 60, 61.

THE Affairs of the Eaſt were yet tranſacting at *Rome*, when the *Conſul Junius* arrived from *Iſtria*, to preſide in the great *Comitia*. When he was introduced into the Senate, he had much Difficulty to anſwer the Queſtions that were put to him, by the two *Tribunes* who declared againſt *Manlius*. Nay, they were not content with examining the *Conſul* before the *Conſcript Fathers*, but brought him to the Tribunal of the People, and there teized him with freſh Enquiries. *Why*, ſaid they, *did not* Manlius *come to* Rome *himſelf? Whoſe Orders had he for leaving his Province, and committing Hoſtilities in* Iſtria? *Did the Senate ever give their Conſent to it? Did the People order it? And we ſee it has anſwered accordingly! It is difficult to ſay, whether this War was more irregularly begun, or more imprudently carried on. Two of our Advanced-Guards ran away. The* Conſul's *Camp was deſerted. Both Horſe and Foot ran in Confuſion to the Port, without their Arms*; Manlius *himſelf fled. And ſince he refuſes to come hither, to give an Account of his Conduct, we will take Care that he ſhall not want a Proſecution, as ſoon as his Office is expired.* To all which Queſtions and Reproaches on his Collegue, *Junius* only anſwered, *That he had been but nine Days in* Iſtria; *That he was not acquainted with the Affairs of the Country; and That Fame had reported more at* Rome, *than he could diſcover upon the Place.* This Moderation did Honour to *Junius*; and he immediately aſſembled the *Comitia* in the *Campus Martius*, laid down the *Conſulſhip*, and returned to *Iſtria*, where he and *Manlius* were to continue the War, in Quality of *Pro Conſuls*.

Liv. B. 41. *c.* 6.

Year of ROME DLXXVI. C. Claudius Pulcher, Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, Conſuls.

§. LI. As ſoon as *Claudius Pulcher*, and *Tib. Sempronius*, were promoted to the *Conſulate*; new *Prætors* were alſo choſen. *Ælius Tubero* was *Prætor Romanus*; and *T. Quintius Flaminius*, *Prætor Peregrinus*. *Cornelius Scipio*, and *Valerius Lævinus*, went *Prætors* to the two Provinces of *Ciſalpine Gaul*. And laſtly, *Numiſius* was ſent Governour to *Sicily*, and *Mummius* to *Sardinia*. Then it was conſidered, that a *Prætor* was not ſufficient to reduce *Sardinia* and *Corſica*; and it was thought more proper to ſend thither one of the *Conſuls*, with a *Conſular* Army to bring theſe Rebels to their Duty. So that the two chief Scenes of Action for *Rome* this Year were *Iſtria* and *Sardinia*. The two Collegues drew Lots for their Provinces; and *Iſtria* fell to *Claudius Pulcher*, and *Sardinia* to *Sempronius*. So that the *Prætor Mummius* had no Province. Nevertheleſs, it was neceſſary to employ him. And an Opportunity offered itſelf, which found him an Employment ſuitable to his Dignity.

THE Cities and Provinces in Alliance with *Rome*, had always been obliged by Treaties to furniſh their Contingents of Troops for the *Roman* Armies, to carry on all Wars at Home and Abroad. Nevertheleſs, the Inhabitants of theſe Cities and Provinces had found out many different Ways of eaſing themſelves or their Children, of the Burden of depriving their Families of ſo many young Men we

were to have been taken from them for the Army. Some found Means to carry their Children to *Rome*, and procure them the Right of Citizenship there. By a feigned Sale they submitted, in Appearance, to become Slaves to some *Roman Citizens*; but it was upon Promise, that they should soon be set at Liberty, and thereby be made *Roman Citizens*. Others had found out another Expedient, to evade the Obligation they lay under to take the Field; which was, to remove to *Rome* themselves, settle there, and obtain the Right of *Citizenship*. Indeed the *Municipal* Laws had in some Sort remedied this last Inconvenience. None could be an Inhabitant of the Capital, unless before his Departure he had left one of his Children in his Province, to perpetuate his Family there. But after all, this Law had not prevented all the ill Consequences of these Removals, which were now become common. They who had no Children, left their native Cities, and settled at *Rome*, without leaving any of their Families to discharge the Offices of their Country; and this was an Abuse of which the Allies of *Rome* had long complained. The *Samnites* in particular, and the *Peligni*, represented, That four thousand Families had removed out of their Provinces to *Fregellæ*, a *Roman Colony*, where they enjoyed the same Rights, in this Respect, as at *Rome*. *In time*, said they, *our Provinces will be deserted, and we shall not be able to raise the Number of Soldiers which the* Romans *demand of us*. Nay, their Complaints went yet farther. A great Number of these Strangers, without regard to Law, removed their whole Families to *Rome*, or the *Roman Colonies*; and yet the Contingents of these unpeopled Cities and Provinces, were not diminished. They therefore demanded two things. First, That these Deserters from their native Country should be obliged to return to their old Habitations. And secondly, That a Law should be made to prevent these Transmigrations for the future, which were so prejudicial to the Republick, and so burdensome to her Allies. The Senate thought the Demands of the several Nations in their Alliance reasonable; and the *Consul Claudius* pronounced this Decree. *That all those who, since the* Censorship *of* T. Quinctius, *and* M. Claudius, *had got themselves enrolled in the* Census *of the Citizens of* Rome, *whether they were themselves alive, or had succeeded their Fathers, should return to their native Countries, before the first Day of* November. And in order to prevent these fraudulent Manumissions for the future, the Senate made this Regulation. *That every* Dictator, Consul, President *in an* Interregnum, *or* Prætor, *who should be present at the Manumissions which should be made in the* Forum, *should oblige him who presented his Slave to be made free, to swear that he had no Design to take any Citizen from his native City: And That whoever failed to take this Oath, should render the Enfranchisement of his Slave null.* And *Mummius* had the Charge of seeing these two Decrees put in Execution. This, in some measure, made him Amends for his *Prætorship* of *Sardinia*, which had been taken from him, and given to the *Consul Sempronius*.

Year of ROME DLXXVI.
C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER, TIB. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS, Consuls.

THIS *Consul* set out thither, and there maintained the Glory he had [117] acquired in *Celtiberia*. By how many Battels fought with the *Sardinians* and *Corsicans*, did he merit the Triumph with which he was honoured! After the two Years he spent here successively, one as *Consul*, and the other as *Pro-Consul*, he left no Enemies to be subdued. In his *Consulship*, he fought the *Ilians* and *Balares* together; killed twelve thousand of them upon the Spot; took their Camp; and seemed to have paved the Way, for his Successor whom he expected, to give the Rebels an entire Defeat. One *M. Popillius Lænas* was the *Prætor* to whose Lot *Sardinia* fell. But he was not in haste to go to his Province, to reap the Remains of another Man's Glory. He represented to the Senate, That it was neither for the publick Good, nor for the Honour of the *Consul Sempronius*, that another Person should go and reap the Fruits of his Labours; That it belonged to him alone, to finish the Conquest of these two Islands; and That these too frequent Changes of Generals interrupted the Course of their Victories. And *Popillius's* Excuse was accepted. *Sempronius* continued in *Sardinia*, carried on the War there with the Title of *Pro-Consul*, settled his Province in Peace, and did not re-

[117] The *Consul Sempronius* had triumphed in the End of the Year 575, on account of his Conquest of the *Celtiberians*. The next Day, *Lucius Postumius Albinus* had received the same Honours, after having subdued the *Lusitanians*. The former had brought from his Expedition forty thousand Pounds weight of Silver in Bars; and the latter twenty thousand.

Year of *ROME* DLXXVI.

C. Claudius Pulcher, Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, Conſuls.

turn to *Rome*, till the ſecond Year after his *Conſulſhip*. His triumphant Proceſſion was not very conſiderable on account of any great Sums of Money which he brought into the publick Treaſury. What was moſt remarkable in it was the prodigious Number of *Sardinians* that were ſold by Auction. Hence, ſay ſome, came the Proverb, [118] *Sardinians to ſell!* Tho' others carry the Origin of it higher. But be that as it will, *Sempronius* himſelf, in an Inſcription which he ordered to be put on the Temple of the Goddeſs *Matuta*, informs Poſterity, that in *Sardinia* he had taken and killed, twenty thouſand of the Rebels. We have a little anticipated this laſt Exploit, in Point of Time; in order to give the Reader one entire View of this whole glorious Expedition of *Sempronius*.

§. LII. As for the *Conſul Claudius Pulcher*, he was ſo far from delaying to ſet out for *Iſtria*, that he even precipitated his Journey from *Rome*. His Impatience or his Jealouſy, made him neglect certain Ceremonies, which had been uſually performed by the *Roman Conſuls*, before they took the Field. He had been informed, That *Manlius* and *Junius*, the two *Conſuls* for the laſt Year, after they had ſpent the Winter in *Aquileia*, were entered into *Iſtria*, very early in the Spring; and this News made him fear that the Senate would take from him a Province where two *Pro Conſuls* began to ſignalize themſelves. All the Fields in *Iſtria* were already laid waſte. The *Iſtrians* had indeed aſſembled in Haſte a tumultuous Army; but theſe weak Troops had not been able to reſiſt the united Forces of the two *Roman Pro-Conſuls*. The latter had killed in one Battel four thouſand of the Enemy; and the reſt of the *Iſtrian* Army had diſperſed itſelf. What Occaſion was there then, for a *Conſul* to go and take upon him the Command of an Army, which was victorious under its old Commanders? Nevertheleſs, *Claudius* thought *Iſtria* too glorious a Scene to be neglected. In a ſudden Fit of Love for Glory, he ſet out in the Night, and forgot to pay his Vows to *Jupiter*, or take that military Habit in form, which diſtinguiſhed the *Roman* Generals in the Field. He came to the Camp in *Iſtria*, without any Attendants, or *Lictors*. Nor was this all. When the *Conſul* ſaw the two *Pro-Conſuls*, the Objects of his Jealouſy, he was fired more than ever; and aſſembled his Army before his Tent, to harangue them. His whole Diſcourſe conſiſted of Invectives againſt *Manlius* and *Junius*; and he reproached the former with the ſuffering his Camp to be taken, and his Flight. Strange Imprudence! This was in effect reproaching all the Troops, as well as the General; they were more to blame for deſerting the Camp, than he. So that the Soldiers were enraged at the *Conſul*'s Speech. And as for *Junius*, the *Conſul* reproached him for having joined his Troops to thoſe of a diſhonoured Collegue; and concluded his Harangue, with an Order to the two *Pro Conſuls* to leave the Army, and return to *Rome*.

These Proceedings of *Claudius* ſeemed violent ones, even to the Soldiers themſelves; and they firſt cried out, That the *Conſul* ſhould be obeyed, when he appeared in the Camp inveſted with the uſual Marks of his Dignity, and inſtalled in the uſual Terms. This Revolt threw the fiery *Claudius* into a Fury, which is not to be expreſſed. He inſtantly ordered the *Pro Quæſtor* to fetch him ſome Chains out of the Magazine, to load the *Pro-Conſuls* with them; and then the three Commanders came to an open Quarrel. The *Pro-Quæſtor* refuſed to put the *Conſul*'s Orders in Execution. The *Legionaries* made a Rampart for the *Pro-Conſuls*, with their Bodies; and with their Shouts inſulted the mad *Claudius*. And in ſhort, the Matter was carried ſo far, that the deſpiſed *Conſul* was forced to go back to the Ship which had brought him from *Aquileia*, and return to *Rome*.

But before his Departure, *Claudius* had had the Precaution to write to his Collegue *Sempronius*, who was not yet ſet out for *Sardinia*, to haſten the Levies in the City. *Order it ſo*, ſaid he, *that the two* Legions, *and the Auxiliaries, of which my Army is to conſiſt, be upon their March before my Arrival.* Accordingly *Sempronius* performed the Deſire of his Collegue; and the new Army deſigned to *Claudius* were upon their March for *Aquileia*. As for *Claudius* himſelf, he came to the City almoſt as ſoon as his Letter; and in the firſt place aſſembled the Comitia, and complained of the Proceedings of *Junius* and *Manlius*. But it was not cuſtomary at *Rome* to pronounce Sentence againſt the Accuſed, till they had been

118 See what we have ſaid of this old Proverb, in the preceding Volumes.

heard. However, the *Conſul* at length performed the Ceremonies of Religion and Policy, which were neceſſary for a Man in his Employment; and ſet out again the third Day. And now, he even made more Haſte to *Iſtria*, than he had done the firſt time. Year of ROME DLXXVI. C CLAUDIUS PULCHER, TIB. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS, Conſuls.

DURING his Abſence, the *Pro-Conſuls*, *Junius* and *Manlius*, vigorouſly purſued the Siege of a City belonging to the Enemy, called [119] *Neſattium*. How great would have been their Glory, if they could have taken it before the *Conſul*'s Return! But it was exceeding ſtrong. The King of *Iſtria*, named *Æpulo*, and the chief Lords of the Country, had ſhut themſelves up in it. The *Pro-Conſuls* were buſy in battering it, when the *Conſul* arrived. He was followed by the new Army which had been raiſed for him; and now his Orders could no longer be diſputed. He was inveſted in his Office with all the Forms that were neceſſary to gain him Reſpect; and he ordered the *Pro Conſuls* to be gone immediately, and lead back their Armies to the Capital. *Mine is ſufficient*, ſaid he, *and I will continue the Siege of* Neſattium, *with Soldiers that will obey me*. It muſt be owned, that *Claudius* had all the Fire and Activity of the greateſt Generals.

The beſieged City had not ſuffered much by the *Pro-Conſuls*; and it was neceſſary for *Claudius* to make vigorous Efforts, in order to reduce it. Then the *Ram*, *Moveable Towers*, *Mantelets*, and in a word, all the Machines of War, were employed; but to no Effect. And at length, the new General thought of an Expedient, which none but *Romans* could have put in execution. *Neſattium* ſtood on a River called [120] *Arſia*, which diſcharges itſelf into the Sea pretty near the City. This was the only Water the Beſieged could uſe, for themſelves or their Cattel; and *Claudius* undertook to turn the Courſe of the River. The *Romans*, with indefatigable Labour, dug a new Bed for the *Arſia*, and carried it into the Sea thro' a new Channel, made at a great Diſtance from the City. The natural Impatience of the *Conſul* would not ſuffer him to wait till the *Iſtri* were forced by Hunger to ſurrender at Diſcretion; and he therefore obliged them to ſubmit to the *Roman* Yoke by Thirſt. This vaſt Labour ſeemed a Prodigy to the Beſieged. (And indeed, the *Romans* had never before attempted to alter the Courſe of Rivers; though we ſhall hereafter ſee more painful Labours only Sport to them.) Nevertheleſs, the greateſt Part of the Beſieged preferred Death to Slavery. They began with cutting the Throats of their Wives and Children, and throwing them from the Ramparts into the Ditches. This horrible Sight cauſed a great Outcry in the City; all was in Confuſion there; and the *Romans* ſeized this Opportunity to mount the Walls. They were ſoon Maſters of the Ramparts, and filled the Place with Terror. The *Iſtri* tried to eſcape thro' the Gates; and new Maſſacres increaſed the Clamours. But *Æpulo* was not terrified at them. His Reſolution was fixed. He ſtabbed himſelf with his own Sword; and thereby avoided the Shame of being made a Spectacle in his Conqueror's Triumph. All the Inhabitants and Garriſon of *Neſattium*, either fell by the Sword, or were reduced to Slavery. And this ſpeedy Succeſs was followed by the taking of two other Cities, in which the whole Strength of *Iſtria* conſiſted. One was *Mutila* [121], and the other [122] *Faveria*. They were both taken by Aſſault; and both given up to be plundered; and the Soldiers found more Booty in them, than they had hoped for in ſo poor a Country. Thus by ſubduing three Places, and without gaining one Battel, the *Conſul Claudius* pacified the *Iſtrian* Nation, and brought it into Subjection to his Republick.

119 The City of *Neſattium* ſtood in the moſt Eaſtern Part of *Iſtria*, towards the Confines of *Liburnia*, near the Mouth of the River *Arſia*, in the Place where we now ſee *Caſtel Nuovo*.

120 The River *Arſia*, called *Arſa* by the *Italians*, divides *Iſtria* from *Illyricum*. It diſcharges itſelf into the *Adriatic* Sea.

121 We know nothing certain of the Situation of *Mutila*. *Cluver* thinks it ſtood in the Neighbourhood of a City, which is now called *Medolino*.

122 The ſame Geographer thinks that *Faveria* was not far from the Place where there is now a City of *Iſtria* which the *Italians* call *Pcara*. It ſtands on the Banks of the *Arſa*.

THE

THE Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK XLIII.

Year of ROME DLXXVI. C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER, TIB. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS, Conſuls.

§. I. THUS *Iſtria* was now ſubdued by the *Conſul Claudius*, with a Rapidity not common of late in the *Roman* Conqueſts. Nevertheleſs, the active General was not content with ſubduing one Kingdom in a Campaign. He received Intelligence, in the furtheſt Parts of *Italy*, that the *Ligures* were renewing their old Plots: and being likewiſe invited by the Senate, to lead his victorious Army into *Liguria*, if he pleaſed; he haſtened thither from *Piſa*, where he tarried but a few Days, and flew to the Enemy. The *Ligurian* Camp was then poſted on the Banks of the [1] *Scultenna*; a River which runs between *Modena* and *Bologna*, and diſcharges itſelf into the *Po*. And in a few Days he came up with the Enemy, attacked and overcame them. The *Ligures* loſt in the Battel fifteen thouſand ſeven hundred Men, who were either killed, or taken, and fifty one Standards. Their Camp was taken, and the Vanquiſhed went and hid themſelves in their Mountains. What Honours then were not due from the Republick, to a General who had pacified two Provinces in one Year! The Senate had already granted him *Supplications* for two Days, on account of his Victory in *Iſtria* only; and the new Advantages he now gained over the *Ligures*, compleated his Glory. The Honours of a Triumph were decreed him on two Accounts. In his Proceſſion, he had carried before his Chariot ſome little Silver, which had been taken from thoſe Enemies who had very little Money; and he gave ſome Bounties to his Soldiers. But as he made a Diſtinction in his Bounties, between the *Roman* Troops and the Auxiliaries; the latter were ſullen and ſilent during the Proceſſion; which was the moſt modeſt Manner in which they could ſhew their Diſcontent.

§. II. AFTER his Triumph, *Claudius* preſided in the Elections. The *Comitia* promoted [2] *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hiſpalus*, and *Q. Petillius Spurinus*, to the *Conſulate*. Six *Prætors* were choſen, as uſual; but the two to whom the Provinces in *Spain* fell, excuſed themſelves from going thither. The Entrails of the Victims, and the Anſwers of the *Aruſpices* foreboded nothing but Misfortunes to them. So that the old *Prætors* of *Spain*, whoſe time was expired, were, contrary to Cuſtom, continued in their Governments a third Year. As to the *Prætor* who took Cognizance of the Law-ſuits between the *Citizens*, he had a Caſe brought before him which was new. Two Heirs contended about the Succeſſion to an Eſtate. The firſt was a Son who demanded his Father's Inheritance. But his Antagoniſt objected to the Legality of his Birth, becauſe his Mother had acknowledged, that ſhe had gone thirteen Months with him. The Law of the *Decemviri*, or of *The Twelve Tables*, ſaid, that no Claim for a Succeſſion ſhould be allowed, unleſs the Perſon claiming had been born in the tenth Month; even he that was born in the eleventh was rejected. But notwithſtanding the Law, the *Prætor*, upon better Grounds, determined in favour of the Son born in the thirteenth Month. *Nature*, ſaid he, *has not abſolutely fixed the Time of Womens Delivery to one certain Period.*

1 The River formerly called *Scaltenna*, now bears the Name of *Panaro*. It divides the Territory of *Bologna*, from *The State of Modena*, after which it loſes itſelf in the *Po*.

2 *Marianus*, and *Cuſpinian*'s *Tables*, diſtinguiſh the ſecond *Conſul*, *Quintus Petillius Spurinus*, by the Surname of *Spado*. But it is a Miſtake, which ought to be corrected upon the Credit of the *Faſti Capitolini*.

ON *the Ides of March*, the *Conſuls* entered upon their Office, and made it their firſt Buſineſs to return the Gods thanks, and conſult them concerning the Succeſs of their Adminiſtration. And then a thing is ſaid to have happened which is not very credible. *Cn. Cornelius* firſt offered the Sacrifice, which it was uſual for the *Conſuls* to offer upon taking Poſſeſſion of the *Conſulate*; and came himſelf in a great Fright to the Senate, and told them the Wonder he had ſeen. *When they had boiled the Bowels of the Victim I had ſacrificed, its Liver*, ſaid he, *was turned into Water. It was not to be found among the Inteſtines of the Brute. With what Misfortunes am I threatened?* And no ſooner had *Cornelius* ſaid this, but *Petillius* his Collegue came, and gave the *Fathers* much the ſame Account of himſelf. *When the Ox*, ſaid he, *which I had ſlain before the Altar was opened, I found, to my great Surprize, that the upper part of his Liver was wanting. I therefore endeavoured to appeaſe the Gods, by new Sacrifices, and offered no leſs than three Bulls; but could obtain no favourable Anſwer.* The Senate therefore thought it neceſſary to multiply their Offerings, and preſent Victims to all the Gods; and it is ſaid, That then all the Divinities, except the Goddeſs *Salus*, declared themſelves in favour of the *Conſul*. This Account has much the Air of a Fable invented by the *Pontifices*, and put into their Annals, to gain their Religion Credit. That both the *Conſuls* ſhould die in their *Conſulate*, was too remarkable an Event, for the *Pontifices* not to make the Gods to interfere in it, and invent ſome Circumſtance which was proper to bring Honour to the *Auſpices*. What proves the Forgery is, that neither of the *Conſuls* abdicated, but both drew Lots for their Provinces. It fell to *Cornelius*'s Lot, to command the Army which lay encamped near *Piſa*; and to *Petillius*'s, to make War in *Liguria*. But the *Prætors* deſigned for *Spain* were not ſo raſh as the *Conſuls*. They would not go to their Provinces, for fear of the Misfortunes which the Entrails of the Victims denounced againſt them.

Year of ROME DLXXVII. CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO HISPALUS, Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS, Conſuls.

THESE firſt Acts of Religion were alſo followed by another. The *Conſul Cornelius* went and preſided in the Aſſembly at the *Feriæ Latinæ*, and at the Sacrifices which were offered up in the Temple of *Jupiter Latialis*. But there was ſome Defect in theſe Ceremonies. It was uſual for the Head of each of the Cities of the *Latin* Confederacy, to pronounce a certain Form of Prayers. But the chief Magiſtrate of *Lanuvium*, either through Inadvertency, or Deſign, omitted to pray for the Proſperity of the *Roman* People. This was thought an Affair of Importance; and it was brought before the Senate of *Rome*. *The Fathers* referred it to the *Pontifical* College; and they determined, That the Feaſt ſhould be begun again, and That the City of *Lanuvium* ſhould bear the new Expences of it. The ſame *Conſul Cornelius* was preſent at the Repetition of the Ceremony, which was then finiſhed; and as he was coming down from *The Hill of Alba*, he was ſeized with an apoplectick Fit. It immediately turned to a Palſey; and he was carried to the Waters of *Cumæ*, and there died. His Body was brought to *Rome*; and the Republick ordered Obſequies for him, worthy of a Man of his Rank. Then as ſoon as the *Auſpices* would ſuffer him, *Petillius*, the ſurviving *Conſul*, aſſembled the *Comitia*, and *C. Valerius Lævinus* was choſen *Conſul*, in the room of *Cornelius Scipio*.

§ III. THESE religious Offices, the Death of his Collegue, and the Trouble of a new Election, kept *Petillius* longer at *Rome* than he expected. In the mean time *Claudius*, who had been ſo active in his *Conſulate* the laſt Year, was now commanding the Army in *Liguria*, in quality of *Pro-Conſul*; and his martial Ardour was rouzed by the unexpected Motions of the *Ligures*. Theſe invincible Enemies had ſeized *Mutina* *, and driven the *Roman Colony* out of it. *Claudius* therefore, ever conſiſtent with himſelf, came with incredible Expedition, and retook the City in leſs than three Days. Then, proud of his new Conqueſt, he ſent an Account of it to the Senate; and being as vain as brave, told them, that they had nothing more to fear from the Revolt of the *Ligures*. Indeed eight thouſand of them had been put to the Sword at the retaking of *Mutina*; and *Claudius* thought, that the *Romans* had nothing to do but come and take Poſſeſſion of the Fields of *Liguria*, and diſtribute them among indigent *Citizens*. But the Vanity of this General was ſoon abated, by the new Inſurrections the *Ligures* raiſed in their own Country. *Claudius* however loſt no time in meeting them. The *Pro-Conſul* was dreaded by the Nation on Account of his Conqueſt of them on the Banks of the *Scultenna*, and the Recovery of *Mutina*; and the *Ligures* therefore retired to their

Year of ROME DLXXVII. Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS, C. VALERIUS LÆVINUS, Conſuls.

* *Modena. Liv. B. 41. c. 16.*

Year of *ROME* DLXXVII. Q. Petillius Spurinus, C. Valerius Lævinus, Consuls.

Mountains, entrenched themselves there, and surrounded their Trenches with Walls. So that Men thus secured could not be attacked; and the *Pro-Consul* therefore vented his Impetuosity against the few *Ligures* which were left in the Plains, and could not so soon retire to the Mountains. He killed about fifteen hundred of them. At the same time, the entrenched *Ligures* exercised their Fury against the *Romans*, whom they had made Prisoners at *Mutina*; and they were all massacred. As for the Cattle they had taken, the Barbarians brought them into their Temples, and sacrificed them in Honour to their Divinities. The rest of their Booty was hung up on the Walls of their Sanctuaries. Among other things there were several Vessels, which were more proper for private Uses, than for Ornaments for Temples. The *Ligures*, though near *Rome*, and in the midst of *Italy*, had not yet learnt that Politeness, which the *Romans* had now brought to some Perfection, by their Commerce with the *Greeks*.

In the mean time *Claudius* was preparing to give *Liguria* the finishing Stroke; and he proposed to attack the two Mountains, which served for an *Asylum* to his Enemies. One was called *Letum*, and the other *Balista*. The *Pro-Consular* Army had actually surrounded them, when the *Consul Petillius* sent Orders to *Claudius* to meet him with his Army in *Cisalpine Gaul*, on the Banks of the [3] *Sechia*. The *Consul* indeed was jealous. The Success of *Claudius* was too glittering. *Petillius* wanted to rob him of the Honour of having reduced and pacified *Liguria*. And as desirous as *Claudius* was of acquiring all the Glory of that Conquest, he obeyed the *Consul*; but then *Petillius* likewise found a Rival. *Lævinus* came in haste to join him. The two Heads of the Republick divided the *Roman* Troops between them, after they had reviewed them together; and then drew Lots for the different Parts of *Liguria*, in which they were to carry on the War. And it is said (though probably this also may be a Fiction of the *Pontifices*) that *Petillius* had not a good Lot, though he thought it so. The pretended Reason for which is, that he did not draw his Lot in a Temple; whereas his Collegue chose to draw his, at the Foot of the Altars. But be that as it will, the Event will shew that the most dangerous Post fell to *Petillius*.

§. IV. After this, the two *Consuls* separated; each took his Rout towards the Country which had fallen to him by Lot; and we will first attend *Petillius*. He marched to the very Place from whence he had recalled *Claudius*; that is, he went and invested the *Ligures* in the Mountains of *Letum* and *Balista*; where they had fortified themselves. And it is said, That the *Consul*, before he began his Attacks, harangued his Soldiers; and without knowing it, himself foretold his approaching Death, in the ambiguous Terms he made use of. *To Day*, said he, *I shall take* Letum; which Words, in the Language he spoke, had two Senses. *Petillius* meant, that he should make himself Master of the Mountain; but the Words also signified, *That he should die that Day*. And this fortuitous Prediction indeed proved very true. The Mountains were invested, and attacked in two Places. On the Side where the *Consul* himself commanded, the *Romans* had the Advantage. At the other Attack the *Legionaries* gave Way; and it was to be feared, would be routed. *Petillius* therefore rode full Speed to them, and put himself at the Head of the staggering Troops. This was a rash Action; and it cost him his Life. He was run through with a Javelin, and fell down dead. The Enemy however did not know, that the Horseman who lay dead was the *Consul*; and few of the *Romans* perceived it. They who knew him hid his Body, that the Army might not be discouraged. And at length *Petillius*'s Prediction was fulfilled in both Senses. *Letum* and *Balista* were taken, as well as the *Consul* lost his Life; five thousand *Ligures* were killed on the Spot; and the *Romans*, though deprived of their General, lost but fifty two Men. A memorable Event, in the relation of which many Fables have been interspersed!

Year of *ROME* DLXXVII. C. Valerius Lævinus, Consul.

Lævinus rejoiced to hear of the Victory of the *Romans*; but was grieved at the Loss of his Collegue. And here the Historians fail us, and leave us to guess at *Lævinus*'s Success in *Liguria*. It is presumed however, that he went, and vented his Rage on the *Ligures* of the Mountains, and completed *Petillius*'s Victory.

3 The *Sechia*, known to the Ancients by the Name of *Gabellus*, rises in the *Apennines*; and after it has taken its Course between the *State of Modena*, and the Territory of *Rhegio*, discharges itself into the *Po*.

Year of *ROME* DLXXVII. C. VALERIUS LÆVINUS, Conſul.

leaſt it is pretty certain that he came to *Rome*, and triumphed[1]. The Senate decreed at the ſame time, That two Days ſhould be ſet apart for publick Prayers, and one for the Triumph of the ſurviving *Conſul*; and That the Soldiers, who had not relieved *Petillius* in time, ſhould be puniſhed. They were deprived of the Pay that was due to them for the reſt of the Year. Thus the *Ligures* were vanquiſhed, but not ſubdued. A ſtrange Nation, and wonderfully conſtant in maintaining their Liberty! *Rome* gave Law to *Greece*, *Africa*, and *Aſia*; and yet this fierce People ſtill made the greateſt Efforts againſt the *Romans*, in a Corner of *Italy* itſelf, and as it were at the Gates of *Rome*. They were ſo far like the *Samnites*; whom *Rome* had found it as difficult to ſubdue, at a time when her Power was confined within narrow Bounds.

§. V. DURING the Campaign, the Senate were chiefly employed about the Affairs of the Eaſt. Ever ſince the laſt Year the Ambaſſadors of *Seleucus* King of *Syria*, and the Succeſſor of *Antiochus the Great*, were come to *Rome*, to treat about ſending home Prince *Antiochus*, the Brother of *Seleucus*. It may be remembred, that this young Bud of the Blood of the *Seleucidæ*, had been given in Hoſtage to the *Romans* by his Father, after his Defeat. He had been long at *Rome*; was now twenty ſeven Years of Age; and either out of Fondneſs, or Diſtruſt, *Seleucus* was deſirous of bringing his Brother into *Syria*, and ſending to *Rome* in his ſtead his own Son *Demetrius*, who was but ten Years old. The Affair was warmly debated in the Senate; but at length the Exchange was accepted. Prince *Antiochus* ſet out for *Aſia*; and *Seleucus*, who ſent for him, could not then have any ſure Forebodings of his own approaching End. Nevertheleſs, *Antiochus* was no ſooner arrived at *Athens*; but he received the News of his Brother's Death. That *Heliodorus*, whom *Seleucus* had formerly ſent to *Paleſtine*, to plunder the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, had aſſaſſinated the King. So that the ſame Hand, which was employed in the Sacrilege, revenged it on the Author of it by Parricide. Nay, the wicked *Heliodorus* had done more than this. He had ſeized the Throne. *Eumenes*, the King of *Pergamus*, doubtleſs upon the Recommendation of the *Romans*, was forced to conduct *Antiochus* into his Brother's Dominions with an armed Force; drive out the Uſurper; and put the Prince, who had been brought up at *Rome*, in Poſſeſſion of his Inheritance. A Revolution, which would have been more agreeable to the Senate, if *Antiochus* had ſhewn himſelf worthy of the Throne he filled, and the Education he had received among the *Romans*. *App. in Syr.*

Macedon alſo afforded the *Conſcript Fathers* much Matter for Deliberation. Ever ſince *Perſes* had been ſettled in the quiet Poſſeſſion of the Throne, he had made it his whole Buſineſs to ſtir up Enemies againſt the Republick. Though ungrateful and undutiful to his Father, he had imbibed his Hatred to *Rome*, and retained it. He privately prepared for making War with her, and entered into Negociations with all her Enemies. *Perſes* knew very well what Offence *Rome* had lately given the *Rhodians*. By a late Decree of the Senate, the *Lycians* had been freed from the Slavery, which the *Rhodians* impoſed upon them. The King of *Macedon* therefore ſought the Friendſhip of the *Rhodians*, in order to draw them off from the *Romans*. *Laodicea* his Wife was fetched immediately from *Rhodes* to *Macedon*, to ſhare the Throne of one of the moſt powerful Monarchs in the World. The Marriage was ſolemnized with exceeding great Pomp. *Perſes* ſent the *Rhodians* Materials for building a Fleet; and the *Rhodians* ſent away *Laodicea* with a very fine Squadron. The *Rhodians* and *Macedonians* made mutual Preſents; and *Perſes* gave all, even the Soldiers, and Seamen on board the *Rhodian* Gallies, Gold Ribbons. This Alliance which the *Rhodians* had brought about, muſt doubtleſs have given ſome Jealouſy to the *Romans*; but the time for ſhewing it was not yet come. *Polyb. in Legat.* n. 60.

§. VI. AFTER the Affairs of the *Levant*, thoſe of *Rome* were to be ſettled. The *Comitia* for electing new *Conſuls* were to be aſſembled. But the Difficulty was to determine who ſhould preſide in the Aſſembly. Indeed, after the Death of the two *Conſuls* for the Year, there was a third left, namely *Lævinus*, on

[1] We have no expreſs Teſtimony of *Valerius*'s Triumph. But the Advantages he gained in his Expeditions in *Liguria*, give us Reaſon to believe, that he did obtain an Honour which the People often granted for leſs Exploits. But be that as it will, *Valerius Maximus* tells us, *B.* 2. *c.* 7. that the Senate highly extolled the deceaſed *Petillius*, *Valerius*'s Predeceſſor.

whom

Year of ROME DLXXVII. C. VALERIUS LÆVINUS, Consul.

whom the right of presiding in the *Comitia* seemed to be devolved. But those who were skilful in Ceremonials, started Difficulties against it. *When*, said they, *the* Consuls *who were first chosen in the* Comitia *for the Year, both die*; *the* Consul *who is chosen in the second* Comitia *for that Year, has no Right to preside in the Assemblies in* The Field of Mars. And the Affair was litigated. It was first brought before the Senate; the *Conscript Fathers* referred it to the Determination of the *Pontifices*; and they concluded on having an *Interregnum*, that they might with the greater Certainty avoid all the Defects of an Election which might be contested. It is well known, how very scrupulous the *Romans* were with respect to the least Observances of Religion; and by an *Interregnum* all Difficulties were removed. Then *Rome* proceeded to the Elections, and [5] *P. Mucius Scævola*, and *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, were promoted to the *Consulate*; the last, a second time. It is also certain, that new *Prætors* were chosen; but the Historians are so defective here, that it is better to omit their Names, than supply them by Conjecture. All they tell us of them is, that *Appius Centho* went *Prætor* to *Further Spain*, and there completed the Reduction of the *Celtiberians*. As for the *Consuls* they drew Lots for their Provinces. *Gaul* fell to *Lepidus*; and *Liguria* to *Scævola*. But there is Reason to believe that their first Care was to appease the Anger of the Gods, with Regard to the Plague that then raged in *Italy*, and had lasted two Years. Never Distemper made more Havock. Both Men and Beasts were attacked by it. The Streets of *Rome* were full of dead Bodies, which were left there for a Prey for Dogs, and Vultures. But as greedy as these Animals are of their Prey, the Infection of these Bodies was so strong, that they would not come nigh them. The Corruption of the Air had produced the Plague; and now the Plague increased that Corruption. So that the Mortality first spread from *Rome* into the Country, and was afterwards brought from thence back again into the City. After this it may be presumed, that the *Consuls* did not delay setting out for their Provinces.

Year of ROME DLXXVIII. P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA, M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, Consuls.

Lepidus easily brought to Reason the *Boii*, and other *Gauls* about the *Po*. Then to keep himself in Action, he fell on the [6] *Ligures*, who bordered on *Cisalpine Gaul*, on this side the *Apennines*; and by the Diversion made in their own Country, and the Advantages he gained over them, put it out of their Power to send any Assistance to their Countrymen, on the other side of the Mountains. In the mean time, *Scævola* was making War with the *Ligures* on the Sea-Coast; and if we gave Credit to a Medal which we find in a very faulty Collection, we should say with Confidence, that he made use of Sea as well as Land Forces to reduce these Rebels. This Monument would authorize us to affirm, that *Scævola* owed his Victory to the *Roman* Fleet, and it would at least give us some Light in this dark time. But all our Accounts of it are confused; every thing is uncertain that is reported of it, even the Medal itself. And therefore we shall only say, upon a Presumption pretty well founded, since it is built upon the *Fasti Capitolini*, that the two *Consuls* merited [7] Triumphs by their Exploits.

Thesaurus Goltzii.

§. VII. But the Accounts we have of the News which was brought from the *Levant*, are a little more clear. We have already observed, That *Philip*, King of *Macedon*, towards the end of his Reign, had brought a considerable Body of *Bastarnæ* from the Banks of the *Boristhenes*, into his own Dominions. Part of these Barbarians had returned home; and the rest had fallen upon *Dardania*, and settled there. But these were bad Guests, and became equally insupportable to *Perseus* and the *Dardani*. The latter were grieved with their Oppressions; and the former was fearful, lest, as they had been brought by his Father, they should demand

5 We have upon the Authority of the *Fasti Capitolini*, given *Mucius Scævola*, the *Prænomen* of *Publius*; notwithstanding any thing that is said to the contrary by *Cassiodorus*, *Obsequens*, and other Writers, who sometimes call him *Quintus*, and sometimes *Marcus*.

6 Among these People of *Liguria*, *Livy* reckons up the *Garuli*, *Lapicini*, and *Hercates*. *Cluver* places them near the Springs of the River *Lavagna*.

7 In a Fragment which we have of the *Fasti Capitolini*, mention is made of two Triumphs under the Year 578. Indeed the Names of the triumphant Victors are worn out of the Marble. But we may infer from *Livy*'s Account, that the two *Consuls*, *P. Mucius Scævola*, and *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus*, received those Honours. Upon the Report of the Victories gained in *Cisalpine Gaul*, and in *Liguria*, by the two *Consuls*, the Senate, like the *Roman* Historian, ordered Prayers to be offered up in the Temples three Days, and solemn Sacrifices to be made by way of Thanksgiving to the Gods.

their Pay, and fall upon *Macedon*. The new King therefore uſed all his Policy to raiſe Diviſions among the *Baſtarnæ* and the *Dardani*, deſigning to deſtroy both.

Year of *ROME* DLXXVIII. P. Mucius Scævola, M. Æmilius Lepidus, Conſuls.

Dardania had entered into the *Roman* Confederacy; and had had recourſe to the Senate of *Rome*. Upon the Report her Ambaſſadors made of the Oppreſſions the Province laboured under, from a People of *Sarmatia*, who had been brought upon them by the Intrigues of *Perſes*, the Republick ſent *Aulus Poſtumius* thither, attended with a fine Army, to enquire into the Ravages committed by the *Baſtarnæ*, in *Dardania*; and to diſcover the Deſign of *Perſes*, in putting a fierce and reſtleſs People in Motion. It was rumoured, that the *Macedonian's* Intention was to join the *Baſtarnæ* with the *Gauls* that bordered on the Eaſt of *Italy*, and ſend both together into the Heart of the Republick. Accordingly *Poſtumius* came into *Dardania*; but his Report was only this, That the Country was all in a Flame, through the Incurſions and Rapines of the *Sarmatians*. He could not diſcover, That *Perſes* was the Author of all theſe Troubles, or That he had any Deſign of bringing the *Baſtarnæ* into *Italy*. The Senate therefore contented themſelves with only admoniſhing him, by his Ambaſſadors which reſided at *Rome*, to take care to obſerve the Treaties, and not give the Republick any Umbrage. *Polyb. in Legat. N.* 62. *Livy, B.* 41. *c.* 19.

In the mean time, *Dardania* was ſtill moleſted with the Robberies of the *Sarmatians*. Theſe Barbarians did not leave it, as had been expected; and it was therefore neceſſary to make uſe of Force to drive them out. This was however a difficult Affair. The *Baſtarnæ* had made an Alliance with the *Thracians*, which were next to their own Country, and with the *Scordiſci*, a People of *Pannonia*. Nevertheleſs the *Dardani* attacked the *Baſtarnæ* in the Territories they had ſeized; and choſe the Winter for this Expedition. The *Thracians* and *Scordiſci* were then withdrawn; and the *Baſtarnæ* were left to themſelves. The *Rendezvous* of the *Dardani* was at a City near the Camp of their Robbers, and there they divided their Army into two Bodies. One marched directly the ſhorteſt Way, to attack the Trenches of the Enemy. The other took a Compaſs through the Woods, and fell on the Camp of the *Baſtarnæ* ſuddenly. The firſt Body were too much in haſte to engage. They were beaten and repulſed, and retired twelve Miles from the Field of Battel to the City, whence they had ſet out. But whilſt the *Baſtarnæ* were purſuing the Enemy, that part of the *Dardanian* Army, which had been hindered from joining in the firſt Battel, by the great Compaſs they had taken, came up to the Enemy's Camp. Their Officers were much ſurprized to find it abſolutely deſerted. And as the Proviſions and Utenſils of the *Baſtarnæ* were ſtill in it, they ſuſpected ſome Artifice in this precipitate Flight; and choſe rather to burn the Tents and Proviſions, than ſeize them. Then they without Delay marched after the *Baſtarnæ*, and found them buſy in forcing the City, which was the Retreat of their Countrymen. But the bare Approach of the Enemy terrified the Barbarians. On one ſide they ſaw their Camp in a Flame, and on the other a freſh Body of *Dardani* purſuing hard after them. And then they changed their Attack into a ſhameful Flight. The Men, Women, and Children, all diſperſed themſelves about the Fields; plundered them; laid them waſte; and immediately took the Road to their own Country. They came to the Banks of the *Danube*; and Men, who were accuſtomed to cold, were not ſtopped by the Rigour of the Seaſon. They thought the River frozen harder than ordinary; and believed they could walk over it without Danger. And indeed the Ice bore them for ſome time; but at length being too weak to bear the Weight of ſo many Men and Horſes, it broke on all ſides at once; and this Army, which was formidable to *Rome*, *Macedon*, and *Dardania*, was all ſwallowed up in the Waters. And it may be affirmed, that no Body had a greater Loſs in this Misfortune of the *Baſtarnæ*, than [8] *Perſes*. If he had underſtood his true Intereſt, he might have uſefully employed the Arms of this fierce People againſt the *Romans*, whom he now looked on as his Enemies. But he was both Covetous and Prodigal. His Avarice made him afraid of the Expence of maintaining theſe brave Strangers; and his *Oroſius B.* 4

8 Some Authors ſay, that *Perſes* himſelf turned his Arms againſt the *Baſtarnæ*, and joined his Troops to thoſe of the *Dardani*. This ſuſpicious Prince thought he could not, without Danger, bring into his Kingdom a fierce People, who were accuſtomed to Robberies, and laid all the Places waſte, thro' which they paſſed.

Year of *ROME* DLXXVIII.

Prodigality made him ſquander away his Treaſures in vain Expences. He was equally indiſcreet in his Bounties and Savings.

§. VIII. As for *Rome*, ſhe rejoiced at the News of the Departure of the *Baſtarnæ*. Her greateſt Attention was ſtill fixed upon *Macedon*. It may be affirmed, That ſhe prolonged the War with the *Ligures*, only to employ her Troops, and keep them in Exerciſe, till ſhe marched them againſt *Perſes*. It was expected, That he would ere long declare himſelf; and That from private Practices he would ſoon proceed to overt Acts. But in the mean time *Rome* moved on with equal Pace. In the *Comitia*, *Sp. Poſtumius Albinus*, and *Q.* [9] *Mucius Scævola*, were choſen *Conſuls*. And as for the *Prætors*, the Accounts we have of this Year are ſo very defective, that we can only be certain of the Names of ſome of them. One [10] was the Son of the Great *Scipio Africanus*; but a Son very unlike his Father. He was weak in Body and Mind; and had no Merit to plead for the *Prætorſhip*, but a great Name, and the Remembrance of the Heroes of his Family. *Fortune* ought to have bluſhed, ſays an ancient Author, for making his Father's Secretary, and a Client of his Family, a Competitor with the only Remains of this noble Houſe. This Competitor was one *Cicereïus*. All the People inclined to favour him; and Virtue would have prevailed over Birth, if the Client had not been aſhamed to oppoſe his Patron. The Moment the Election was going to begin, *Cicereïus* pulled off his white Robe, and declined ſtanding. Nor was this all. He went among the People, and ſollicited Votes for the Son of an Hero who had honoured him with his Confidence. So that it muſt be owned, that all the Credit of the Nomination belonged to *Cicereïus*. *Scipio* was indeed promoted to the *Prætorſhip*; but it would have been more for his Honour to have declined it. It fell to his Lot to determine the Suits between the *Citizens* and Foreigners; and his Relations did their utmoſt to perſuade him to renounce that Office; and accordingly he did not ſit to hear one Cauſe, or pronounce one Decree. Nay, they prevailed upon him even to lay aſide the Ring he wore, on which was the Head of his Father, whom he diſgraced by his Incapacity.

Sp. Postumius Albinus, Q. Mucius Scævola, Conſuls. *Val. Max. B. 4. c. 5.*

Idem. B. 3. c. 5.

Year of *ROME* DLXXIX.

The two *Conſuls* firſt ſet themſelves about finding out a Remedy for the great Calamity which ſtill afflicted *Rome*. The Plague ſtill raged there; and in thoſe who had been ſeized with it, and had not died in ſeven Days, it turned to a quartan Ague, in which they languiſhed away for ſome time, and were then carried off. The Slaves, who were more neglected than their Maſters, died in greater Numbers. The Magazine of Stores for Funerals, which was kept in the Temple of *Libitina*, was daily exhauſted, for the Obſequies of People of free Condition; and the Diſtemper was moſt mortal among the Prieſts and *Pontifices*. It was therefore neceſſary to have recourſe to the Gods. After the *Sybilline* Books had been conſulted, the *Decemviri*, who kept them, ordered a Day of publick Prayers. Beſides, the *Conſuls* made a Vow, in the Name of the *Roman* People, which was pronounced by *Marcius* the *Pontifex Maximus*, to inſtitute *Feriæ* for two Days, and order all the Temples to be opened, if the Plague ceaſed in the City, and the *Roman* Territory. Yet ſtill the pretended Protection of the Gods had not an immediate Effect. The Diſtemper continued to rage; and made it difficult for the *Conſuls* to raiſe Levies. What their Exploits were in *Gaul* and *Liguria*, the only Provinces that could be aſſigned them, we cannot gueſs. But the Silence of the Hiſtorians and *Triumphal Tables* makes us believe that their Succeſs was inconſiderable. The *Pro-Conſul Æmilius* only diſtinguiſhed himſelf a little by his Arms; and but little. The City of *Patavium* [11] was divided by violent Factions; *Æmilius* came thither; and by his Preſence, and the Fear of his Arms, quelled the Mutineers. All was quiet, and the *Pro-Conſul* returned to *Rome*.

Liv. B. 41. c. 21.

9 The Name of *Quintus Mucius Scævola* is altered by ſome Annaliſts. *Caſſiodorus* and *Pliny*, *B.* 2. are miſtaken in making one *Quintus Minucius*, Collegue to *Spurius Poſtumius*. The *Faſti Capitolini* give *Poſtumius* both the Surnames of *Albinus* and *Paululus*. The latter was probably given him, on Account of the lowneſs of his Stature. Or perhaps one of his Anceſtors, who had that Defect, tranſmitted it to his Poſterity.

10 *Livy* and *Valerius Maximus* differ as to the *Prænomen* of the *Prætor*, *Cornelius Scipio*. The former calls him *Lucius*; the latter *Cneius*. See what we have ſaid before of *Scipio*'s Son.

11 *Patavium*, now known by the Name of *Padua*, has ever been thought one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in *Italy*, for its Antiquity. It glories in having been founded by the famous *Antenor*, who after the Ruin of *Troy*, his native City, ſettled with his Men, in the Weſtern Part of *Friuli*.

§. IX. Bu

§. IX. But this Year, which was so barren in military Exploits, was memorable for some Works of Peace. *Rome* had chosen two *Censors*, who were severe, and zealous for the publick Good. One was *Fulvius Flaccus*; the other *Postumius Albinus*. *Cato's Censorship* was not remarkable for greater Works than theirs. Their first Business was to draw up a List of the Senate; and they placed *Æmilius Lepidus* at the Head of it, as President. Then they shewed no Favour or Regard to any Person, when they came to cut off from that Body, the most unworthy Members of it. *Fulvius Flaccus* struck out the Name of his own Brother, who was to share his Father's Inheritance with him. Nor did he shew more Favour to the Son of the Great *Scipio*, though *Prætor*. In short, he degraded no less than nine Senators, most of them of great Families. Nevertheless, all these Persons, who were struck out of the List of the *Conscript Fathers*, had not been guilty of any Acts of Injustice, or any Licentiousness; witness the Brother of the *Censor Fulvius*. His only Crime was his having disbanded a *Legion* of which he was *Tribune*, without the Orders of his General. Acts of Disobedience, which were contrary to good Order, and military Discipline, were unpardonable at *Rome*. And the *Censors* treated the *Roman Knights*, and those among the People who had led scandalous Lives with the same Severity. They took from the former the Horses the Republick kept for them; and deprived the latter of their right of *Citizenship*, still leaving them subject to pay Taxes.

Year of *ROME* DLXXIX.

Sp. Postumius Albinus, Q. Mucius Scævola, Consuls

Liv. B. 41. c. 27.

After this Reformation of Manners, they did several very useful Works. The great Roads were every where repaired. It is indeed very surprising; but the City of *Rome*, which had now subsisted for near six hundred Years, had never yet been paved. Hence the Infection of the Air, and numberless Inconveniencies to the Inhabitants. *Fulvius* and *Æmilius* were the first who paved the Streets. And out of the City, the great Roads were, generally speaking, scarce passable. The two *Censors* therefore mended them with great Quantities of Flints, and filled up the Holes for the Convenience of Carriages. They also built Bridges in several Places; erected a Theatre for *The Scenic Games*; and added new Ornaments to the *Circus* for Chariot-races. Nay, they did not neglect procuring proper Ornaments, and making the necessary Repairs for the Cities in the Province. *Postumius* indeed was more timorous, and more reserved than *Fulvius*. He durst not undertake any thing, without an Order from the Senate. But his Collegue erected Buildings in many Places out of *Rome*, and gained the Affection of the *Colonies*. It is said, that he carried his Boldness too far. When he made War in *Spain*, he had made a Vow to build a Temple to *Fortuna Equestris*; and when he was *Censor*, he hastened the erecting it, and dedicated it himself. And in order to embellish this favourite Work as much as possible, he took out of the Temple [12] of *Juno Lavinia*, the fine Marble with which it was tiled. This was deemed Sacrilege by the Senate, who passed a Decree, requiring, that the Spoils which had been taken out of the Temple of *Juno*, should be carried back to the Territory of *Croton*; and to this Sacrilege were imputed all the Misfortunes of *Fulvius's* Life. His two Sons were killed in the *Illyrican* War; and this Loss grieved him so much, that he ran distracted, and hanged himself. But to return to his *Censorship*. He and his Collegue finished it with an Enumeration of the People, and a *Lustrum*, which ought to be reckoned the fifty first from their Institution. According to some, there then appeared to be in *Rome* two hundred sixty nine thousand and fifteen Men fit to bear Arms. But others reckon them to have been but two hundred fifty seven thousand two hundred and thirty one; and the last is the most probable Account. The Plague had carried off a great Number of *Citizens* at *Rome*; and a considerable Number of Strangers who had settled there, were obliged to return to their native Cities.

Val. Max. B. 1. c. 1. §. 20. Lactant. B. 2. Instit.

Livy, B. 42. c. 10.

§. X. And now, *Italy* was pretty quiet; but in *Spain*, the *Celtiberians* began to recover the terrible Blow *Sempronius Gracchus* had given them. Their Commotions were first perceived in the *Prætorship* of *Titinius*; and at length the Revolt broke out, as soon as *Claudius* had taken upon him the Command of the *Roman* Army. Their first overt Act was a sudden Attack of the *Prætor's* Trenches. As

Livy, B. 41. c. 26.

[12] We have already spoken of the Temple consecrated to *Juno Lacinia*, near *The Lacinian Promontory*, in *South Italy*, in the preceding Volumes.

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ſoon as the Day broke, the advanced Guards and Centinels, who were poſted to watch the Ramparts of the Camp, cried out, *To Arms.* The Enemy began to appear already; and immediately ſeized all the Avenues to the Camp. But *Claudius* by his Valour, and Preſence of Mind, guarded againſt this ſudden Irruption. After a ſhort Exhortation he propoſed a Battel to his Soldiers; gave the Signal; and opened the Gates for them to march into the Plain. But they were already beſet by the *Celtiberians*, and it was neceſſary to make great Efforts to get out. The Enemy oppoſed it with Vigour. However, at length the *Romans* gained the Plain, formed themſelves, and made a wide Front, that they might not be ſurrounded. Then they fell on the Enemy with ſuch Impetuoſity, as put them into Diſorder; and in ſome Hours they were diſperſed. Fifteen thouſand *Celtiberians* were killed on the Spot, or made Priſoners; and they loſt thirty two Standards. The *Romans* alſo took their Camp, thereby rendered their Victory complete, and made their Enemies peaceable. This News filled *Rome* with Joy, and with Gratitude to the Gods. Many Victims were ſlain on their Altars, by way of Thankſgiving to them. And as ſoon as the Conqueror returned to *Rome*, an *Ovation* was granted him. He had brought from his Province ten thouſand Pounds Weight of Silver, and five thouſand of Gold. So that many Generals had been honoured with the great Triumphs, for leſs glorious and leſs uſeful Victories. Perhaps the War which was expected to break out immediately with *Macedon*, made the Affairs of *Spain* leſs regarded.

Faſt. Capitol.

§. XI. Accounts were ſent to *Rome* from all Parts, That *Perſes* was ſolliciting the Nations of *Aſia*, *Greece*, and *Africa*, to declare againſt the Republick. Three *Roman* Ambaſſadors, very lately returned from the Coaſts of *Africa*, had given the Senate Information of the Negotiations of the King of *Macedon* with *Carthage*. They ſaid they had learnt, firſt from King *Maſiniſſa*, and then from the *Carthaginians* themſelves, That *Perſes* had ſent a Deputation to the *African* Republick; and That his Envoy had been privately introduced into the Senate of *Carthage*, by Night. Indeed the *Roman* Ambaſſadors could not diſcover the Propoſals of the *Macedonian*, or the Reſolutions of the *Carthaginian* Senate; and their Ignorance of theſe Particulars, itſelf increaſed the Suſpicions of the Senate. The Ambaſſadors of *Rome* likewiſe added, that *Carthage* had alſo privately ſent a Deputation to *Macedon*.

In order therefore to interrupt this Negotiation, or at leaſt diſcover the Secret of it, the Senate thought it neceſſary to ſend three Men of great Reputation to *Perſes*. When they came to *Macedon*, they did not find the King in his Capital. He was gone at the Head of an Army on an Expedition, which could not but be diſagreeable to the *Romans*. A Canton of *Dolopia* [13], which pretended to be exempt from the Juriſdiction of the *Macedonians*, had refuſed to ſubmit to the Will of a Prince, which it did not acknowledge for its Sovereign. The Affair was litigated in a judicial Manner, and actually brought before the Senate of *Rome*. Nevertheleſs *Perſes*, without waiting for the Determination of the *Conſcript Fathers*, and in Contempt of the *Roman* Tribunal, was gone to reduce the *Dolopes* by force of Arms; and ſoon brought the whole Nation into Subjection to him.

But this firſt Step did not ſatisfy a King, who was determined to break the Chains which hung heavily about him. He now made it his whole Buſineſs to gain over to his Intereſt the *Greek* Cities and Nations; and draw them off from the *Romans*. To this end he thought his Preſence neceſſary among Nations, who would perhaps ſooner hearken to a neighbouring King, than a diſtant Republick: And he therefore pretended to have ſome Vow to diſcharge at the Temple of *Delphi*, or I know not what Anſwers to receive of the Oracle. But this was merely a Pretence. His real Deſign was to paſs through *Greece*, purely to make himſelf Allies there. To this end he croſſed Mount *Oeta*, and ſurprized the *Greeks* with his ſudden Appearance among them. The Terror of it ſpread into *Aſia*, and alarmed *Eumenes* in *Pergamus*. But *Perſes* marched on very peaceably in all Places; and his Diſcourſe was full of Humanity. At length he arrived at *Delphi*

13 *Dolopia* was then a Region of *Theſſaly*. It bordered upon *Epirus*. We have ſpoken of it ſeveral times already.

and tarried only three Days there. In his Return, he took his Rout thro' *Phthiotis*, and *Theſſaly*. His Father had formerly been guilty of great Cruelties in all theſe Countries, and they were freſh in the Memories of the People. The Son therefore took Care to commit no Violence among thoſe whoſe Affections he wanted to gain. He did not commit one Act of Oppreſſion, in his whole Journey; and the King alſo took another Precaution. He ſent Deputies, or circular Letters, to all the free Cities in *Theſſaly*; to remonſtrate to them, that they ought not to continue the Hatred they had conceived againſt *Philip*, to his Succeſſor, who courted their Friendſhip.

Year of ROME DLX[illegible]
Sp. Poſtumius Albinus, Q. Mucius Scævola, Conſuls.

§. XII. The *Macedonian* thought his greateſt Difficulty would be to gain over the *Achæan* Republick, and the Cities of *Athens*. Their Hatred againſt him was carried ſo far, that the Subjects of *Perſes* were not ſuffered to enter into *Achaia*, or *Attica*; and the *Athenians* and *Achaians* were forbidden to carry on any Commerce in *Macedon*. And therefore, the fugitive Slaves on both Sides uſed to fly for Refuge to the Enemies of their Maſters. However, *Perſes* made the firſt Advances towards a Reconciliation, by ſending back to the *Achæans* and *Athenians* ſuch of their Slaves, as had taken Refuge in his Dominions. This was in effect courting their Friendſhip; and with this acceptable Preſent he ſent a gracious Letter, but no Embaſſy. One *Xenarchus* was then the Head of the *Achæan* Nation; and he inclined to favour the King. He thought to have made him his Friend; and therefore read the *Macedonian*'s Letter in a full Aſſembly of the Lords of the Country. The greateſt Number liked it; and eſpecially they who had received their Slaves. But there were ſome Men in the Diet who had the publick Good at Heart, and carried their Views beyond Appearances. Such was *Callicrates*, a timorous Man indeed, but a profound Politician. He roſe up, and ſpoke thus: *To receive the Slaves which are returned us, may ſeem to us to be a Matter of little Importance. But I think it a Point of the utmoſt Conſequence to the* Achæan *Republick. Shall we ſuffer ourſelves to be taken in the Snare which the* Macedonian *lays for us? We have, very wiſely, forbidden all Commerce with this neighbouring King, becauſe he would, by his Intrigues, plunge us again into our old Misfortunes. And to what does this ſending back of our Slaves tend, but to enſlave us? I grant, the Deſign of* Perſes *is only to court our Alliance. But ſurely, this were ſelling it at a very low Price. Shall we ſquander away the Friendſhip of the* Romans, *which has coſt us ſo much, for ſuch a Trifle? To enter into the leaſt Engagements with* Perſes *is to renounce* Rome. *The Alliances which he ſeeks to make in all Places are only the Forerunners of the War he will make with her.* Philip *formed the Deſign; his Death alone ſuſpending the immediate Execution of it; and the Son has inherited his Father's Averſions. This was the only Merit, whereby he obtained the Crown, before* Demetrius *his Brother, whom he murdered! I can aſſure you, without a Revelation, that his Hatred to* Rome *is ready to break out.* Perſes *has long been wholly employed in making Preparations for War. Nay, he has already begun it. The Affair of* Dolopia, *which he has juſt now ſubdued, is his firſt open Attempt againſt the* Roman *Power. His Journey to* Delphi *plainly diſcovers his Pretenſions. The more Moderation he has affected to ſhew, in his Paſſage through* Theſſaly, *the more plainly he has manifeſted his Deſigns to all intelligent Perſons. His Aim is evidently at* Rome; *and he would draw you and all* Greece *into a War with her. Let him then undertake it himſelf at his Peril! To enter into Engagements with him, is to draw all the Weſt upon us. I am therefore of Opinion, That we ought to refuſe theſe dangerous Preſents, live as utter Strangers to* Macedon, *and confirm the Decree which forbids all manner of Commerce with her.*

It muſt be owned, That this was the Diſcourſe of a Man of Senſe, who could preſage Misfortunes at a great Diſtance; and of a zealous Citizen, who would fain have ſaved his Country. Nevertheleſs, it did not paſs without Contradiction. The Head of *Achaia*, who inclined to favour *Perſes*, had a Brother named *Arco*, a Man of Eloquence, and able to make Head againſt *Callicrates*. And this was the Man whom *Xenarchus* ſolicited, to ſpeak for the Re-eſtabliſhment of a good Underſtanding between *Achaia* and *Macedon*. His Speech was this. *I am ſenſible that I am reduced to this Difficulty, that I cannot ſpeak with Gratitude of the Preſent* Perſes *has made us, without incurring the Suſpicion of betraying the Cauſe of the* Romans, *and the Intereſts of my Country. One would imagine, by* Callicrates's *Speech,*

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Sp. Postumius Albinus, Q. Mucius Scævola. Consuls.

that he had been present at the Deliberations of the Roman *Senate, and was privy Counsellor to the King of* Macedon. *He pronounces concerning the Present, like a Man well acquainted with the State of Affairs; and of the future, like a Man inspired. And indeed, he is a profound Politician; he is an Oracle. But as for me, who don't pretend to see farther than my Neighbours, I can't find out that* Perses *is any thing but the Friend and Ally of the* Romans. *There has been no Rupture between those two Powers, since the* Conscript Fathers *acknowledged this Son of* Philip *to be the true Heir to his Dominions. Is complying with the Commands of the imperious Republick the Way to incur her Displeasure? As then we were attached to her in time of War, let us be so in time of Peace. But since* Rome *herself keeps a Correspondence with* Perses, *why should we and the* Athenians *only refuse to have any Commerce with him? Are we afraid of him? This Confession might indeed become the* Dolopes, *whom he just subdued. But if we have Forces enough to secure us against his Enterprizes, why don't we reap the Advantages of his Neighbourhood? Why don't we do as the* Ætolians, Thessalians, Epirots, *and indeed all the* Greeks? *What Injury has* Perses *done us? Ought not the Benefits we have received from the old King of* Macedon, *make us forget the little Affronts* Perses *has offered us? Our Obligations to* Macedon *were once allowed to be so great, that they kept us long in Suspence whether we should prefer the* Roman *Party to the* Macedonian. *And what is it I aim at in all this? Is it to induce you to enter into an Alliance with* Perses? *Or is it to prevail on you to prefer* Macedon *to the* Roman *Confederacy? No; it is only to put an End to those Coldnesses which are prejudicial to us. It is only to procure our Traders Admittance into the Port of* Macedon; *and to deprive our fugitive Slaves of an Asylum which is always open to receive them, whenever they make their Escape from us. These only are my Views. And can* Rome *take Offence at them? Your Fears on that Account,* Callicrates, *are vain. You put upon us your own imaginary Dreams of War, for Realities. Your Speculations and Foresight disturb your own Rest, and thwart our Happiness. I again repeat it. We may cease to be Enemies to* Perses, *without ceasing to be Friends to* Rome, *at the same time. It will be time enough to declare against him, when he shall have come to a Rupture with the Republick. Till then, we have no Reason to be more zealous for our Friends, than they are for their own Interest.*

This Discourse would have immediately determined the Diet to comply with the *Macedonian*'s Desires, if a Point of Honour had not come to *Callicrates*'s Assistance. The chief Lords of the Assembly observed that *Perses* had not vouchsafed to treat with them, otherwise than by a short Letter; and they thought the King should have sent an Embassy to them. *The* Achæan *Republick,* said they, *was worthy of all the Regard* Perses *could have shewn her.* And this Want of Respect postponed the Determination; so that the Assembly did not then accept of the King's Offers. As soon therefore as *Perses* knew this, he sent Ambassadors to the next Diet which was held at *Megalopolis.* But the Advocates for *Rome* then opposed their Reception, and rendered this Negotiation of *Perses* fruitless. The *Roman* Ambassadors sent their Republick an Account of all these Particulars, and of some other Circumstances, of less Importance, relating to the Affairs of *Greece.* The *Ætolians* were divided, and actually at War. Their Dissentions had already produced Treasons [14], and Massacres; and the *Roman* Deputies could not reconcile them. The *Cretans* had also run into the same Fury, which had slept for some Months, and then broke out again with greater Violence. And lastly, the *Lycians* had revolted from the *Rhodians,* who were rather their Tyrants than their Masters. And the *Romans* were obliged, in Point of Policy, to prevent the Evils which these intestine Broils in the Eastern Nations might produce. *Perses* might have taken Advantage of these rising Troubles. The Senate therefore took proper Measures

14 At *Hypata,* a City of the *Ætolian* Confederacy, eighty of the chief of the young Nobility embraced *Polyxenus*'s Party; but they had been driven out by the prevailing Faction, of which *Eupolemus* was the Head. This Man, under the Appearance of a Reconciliation, concealed the blackest Treachery. He suffered the Exiles to return home, and gave them all possible Assurances of a sincere Friendship. *Eupolemus* himself, accompanied by a great Multitude of People, went out to meet them; and this favourable Reception made them absolutely secure. But the Traitor treated them in this manner only in order to be able to sacrifice them to his Revenge with the more Safety. They were no sooner got within the Gate of the City; but they were inhumanly massacred, calling upon the Gods to witness the Assurances of Safety that had been given them by Oath.

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both to guard againſt the Menaces of the *Macedonian*, and calm the Diſturbances in thoſe *Greek* Countries which were ſubject to their Juriſdiction.

Year of *ROME* DLXXIX. Sr. Postumius Albinus, Q. Mucius Scævola, Conſuls.

§. XIII. During theſe various Tranſactions, the time came for creating new *Conſuls*; and the great Number of the Competitors, and their Intrigues, made the Elections difficult. At length, the Majority declared for *L. Poſtumius Albinus*, and *M. Popilius Lænas*. The *Prætors* who were then choſen drew Lots for their Provinces. *Attilius Serranus*, and *Cluvius Saxula*, divided between them the Cognizance of all Cauſes at *Rome*. *Fabius Buteo* was appointed to govern *Hither Spain*; and *M. Matienus*, *Further Spain*. *Sicily* fell to *Furius Craſſipes*; and *Sardinia*, to *C. Cicereïus*. It was but juſt, that the latter ſhould be rewarded for giving up the *Prætorſhip*, as he had done the laſt Year. He had thrown it up to the Son of the Great *Scipio*, in Gratitude to the Family of his Patrons; and the Lots ſeemed now to do Juſtice to his Virtue. By giving him *Sardinia*, they gave him an Opportunity to ſignalize himſelf by Arms. When he came into the Iſland of *Corſica* with his Recruits, he there took upon him the Command of the *Roman* Army; gave the Rebels Battel without Delay; killed ſeven thouſand of them; and made one thouſand Priſoners of War. But the Victory was long diſputed; and in the Heat of the Action he made a Vow to build a Temple to *Juno* [15] *Moneta*. However, at length he became ſuperior to his Enemies, and condemned them to pay him two hundred thouſand Pounds weight of Wax. This firſt Advantage procured him a peaceable Entry into the Iſland of *Sardinia*; and he made the *Sardinians* fear and reverence the Majeſty of the *Roman* People.

Year of *ROME* DLXXX. L. Postumius Albinus, M. Popilius Lænas, Conſuls.

Livy, *B.* 42. *c.* 7, 8.

The new *Conſuls* entered upon their Office on *The Ides of March*. The Senate had no Province to aſſign them but *Liguria*; and they were both deſigned for that Country. But the War of the *Romans* in *Liguria* was only an Amuſement. For *Rome* began new Quarrels every Year, with theſe unfortunate People; only to have an Opportunity to pitch her Camps, and exerciſe her Men, in their Country. And as now there was no great Force wanting to defend or attack a Country laid waſte by ſo many Wars; one ſingle *Conſul* was therefore judged ſufficient to finiſh what was to be done there. So that *Popillius* only marched thither; and we ſhall ſoon ſee his Battels and his Acts of Inhumanity in this Country. The Senate found *Poſtumius* Employment elſewhere. Since the retaking of *Capua* from *Hannibal*, the fruitful Plains of *Campania* had been partly ſold to Peaſants, partly diſtributed among ſome *Citizens* of *Rome*, and partly reſerved for inalienable Demeſnes for the Republick. And it had happened, as it generally does, that the publick Lands were become a Prey to the Owners of the neighbouring ones, who had encroached upon them, and uſurped them. However, this was no eaſy Matter to ſettle It required all the Authority of a *Conſul*; and *Poſtumius* was judged capable of it. And indeed he paved the Way for it by an Act of Severity, which made him dreaded. Before he was *Conſul*, he had gone a Pilgrimage to *Præneſte*. He had had a Sacrifice to offer there, in the Temple of *Fortune*. But tho' he was then a Man of Importance at *Rome*, the *Prænestini* had neglected him. They had neither given him a publick nor a private Reception. This Affront ſunk deep into his Heart; and he reſented it when he came to be *Conſul*. *Præneſte* was in his Way to *Campania*; and he wrote to the Inhabitants of it, to ſend out their Magiſtrates to meet him; to appoint and furniſh Lodgings for him; and to prepare Beaſts of Burden and Carriages for his Baggage. This was an extraordinary Order. The Great Officers of the Republick had hitherto taken their Journeys without any Expence to the Cities of the Province. To this End, the publick Treaſury furniſhed the Generals of Armies with all Neceſſaries, even Tents and Mules; and on the Road, they lodged with their Friends, between whom and themſelves the Rights of Hoſpitality were mutually maintained. The Commons of the *Roman* State were only obliged to find Conveyances for the Couriers which the Republick ſent to different Places. But *Poſtumius* altered the eſtabliſhed Cuſtom. He was the firſt who eaſed the Exchequer of this heavy Burden, and laid it on the Cities of the Allies. His perſonal Reſentment created them a laſting Vexation; not ſo much by procuring any Edict from the People, or Decree from the Senate, as by the Contagion of one ſingle Precedent.

[15] See what we have ſaid of the Surname of *Moneta*, which the *Romans* gave the Goddeſs *Juno*; in the ſecond Volume, and ſeveral other Parts of this Work.

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§. XIV. Thus *Postumius* then made himself useful to his Republick by Innovations, and by recovering her Demesnes; whilst *Popillius* made the *Roman* Yoke insupportable to *Liguria*. The *Consuls* had hitherto attacked the *Ligures* only by Cantons, which they had reduced one after another; and the *Statiellates*, a People bordering on the Banks of the *Tanarus*, were the Persons against whom *Popillius* marched. He encamped in a large Field, near [16] *Carystus*, a *Ligurian* City, which served for a Retreat for the Armies of the Country; and the *Ligures*, upon his Arrival, sheltering themselves behind their Walls, the *Roman* pretended to intend to lay Siege to the City. Upon this, the *Ligurian* Troops marched out into the Plain, and there drew up in Battalia. This was the very thing that the *Consul* designed by his seeming Preparations for a Siege; and he instantly marched against the Enemy. The *Ligures* were Brave, Constant, and Warlike. This *Rome* had often experienced; and now, they sustained the Attack of the *Romans* for three Hours together, with a Constancy which kept the Victory dubious. Their Infantry were impenetrable; the *Legionaries*, with all their Efforts, could not break them. *Popillius* therefore had Recourse to his Cavalry. He sent them Orders to ride full speed on the Enemy, and break thro' them on three Sides. They set out with great Swiftness, trod every thing they met under their Horses Feet, broke thro' the Files, and at length came to the hindmost Rank, and took the Enemy in the Rear. This filled them with Terror and Disorder. There was no Safety any longer, but in Flight. They therefore dispersed themselves; every one ran cross the Fields; and few reached the City. The *Roman* Cavalry had penetrated to it, and guarded the Avenues. So that the Vanquished fell like so many Victims, by the Swords of the Conquerors. The latter killed no less than ten thousand of them, made seven hundred Prisoners, and took eighty two Standards. On the other hand, the *Romans* lost about three thousand Men in the first Attack. And the Glory of *Popillius* would have been compleat, had he not tarnished it with such Proceedings as were unworthy of the Humanity and good Faith upon which the *Romans* valued themselves. After their Defeat, the *Statiellates* assembled, and reckoned up the Remains of their Army. Then finding the Forces of their Nation reduced to ten thousand Men, this terrible Blow discouraged them. They thought therefore that they had nothing to do but to surrender to their Conquerors; and they did so. They did not indeed settle Terms upon their delivering themselves up; but they had Reason to hope for the same Treatment from *Popillius* which their Countrymen had met with from other *Consuls*, their Conquerors. But the Case was otherwise. *Popillius* treated them with great Rigour. He took away their Arms, dismantled their Cities, reduced them to Slavery, and sold them and their Goods to the best Bidder. Nay, the *Consul* valued himself upon his Inhumanity, and pleaded it as Matter of Merit, in a Letter which he wrote to the Senate. The *Prætor A. Attilius* read it in the House; and the *Conscript Fathers* were much enraged at hearing it. *What!* said they, *shall these* Statiellates, *who were the only People in* Liguria *who had never declared against* Rome, *be the worst treated of any? Should the War have been carried into their Canton before they had committed any Hostilities? Should they not have been treated tenderly after their Surrendry? Shall no Favour be shewn to unfortunate Persons who implore the Clemency of the* Roman *People? What a Reflection is this on the Republick! Shall our Generals have often spared the declared Enemies of the* Roman *Name; and shall* Popillius, *have sold by Auction a peaceable People, who only took up Arms in their own Defence? At this Rate, what Nation will ever submit to us for the future!* And these Complaints were followed by a Decree of the Senate, requiring *Popillius* to return the Money he had received for the Sale of the *Statiellates*; to restore them their Liberty, and as many of their Goods as could be recovered; to make new Arms for them; to settle them again in their own Territories; and then to withdraw his Troops out of their Province. And the Senate concluded their Decree, with Words which Posterity ought never to forget. *Victory is glorious, when it is confined to the subduing untractable Enemies; but it is shameful, when it goes so far as to oppress the Unfortunate.*

Livy, B. 42. c. 8.

16 *Cluver* thinks that the City of *Carystus* was the same that the *Italians* now call *Garusco*. It stands almost in the Road from *Tortona* to *Genoa*.

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But *Popillius* was as obstinate as he was cruel; and the Orders of the Senate provoked him. He immediately sent his Army to encamp near *Pisa*; and without putting any other Part of his Orders in Execution, returned to *Rome*; caused the Senate to be assembled, without the Walls, in the Temple of *Bellona*; and there inveighed against *Attilius*. *What could make this* Prætor, said he, *change the Request I ordered him to present to the Senate for Thanksgivings to the Gods, into an Accusation. Did he design to make the* Ligures *triumph over their Conquerors? Was it his Aim to dishonour a* Consul, *and cause him to be delivered up to a vanquished Enemy? I now insist, in my turn, That a Fine be laid on* Attilius; *That the Decree passed against me be annulled; That publick Prayers be ordered to be offered up for my Victory; and That those Honours be decreed me which I have merited by it.* But *Popillius*'s Demand only drew Reprimands upon him. The *Conscript Fathers* spoke of him to his Face, with as little regard as they had done in his Absence. He therefore returned to his Province, a Victor indeed, but much discontented. The *Fathers* waited for the End of his *Consulship*, to subdue his Pride; and we shall then see him appear again on the Stage.

§. XV. In the mean time, *Rome* had her Eyes constantly fixed on *Macedon*. She was continually sending Ambassadors thither, not so much to treat with *Perses*, as to watch him. They who returned last, reported that they could not obtain an Audience; sometimes it was pretended that he was not in the Way; and sometimes he feigned Sickness. But notwithstanding all his Disguises, they had discovered that the *Macedonian* was preparing to declare War with the *Romans*. All things were got ready for it, and the Die was already cast. And these Reports were confirmed by the several Envoys which were continually coming to *Rome* from *Greece*. The *Ætolians* in particular, who came to demand Redress for the Misfortunes of their Republick, discovered to the Senate all the private Practices of *Perses*, in order to reconcile the *Greek* Nations to him, and the Reasons of the Progress he began to make. *All* Greece, said they, *is divided between two Monarchs, her nearest Neighbours, one in* Europe, *and the other in* Asia. *On one Side the King of* Pergamus, *and on the other the King of* Macedon, *labours to gain the Affections of the* Greeks; *the former in order to attach them to* Rome; *the latter in order to make them rise up against her. But if we consider their Conduct only, there is no Comparison between them.* Eumenes *is a Prince without Faults. The Cities which are made subject to him, live as happily as free Cities. There is scarce any one of our Republicks which has not received Favours from him. And yet so unaccountable is the Temper of the* Greeks, *that they rather incline to* Perses. *The artful* Macedonian *is continually caressing them. He is perpetually carrying on some Negotiation with them, either by Letters, or Embassies. His Presents are moderate, but his Promises boundless. Many Peoples Eyes are dazzled with them, notwithstanding the Villanies of the Man. Immediately after his Father's Death, he stabbed his Wife with his own Hand. He has lately killed* Apelles *his Confidant and Agent, who murdered* Demetrius *for him. And nothing is talked of, but his publick and private Assassinations. Yet still many* Greek *Nations prefer this Tyrant before the most moderate of all Kings! Does this then proceed from their Regard for the Ancientness of the Throne of* Macedon; *or their Contempt for the new Kingdom of* Pergamus? *Or is it not rather founded in a Jealousy of the Grandeur of the* Romans? *Is it not* Eumenes's *Crime that he is attached to* Rome; *and* Perses's *Merit that he hates her?*

Upon these Informations therefore, the Senate resolved to send some wise Men Deputies to *Greece*. The Quarrels of the *Thessalians* among one another, and the intestine Dissentions of the *Ætolians*, gave them a fair Occasion for it; and *Appius Claudius* was accordingly sent to re-establish Concord in *Thessaly*; and one *Marcellus*, to settle the Differences in *Ætolia*. And when these two illustrious *Romans* were upon the Spot, they probably visited the *Greek* Cities, and confirmed them in their old Confederacy with *Rome*. But, whatever was the Case of *Claudius*, it is certain that *Marcellus* went from *Ætolia* to *Peloponnesus*. There he called the *Achæan* Diet to be assembled; and praised the Constancy of the Lords of the Country in rejecting the Offers and Sollicitations of *Perses*. This was a plain Demonstration of the Umbrage the Republick had taken at the Proceedings of the *Macedonian*: And then *Eumenes*, who was perhaps present at the *Achæan* Assembly,

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Aſſembly, reſolved to give the *Romans* a true Information of all the ſecret Preparations *Perſes* was making, to make War with Fury. He had reaſon to be ſurprized at the Dilatorineſs of the Senate, in preventing a dangerous Enemy, who was gathering Strength whilſt they neglected him. But after all, this was no uncommon thing with the *Romans*. They were very active in putting an End to Expeditions which were begun; but ſlow in undertaking them. They took their Meaſures with Prudence; and their Valour ſoon put their Deſigns in Execution. And now, in order to throw the whole Blame entirely on *Perſes*, *Rome* vouchſafed to ſend five new Ambaſſadors to *Macedon*; with Orders, to go from thence to *Alexandria*, and there renew the old Alliance with the new King *Ptolomy*. And here, the Affairs of *Egypt* have too great a Connection with our Hiſtory, to be omitted.

§. XVI. Ever [17] ſince the Death of *Ptolomy* [18] *Epiphanes*, that is, for theſe laſt ſeven Years complete, *Cleopatra*, the Siſter of *Seleucus* King of *Syria*, and of his Brother *Antiochus*, had continued a Widow, and governed *Egypt*, in Quality of Guardian to her Children, who were [19] Minors. And ſhe conceived a Fondneſs for *Alexander*, the [20] youngeſt, which tended to nothing leſs than robbing *Ptolomy*, the eldeſt, of his Crown. This capricious Mother hated the latter; and had got him baniſhed into the Iſland of *Cyprus*, in the Life-time [21] of the King her Huſband. Hence the Surname of *Philometor* was given to the eldeſt, by way of Deriſion; as the youngeſt had the Surname of *Phyſcon*. But Mothers are often blind in their Preferences. This very Son whom ſhe ſo tenderly loved, this *Phyſcon*, this Delight [22] of *Cleopatra*'s Soul, killed her with his own Hands, and was more unnatural to her than the Son ſhe hated and proſcribed. In the mean time, *Antiochus*, who had been brought up at *Rome*, had already [23] mounted the Throne of *Syria*, in the room of *Seleucus*, who had been cruelly [24] murdered by *Heliodorus*. The ſudden *Appearance* of this Brother of the late King, gave him the Name of *Epiphanes* [25], which is tranſlated by the Word *Illuſtrious*. However, *Epiphanes*

Pauſan. B. 1. Joſeph. B. 12.

17 *Euſebius* in his *Chronicon*, *Beda*, *Tertullian*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and moſt modern Chronologiſts, agree, That *Ptolomy Epiphanes* died about the Beginning of the *150th Olympiad*, in the Year of *Rome* 573, the *Conſulate* of *Aulus Poſtumius Albinus Luſcus*, and *Caius Calpurnius Piſo*, after a Reign of twenty four Years. Nevertheleſs ſome, as *Calviſius*, and *Capellus*, make this Prince to have reigned only twenty three Years; and make the 573d Year of *Rome* the firſt of *Ptolomy Philometor*. And *Torniellí* takes the middle Way. He reconciles the two Opinions, by placing the Death of *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, and the Acceſſion of *Philometor*, towards the Cloſe of the ſame Year. We adopt the firſt Opinion, as that which is moſt generally received. As to that of St. *Epiphanius*, who makes him to have reigned but twenty two Years, it cannot be reconciled with the Teſtimonies of ancient Authors.

18 If, as St. *Jerom* and *Juſtin* aſſure us, *Ptolomy Epiphanes* was at moſt but five Years old, when he began to reign, after the Death of his Father *Ptolomy Philopator*; we muſt then ſay, that he died in the twenty ninth or thirtieth Year of his Age.

19 If we had not the Teſtimonies of *St. Jerom* and *Joſephus*, concerning the Minority of *Philometor* and *Phyſcon*, the Courſe of the Hiſtory would be ſufficient to ſhew it. The Ancients agree, that above ſix Years after the Death of their Father *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, *Antiochus* undertook to govern *Egypt* in Quality of Guardian to theſe Princes. Which is a Proof that they were then very young.

20 This young Prince, whom *Pauſanias* calls *Alexander*, is the ſame to whom the other Hiſtorians give the Name of *Ptolomy Phyſcon*.

21 According to *Pauſanias*, *Cleopatra*, after the Death of her Husband *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, could not prevail on the People of *Alexandria* to favour *Phyſcon*. She was forced to recall *Philometor*, to prevent Seditions. So that he was acknowledged to be the lawful Heir to the Crown. Nevertheleſs, ſhe ſent her Son *Alexander* into the Iſland of *Cyprus*, with the Title of King; and waited only for an Opportunity to place him on the Throne, in Prejudice to his Elder Brother.

22 *Genebrard* is miſtaken, in the ſecond Book of his *Chronology*, when he ſays, that the elder of the two *Ptolomys* murdered his Mother, and was ironically ſurnamed *Philometor*. All the Hiſtorians agree, in throwing this horrible Parricide on *Alexander* the younger Brother. *Cleopatra* was killed by her own Son, about the Year of *Rome* 588, which was the 15th Year of the Reign of *Philometor*.

23 The moſt skilful Chronologiſts agree, that *Antiochus* began his Reign in the ſecond Year of the 151ſt *Olympiad*; which anſwers to the Year of *Rome* 578, the *Conſulate* of *Publius Mucius Scævola*, and *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus*.

24 Some Writers doubt whether *Seleucus* was not poiſoned by *Heliodorus*. At leaſt, we know nothing certain of the Manner of his Death. But it is certain that he reigned twelve Years.

25 Some have thought that *Antiochus* acquired the Surname of *Epiphanes*, by the Victories by which he ſignalized the firſt Years of his Reign. Others pretend that he owed this glorious Appellation entirely to the baſe Flattery of the Courtiers, on whom he liberally beſtowed his Favours. But this laſt Conjecture ſeems moſt probable, if we judge of *Antiochus* by the true Character the prophane Hiſtorians have given us of him, as well as ſacred Writers. They repreſent him as a Prince who, after he had diſhonoured the Regal Dignity by the moſt extravagant Follies, made his Memory execrable by his Violences, and Cruelties. Inſomuch that ſome Writers, inſtead of the Surname of *Epiphanes*, give him that of *Epimanes*; which ſignifies in *Greek*, *Madman*. This is the Character which *Polybius*, *Appian*, *Athenæus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Juſtin*, and *Joſephus*, as well as the ſacred Hiſtorians, have given Poſterity of this unworthy Uſurper of the *Syrian* Throne.

too

took Poſſeſſion of the Throne of his Brother, rather as Guardian to young *Demetrius*, then at *Rome*, than in his own Right. The Succeſſion ought regularly to have gone from Father to Son; and conſequently, from *Seleucus* to *Demetrius*. But the Age of the Pupil ſerved for a Pretence for the Uſurpation of *Antiochus*; and he was not content with uſurping this great Kingdom, under Pretence of ſeizing it for his Ward. He now was wholly bent on making himſelf Maſter of *Egypt* too; under the ſame pretended Right of Guardianſhip. This was that Prince of whom the Prophet of the Living God foretold, That he ſhould be a fraudulent Uſurper. *Dan.* xi. 21.

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ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES, the Brother of *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt*, and Uncle to the two young Princes, *Philometor* and *Phyſcon*, took the Part of the Eldeſt. He pretended to undertake to eſtabliſh him in his Rights, againſt the Faction of *Phyſcon*, who was ſupported by the Grandees of the Kingdom. But this Appearance of Juſtice was in Reality only a Mask for the Ambition of the Uncle. His only Deſign was to make his own Advantage of a diſputed Minor's Title, and to place his Nephew's Crown on his own Head. We have already obſerved, that *Cleopatra* had brought the King of *Egypt* for her Portion, *Cœlo-Syria*, *Judæa*, and *Samaria*; and *Epiphanes* was now very deſirous of adding this Part of the *Syrian* Empire to his Dominions. Being attended by a numerous Army, and proud of the Protection of the *Romans*, he entered *Cœlo-Syria*, under Pretence of revenging the Injuries done to *Philometor*. But an unqueſtionable Authority tells us, that he received not the Honour of the Regal Power; but under the Appearances of a Guardian, became the Robber of *Cœlo-Syria*, and left it, loaded with the Plunder of the Country. Nor was *Judæa* exempt from the Pillages he committed in all the Provinces which had been annexed to *Egypt* by *Cleopatra*'s Marriage. The People of God were governed by High-Prieſts; and the High-Prieſt *Onias* was the Man who then did the Office of King. Ambition, Avarice, Incontinence, and a Contempt for the Worſhip of the True God, now prevailed among the *Jews*, inſtead of the Virtues of their Forefathers. The Brother of the High-Prieſt *Onias*, whoſe Name was *Jeſus*, a venerable Name, which he afterwards changed for that of *Jaſon*, was a Villain who was capable of attempting any thing in order to aggrandize himſelf. He thought the virtuous *Onias* had too long enjoyed the Regal Power, which was annexed to the High-Prieſthood. And in order to raiſe himſelf upon the Ruin of his Brother, *Jaſon* had Recourſe to *Antiochus*, gave the Uſurper a ſcandalous Character of him, and made him ſuſpected of eſpouſing *Phyſcon*'s Party. Nor was this all. *Jaſon* promiſed the *Syrian* King, that if he promoted him to the High-Prieſthood, he would deliver up to him all the Riches of the Temple of *Jeruſalem*; which *Seleucus* would formerly have ſeized. Theſe ſacrilegious Offers were accepted, *Onias* was [26] depoſed, and Wickedneſs took the Place of Virtue. Under this deteſtable Reign, the Manners of the *Jews* were totally corrupted. The Cuſtoms of the *Gentiles* were introduced among them. They were aſhamed of their Circumciſion, which was the diſtinguiſhing Mark of the Holy Nation. They built Amphitheatres in *Jeruſalem* for prophane Shows; and Places for the moſt infamous Debaucheries. The Prieſts themſelves were not aſhamed to become Boxers, and to leave the ſacred Function to run to *Games*, in which they often became Actors. This was the Condition in which *Antiochus* found *Jeruſalem*, when he firſt made his Entrance into it. *Jaſon* made all the Preparations for his Reception, that the baſeſt Flattery could dictate; and this blind People were profuſe of their Acclamations to an idolatrous King, whoſe Tyranny they were ſoon to experience!

D. Hieron. in Daniel.

Daniel, ibid.

As for *Antiochus* himſelf, he extended his Views beyond *Cœlo-Syria* and *Judæa*. His Eyes were chiefly fixed on *Egypt*. Nevertheleſs, before he appeared there in Perſon, he by his Agents ſollicited the *Egyptians* to declare him Guardian to his Nephews. But as it was no difficult matter to ſee thro' the *Syrian*'s Deſigns; *Egypt* ſuſpected it, and would not commit the Guardianſhip of her Kings to him. *Antiochus* therefore took by Force what ſhe refuſed to give him. He entered *Egypt*, at the Head of an Army, and ſet up for an Avenger of the Wrongs which had been

Daniel, ibid.

[26] Upon ſo venerable an Authority as that of the ſacred Books, we have Reaſon to reject the Teſtimony of *Joſephus*, who ſays that *Jaſon* did not get the High-Prieſthood till after the Death of the High-Prieſt *Onias*.

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done his eldest Nephew. The Kingdom was defended by two Persons, who were faithful to the young Princes. One was an Eunuch named *Elucius*, who had brought up *Philometor* from his Infancy: The other was an *Egyptian* Officer, named *Leneus*. But these two Defenders of *Egypt* were immediately defeated in a Battel which was fought near [27] *Pelusium*. *Philometor* fell into the Hands of his Uncle, who affected to caress him very much; and carried him to [28] *Memphis*. There the *Syrian* took upon him the Office of Regent of the Kingdom; and the Desolations he caused in it are not to be expressed. All the Cities and the Fields were pillaged. *Alexandria*, where the youngest of the two Princes was kept confined, was sacked. So many Violences therefore could not but be soon reported at *Rome*; and it was the Policy of the *Syrian* to be beforehand with the Senate, concerning his *Egyptian* Expedition. He knew very well that *Egypt* had long entered into strict Engagements with the prevailing Republick; and therefore he dispatched away an Embassy to the Capital of the World, immediately after he returned to *Syria*.

Polyb. in Legat. N. 38.

By the Treaty concluded between the *Scipio's* and *Antiochus the Great*, it had been agreed, that the King of *Syria* should pay the *Romans*, in the twelve Years next after the Date of it, [a] *Talents*, to make the Conquerors amends for the Expence of the War. *Seleucus* had neglected to pay this Debt in his Reign; and his Successor had not yet been in a Condition to discharge it: Though there were already sixteen Years expired since the Ratification of the Treaty. But now *Epiphanes* found himself rich enough to send the whole Sum to *Rome*. He had received from *Jason* the *Jew*, for the Purchase of the *Pontificate* and Royalty, three hundred and sixty [b] *Talents* of Silver, which the latter had taken out of the Temple of *Jerusalem*; and eighty [c] more *Talents*, which the ambitious *Jason* had raised out of the Revenues of the Nation. Besides, what immense Sums must *Antiochus* have brought from *Egypt*! So that this Prince had, by Sacrilege and Robberies, enabled himself to pay his Debts. Hence the Sums which he sent to *Rome* with *Apollonius*, the Head of his Embassy: who, besides the Debt, carried also considerable Presents for the Republick. When the *Syrians* arrived at *Rome*, and were introduced into the Senate; their Speech chiefly consisted of Apologies, in the Name of the King their Master, for having so long delayed to satisfy the *Romans*. They brought, as a free Gift, several Vases of Gold, which weighed five hundred [d] Pounds; returned the Republick Thanks for the happy Education their King had received at *Rome*, and the Marks of Honour that were paid him during his Abode there; and concluded with demanding, that the Alliance between *Rome* and *Syria* should be renewed. As for the *Romans*, they had no Regard to his Oppressions in the Provinces from whence he had drawn his Money, or to his Robberies of Temples. Perhaps no Complaints had been brought to them of it. They received the Envoys of *Antiochus* graciously, defrayed their Expences, and made them Presents. And the *Prætor Attilius* was ordered to draw up the Act of Confederacy upon the same Foot, on which it had been made with the Father of *Antiochus*. The Money which the *Syrian* had sent was put into the Hands of the *Quæstors*; and the Vases of Gold were delivered to the *Censors*, to be offered to such of the Gods as they thought fit. Is it then at all surprizing that the *Romans* should be immensely rich? Their City was, if I may so speak, a great Gulph, which swallowed up all the Riches of the World. The triumphant Victors brought some thither; and the rest came by the Tributes that were raised in the Provinces, or by the Presents that were sent by the Nations and Cities that sought the Protection of the Republick. The Treasury of *Rome* was then full, to the great Misfortune of *Perses*, who

[a] 290625 *l. Sterl. Arbuth.*

[b] 12318 *l.* 10 *s. Arbuth.*

[c] 27375 *l. Arbuthnot.*

[d] *Worth* 24000 *l. Sterl. at* 4 *l. per Ounce.*

27 *Pelusium*, which some Moderns have very improperly confounded with *Damiet*, was one of the chief Cities in *Lower Egypt*. The Ancients agree in placing it near the most Eastern Mouth of the *Nile*. For this Reason, the Place where this River ran into the Sea was called *The Mouth of Pelusium*. This City, which is a little further distant from the Sea than *Damiet*, is at best but a Village at present, which the Natives call *Belbais*.

28 Most modern Geographers think that old *Memphis*, the Capital of one of the three *Dynasties* of *Egypt*, stood where *Grand Cairo* now does. B... others pretend that it stood seventeen Leagues Sou... of this City, a little below the Point of *The Del...* *Herodotus* makes *Menes* the first King of *Egypt*, ... have been the Founder of it. This was probably t... fame Person whom *Josephus* calls *Mineus*, and who... some have taken for *Misraim*, the Son of *Ham*. N... *Memphis* were built the Pyramids, the Remains ... which are to this Day the Admiration of all T... vellers.

used all Means to draw upon him the Anger of this powerful People; and their Patience was indeed soon tired out after this time. But it was necessary first to finish the War in *Liguria*; which we shall see done under the succeeding *Consuls*. Year of *ROME* DLXXX.

§. XVII. But what could induce *Rome* to choose two *Plebeian Consuls* at this time, cannot easily be imagined. Indeed, since the *Consulate* had been divided between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, two of the former had sometimes been chosen *Consuls* together. But two *Plebeians* together had never yet governed the Republick, in that Capacity. And it is surprizing that the Historians should say nothing of so remarkable an Epocha. All we know of it is from the *Fasti Capitolini*, which have given Posterity more exact Accounts of the Governors of *Rome*, than her Writers. If we may be permitted to form a Conjecture concerning what all the Historians are silent; it is this. It seems probable, That so great a Number of *Plebeians* were now arrived at the highest Dignities at different times, that there began to be very little Difference made between the Families of the most ancient Nobility, and those which had lately been ennobled by Offices. At least, we shall find that nothing will be more common from this time, to the *Dictatorship* of *Julius Cæsar*, than to see two *Plebeians* chosen *Consuls* together. Or perhaps so many of the original *Patrician* Families were extinct, that they could not supply the Republick with a *Consul*, every Year. But be that as it will, the Majority of the Suffrages fell on *P. Acilius Ligus*, and *C. Popillius Lænas*, both of *Plebeian* Extraction; and they were declared *Consuls*. L. Postumius Albinus, M. Popilius Lænas, Consuls.

Year of *ROME* DLXXVI.

P. Acilius Ligus, C. Popillius Lænas, Consuls.

It is also surprizing, that a second *Popilius* should be chosen in *The Field of Mars*, to succeed his Brother in the *Consulate*. *M. Popillius* had very lately brought a Scandal upon the State, by his Fury, and Disobedience. He was now at *Pisa*, and would not put the Orders of the Senate in execution. So that the *Statiellates* still languished away their time in Slavery, though *Rome* had passed a Decree for their Deliverance. The Senate therefore were inclined, upon the Motion of *Acilius Ligus*, to renew their Decree, and force the refractory *Popillius* to set them at liberty, and put them in Possession of their Lands. But the other new *Consul*, the Brother of the Accused, opposed *Acilius*'s Motion; and threatened his Collegue, that he would protest against the Decree of the Senate, if he obtained one. And at length the weak *Acilius* complied with the Entreaties of the *Popillii*, and dropped his Motion. The *Conscript Fathers* were therefore justly enraged at both the *Consuls*. *Livy*, B. 42. c. 10.

The War with *Macedon* was in a manner resolved on. So that the new *Consuls* expected, that one of them would have the East for his Province. But their Hopes were vain. Whether the *Fathers* were willing to mortify the two *Plebeian* Collegues; or whether the Affair of *Macedon* was not yet come to Maturity, the Senate assigned them only *Liguria* for their Province. Indeed their Hopes were revived by a Promise, that *Macedon* should be given to one of them, if they would prosecute and condemn the Rebel *Popillius*. But their Affection prevailed over their Regard for Equity; and therefore the Senate took Pleasure in punishing them. They refused them every thing that they asked. They had desired Leave to raise new Levies for their Armies. But the Senate obliged them to be content with the Troops which their Predecessors had commanded in *Liguria*.

§. XVIII. The *Consuls* were piqued at the little Regard the Senate had for them; and they were heard to say, That as soon as they had performed the Ceremony of their Installation in the Temple of *Jupiter* on *The Hill of Alba*, they would leave *Rome*, go and govern their Province, and undertake nothing for the Glory of the *Roman* Name. But this first Fire of the two Malecontents, only drew upon them fresh Mortifications. They fixed their Residence at *Rome*, and found Pretences to continue there. The unexpected Arrival of the King of *Pergamus*, was what first detained them. The prudent and generous *Eumenes*, ever sincerely affected to *Rome*, had the last Year made strict Enquiries into the Preparations made by *Perses* for War, and the Nations he had drawn into his Interest; and he personally undertook this Voyage to *Rome*, out of pure Zeal. Some Historians indeed say, that he only sent his Brother *Attalus* thither; but the greatest Number of them assure us, That the King would not trust any Body but himself with this important Negotiation. A Friend of this Character was received with a Magnificence *Val. Ant. apud Liv.*

worthy of a great Sovereign, and a powerful Republick. He was introduced into the Senate in great Form; and there ſpoke thus.

Year of ROME DLXXXI. P. Acilius Ligus, C. Popilius Lænas, Conſuls.

MY earneſt Deſires to ſee Rome, *to pay my Duty to the Gods worſhiped there, to behold the Majeſty of the* Roman *People, and to pay my Gratitude to the moſt auguſt Senate in the World, were ſufficient Motives to have induced me to croſs the Seas, purely out of Inclination. But there is alſo another Inducement, which I thought made it abſolutely neceſſary for me to leave my own Dominions. I am come to inform you of the Proceedings of a King who is your Enemy, and conceals his Deſigns under the Veil of Friendſhip. What a Monſter is this* Perſes, *whoſe Enterprizes you are too dilatory in preventing! He aſſaſſinated his Brother, ſtabbed his Wife, and brought his Father to the Grave by repeated Vexations, before he entered into his preſent treacherous Meaſures againſt you. Nevertheleſs, his Hatred to you is older than his Reign. In* Philip's *time, he drew into* Macedon *a Swarm of Barbarians, in order to bring them into* Italy; *and then he ſtirred up the* Baſtarnæ *againſt the* Dardani *your Allies. Nay, his Hatred to* Rome *was what raiſed him to the Throne, in Preference to a Brother who had been brought up by you, and was your Friend. And ſince his Acceſſion, he has continued ſteddy to his Reſentments, and left nothing unattempted againſt you. His Youth and Experience in the Art of War raiſed his Courage. His Father brought him up in a Camp; and his firſt Campaigns were made againſt* Rome. *Hence his Averſion for the Republick, which he has ſhewn by numberleſs Acts, ſince he has had the Reins of Government in his Hands. He has attempted, nay, he has done more than his Father* Philip. *He has by ſome Artifices or other gained the Affections, both of the* Greeks *and* Aſiaticks. *Is this then purely his good Luck; or is it the Effect of the univerſal Jealouſy of the People of the Eaſt, of the Succeſs of your Arms?* Perſes *has the Reputation of hating you; and yet* Perſes *is beloved. By how many Alliances has he made himſelf formidable? His Wife is the Daughter of* Seleucus, *and his Siſter is married to* Pruſias. Bœotia, *which was formerly ſuch an Enemy to* Philip, *has entered into an Alliance with his Son.* Achaia *was very near declaring in his Favour.* Ætolia *has received Succours from him to appeaſe her inteſtine Broils. But what am I ſaying?* Perſes, *without theſe foreign Aſſiſtances, is very ſtrong of himſelf. He has already raiſed thirty thouſand Foot, and five thouſand Horſe in* Macedon. *His Magazines are ſtored with Proviſions for ten Years. He has Money enough in his Treaſury to pay thirty thouſand Mercenaries for a great while. The Mines he has dug in his Dominions bring him in large Revenues every Year. His Magazines of Arms are ſo well provided, that he can arm two hundred thouſand Men. And in ſhort, if his* Macedonians *ſhould fail him, he has a Nurſery of Soldiers in* Thrace, *which are always ready to obey his Orders. I don't exaggerate. I did not leave* Pergamus *to put a Cheat upon you. I have ſeen the* Greek *Cities openly eſpouſe his Intereſt. I my ſelf have ſeen him force ſome Provinces to declare for him; and prevail on others by Sollicitations. I have obſerved a great deal of Difference, between his Proceedings and your's. You have had nothing in view, but to procure him Peace. He has abuſed your Intentions, and prepared for War. He has driven* Abrupolis, *one of the petty Kings of* Thrace, *and your Friend, out of his Dominions.* Aretarus, *a little Sovereign in* Illyricum, *kept a faithful Correſpondence with you; and* Perſes *has cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated. He has put to Death two illuſtrious* Thebans, *becauſe they declared they would diſcover his Intrigues to you. In a Word, he has made War in* Dolopia; *and ſowed Diſſentions in* Doris, Theſſaly, *and* Perrœbia. *And with what Deſign? To find them Employment enough at Home, that he may not have them upon his Back when he comes into* Italy. *His Intention is to bring the War hither, into the Heart of your Republick. He is a ſecond* Hannibal; *and you will ſoon ſee him ſeize the Provinces which are neareſt to you. Could I then foreſee all theſe Misfortunes, and not give you Notice of it? I am diſcharging a Duty which Gratitude requires at the Hands of a faithful Friend, and one who has been enriched by your Favours. The Gods grant, that upon this Information, you may take ſuch Reſolutions as are worthy of you; and ſuch as ſhall prove moſt for the Safety of your Allies in the Levant, who depend upon You.*

Livy, B. 42. c. 13.

Livy. ibid.

THIS Diſcourſe from a King made ſtrong Impreſſions on the Senators. It cleared up all the Suſpicions, which their own Ambaſſadors, and thoſe of the *Greek* Republicks, had given them, of *Philip*'s Conduct. Nevertheleſs, the Intelligence *Eumenes*

Year of ROME DLXXXI. P. Aelius Ligus, C. Popilius Lænas, Consuls.

Eumenes gave was buried in Silence. The Secrets of the Senate were inviolably kept. It was not known till after the War was ended, what had paſſed at the Audience which *The Conſcript Fathers* gave to the King of *Pergamus*. Indeed the Senate came to no Reſolutions at their firſt ſitting. They were willing to hear the Ambaſſadors of *Perſes*, before they came to a Determination. So careful were the *Romans* not to engage precipitately in Enterpriſes of any kind! Some Days after, *Harpalus*, the Head of the *Macedonian* Embaſſy, was introduced with his Collegues into the Senate; and theſe Deputies in vain endeavoured to impoſe on *The Conſcript Fathers*. The Informations they had received from *Eumenes*, had put them upon their Guard, againſt the Artifices of King *Perſes*. They refuted all the Pretences *Harpalus* made uſe of to cover his Maſter's Proceedings: And at length the proud Deputy grew out of all Temper. Rome *then*, ſaid he, *will not believe me, when I aſſure her, that* Perſes *has neither done, nor deſigned to do any thing, in Violation of his Treaties with her. She is for War. Very well. We accept the Challenge. Heaven and our Arms ſhall determine the Diſpute.*

THEIR Curioſity had now brought many Deputies to *Rome*, from ſeveral of the *Greek* Nations. They were impatient to know the Reſult of the Audiences which the Senate had given to the King of *Pergamus*, and the *Macedonian* Ambaſſadors. All *Greece* was intereſted in the Affair. The *Rhodians* alſo had ſent to *Rome* one of their Heads, named *Satyrus*; who took it for granted, that *Eumenes* had included his Republick, in the Informations he had given againſt the King of *Macedon*. He therefore ſought for an Opportunity to meet *Eumenes* in the Senate-Houſe, and by the Help of his Friends and Patrons, did ſo. *Satyrus* was a violent Man; and he broke out into extravagant Reproaches on the King of *Pergamus*. *It is you*, ſaid he, *who have ſtirred up* Lycia *againſt the* Rhodian *Government. You have done more Miſchief in* Aſia *than ever* Antiochus the Great *did*. Theſe Invectives were agreeable to the *Aſiaticks*, where *Perſes* had now many Friends. But the only Effect they had at *Rome*, was to render the *Rhodian* ſuſpected, and increaſe the Affection the *Romans* had for *Eumenes*. The Senate heaped Honours upon him; made him fine Preſents; and among other things gave him a *Curule Chair*, and a General's Battoon adorned with Ivory.

§. XIX. DURING theſe Tranſactions in the Capital, whither the Nations of the *Levant* were come, to act different Parts, *Harpalus* was returned to *Macedon*. He had told his Maſter, that the *Romans* had not indeed declared War, or ordered any Preparations to be made for it; but that they were ſo exaſperated, that they could not delay it. But this News did not terrify *Perſes*. His Troops were in as good a Condition as he deſired, at leaſt to be upon the defenſive. All the Advantage he loſt was that of ſurprizing the Enemy, when his Party ſhould have been better formed; and the artful Politician imputed to the King of *Pergamus* the Diſcovery of his moſt ſecret Deſign. *It was by* Eumenes, ſaid he, *that the Republick was informed of the Commotions I raiſed in* Greece, *before I went into* Italy. This therefore enraged him againſt a Prince who was too ſagacious, and too faithful a Friend; and he reſolved to deſtroy him. *Perſes* was skilful in the Art of Aſſaſſinations. He had already deſtroyed one ſovereign Prince by the baſeſt Treachery. And now he hired four Ruffians, which he uſed to employ in ſuch Enterprizes. One was a *Cretan*, named *Evander*, the Head of the Auxiliaries in his Service; and the three others were *Macedonians*, nameleſs Perſons, and known only by their Crimes. *Perſes* knew that the King of *Pergamus* ſeldom failed of going, at certain times, to *Delphi*, to pay his Duty to the God who was worſhiped there; and this was the Place that he choſe to ſtain with the Blood of a great King. He ſent the four Aſſaſſins thither; and recommended them to a Woman of Condition, named *Praxo*, with whom the King of *Macedon* uſed to lodge, when he went to *Delphi*. *Praxo* received them upon the Recommendation of their Maſter; and they made it their whole Buſineſs to find out a proper Place to execute their deteſtable Deſign; and found one. There was no paſſing from the Port of *Delphi* called *Cirrha*, to the City and Temple, but through an hollow Way, which was ſo narrow, that two Men could not walk a-breaſt in it. Cloſe by the Path were the Ruins of an old Houſe. A piece of a Wall, half tumbled down, overlooked the Way; and within the Houſe, the Rubbiſh lay ſloping up almoſt as high as the Wall. There the Aſſaſſins took their Stand, and furniſhed themſelves with great Stones,

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Stones, which they were to roll down upon the Head of the King, as ſoon as he ſhould be got into the hollow Way. *Eumenes*'s Guard which attended him paſſed through this Place without any Obſtruction; and then came the King, with *Pantaleon*, one of the *Ætolian* Princes, with whom *Eumenes* was talking. As they were walking ſlowly on, two Stones fell down all on a ſudden, one on the Head of the King, which ſtunned him, and knocked him down; and the other on one of his Shoulders, which was bruiſed by it. When the Guard ſaw the King lying dead on the Ground, they diſperſed themſelves. *Pantaleon* only continued with him. And whilſt he was endeavouring to aſſiſt him, the Aſſaſſins who thought him dead, fled. They took a great Compaſs, and came at laſt to the Top of Mount [29] *Parnaſſus*. One of their Companions had a great deal of Difficulty to follow them; and the reſt therefore killed him. They were afraid leſt he ſhould be taken by the *Pergamenſes*, and bear Witneſs againſt *Perſes*.

When their firſt Fright was over, the Guards and Friends of the King gathered round him; and by a little Palpitation of his Heart, and a little Heat which they felt in his Stomach, concluded him not to be dead. Nevertheleſs, they deſpaired of his Life. However, whilſt the Aſſaſſins were purſued in vain, the King came to himſelf. Upon which he was immediately put on board his Galley, and carried to *Corinth*, and from thence to [30] *Ægina*, where he was cured. But no Body was ſuffered to come near him; and the Cure being kept a Secret, this made it believed that *Eumenes* was dead. *Attalus* himſelf, that faithful Brother, that zealous Subject, that Pattern of brotherly Love and Concord, was a little too ready to give into the common Report; and at the Inſtigation of the Queen his Siſter-in-Law, he immediately took upon him the Office and Title of King. He loved the Queen, *Plut. in Epiph.* and ſhe him; and they reſolved to marry. So that Love rather than Ambition hurried the Brother, who was affectionately beloved by the King, into Meaſures, which were not for his Honour. *Eumenes*, after his Recovery, was informed of the Engagements, which *Attalus* and the Queen had entered into; and ſo great was his Moderation, that his Reſentment went no farther than to a Jeſt. When he was returned to *Pergamus*, he only whiſpered in his Brother's Ear; *Don't think any more of my Wife; At leaſt, whilſt I am alive.* After which *Attalus* ſacrificed his Paſſion to his Duty, and the Queen confined her Affection to the King only.

§. XX. The Rumour of the Death of *Eumenes* was ſpread in *Rome*, when *Valerius*, who had been ſent to *Greece* to watch *Perſes*, returned to the Senate; and his Report confirmed them in the ill Opinion which the King of *Pergamus* had given them of the *Macedonian*. Nay, he gave them ſtill worſe Notions of this wicked Prince, by the new Proofs he brought of two perfidious Acts which *Liv. B. 42. c. 17.* he had committed. 1. In the firſt Place, *Valerius* had brought from *Delphi* with him, that *Praxo*, who, upon *Perſes*'s Letters, had entertained thoſe who were Accomplices in the intended Aſſaſſination of *Eumenes*. And 2*dly*, The ſame Ambaſſador produced alſo another Witneſs, who was ſufficient to make *Perſes* the Curſe of all Mankind. One *Rammius* was one of the richeſt and moſt powerful Citizens in *Brunduſium*. The greateſt Officers in the *Roman* Army, all the foreign Princes, and all the Ambaſſadors from the Kings of the *Levant*, generally lodged at his Houſe, as they went from *Rome* to *Greece*, or *vice verſa*. Perſons of Diſtinction always met with an hoſpitable Entertainment, and kind Reception with him; and by this means *Rammius*'s Name was well known in *Italy*, and in all the Eaſtern Courts. *Perſes* heard of him, and thought to have prevailed on him to gratify his Paſſion in the moſt deteſtable Manner. By repeated Letters, and Promiſes of a great Fortune, he preſſed *Rammius* to make a Voyage into *Macedon*; and never was private Perſon received with more Diſtinction. He was careſſed, and great Preſents were made him. And at length the King ventured to communicate his Secrets to him, which filled him with Horror. *I will heap Riches and Honours upon you, without Meaſure*, ſaid *Perſes* to him, *if you will grant*

29 *Parnaſſus* is that Mountain in *Phocis*, where the Poets fixed the Abode of *Apollo*, and the *Muſes*. This Mountain is pretty long, and is broken into ſeveral Hills, to which the Ancients give different Names. At the Foot of *Parnaſſus* was the Fountain of *Caſtalis*, whoſe Water was ſaid to inſpire thoſe who drank it, with Poetick Fury. The Moderns give this Mountain the Name of *Parneſo*.

30 We have already ſpoken of the Iſland *Ægina*, in *The Saronic Gulph*, towards the Coaſt of *Africa*. It ſtill retains the ſame Name, according to *Sophian*.

my Deſires. All the Generals that Rome *ſends to the* Levant *to command her Armies there, generally lodge at your Houſe; and nothing would be eaſier than for you to diſpatch ſuch for me, as I ſhall direct. I am ſenſible it is no eaſy Task to manage ſuch things as theſe ſo prudently as to prevent Suſpicion. It would be dangerous to kill my Enemies with the Sword. But Poiſon, when well prepared, is a ſure Way of diſpatching a Man whom you want to get rid of, without Diſcovery; and I will furniſh you with ſome, which leaves no Mark behind it. You may freely make uſe of it without fearing the Puniſhment of Men. And you will thereby always lay me under the higheſt Obligations to Gratitude.* *Rammius* was terrified at theſe Words; but diſſembled his Aſtoniſhment. He was afraid of being forced to take the fatal Drink himſelf, if he refuſed to give it others. And he therefore accepted of every thing; promiſed every thing; and embarked again, as it were, to return to *Brunduſium*. But he would not go back to *Italy*, till he had declared to the Ambaſſador *Valerius*, the deteſtable Commiſſion which *Perſes* had given him. *Valerius* adviſed him to go directly to *Rome*, and give Information of this to the Senate; and the Ambaſſador ſoon followed him, and introduced *Rammius* and *Praxo* to the *Fathers*.

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THE Proof of ſuch horrid Plots left no room for Heſitation. The Senate of *Rome* unanimouſly agreed, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to declare War with a perfidious Enemy, who was capable of making uſe of ſuch Arms, as the Law of Nations did not allow of. But they were not in haſte to ſend one of the preſent *Conſuls* into *Macedon*, to begin the War there. Neither *Acilius Ligus*, nor *Popilius Lænas*, was conſiderable enough to be charged with a Commiſſion to execute the Vengeance of the *Romans*, on ſo formidable an Enemy as *Perſes*. The *Conſcript Fathers* therefore choſe to ſtay, to ſend one of the next Year's *Conſuls* into the *Levant*. Nevertheleſs, they thought it neceſſary to take the firſt Step towards the *Macedonian* Expedition immediately. The *Prætor, Cn. Sicinius*, whoſe Office was confined to the Cognizance of Cauſes between the *Citizens* of *Rome*, was appointed to go firſt into the Eaſt; and Power was given him to raiſe Troops, and equip a Fleet to tranſport them to the Coaſt next to *Macedon*. By which Step *Rome* openly declared herſelf an Enemy to *Perſes*. As the Republick had, for a long time paſt, had no Armies in the *Levant*, but had ſupported her Dominion there, only by the Terror of her Name, and the many Ambaſſadors ſhe was continually ſending thither; a *Prætor*'s landing with an Army would be a plain Proof that the War would ſoon break out there. And indeed, the *Prætor*'s Orders were, to ſeize the maritime Cities near *Macedon*, that the *Conſul*, to whom that Province ſhould fall, might be able to land there conveniently, without Oppoſition. And it is probable, that it was reſolved to ſend, with the *Prætorian* Fleet, Ambaſſadors to the King of *Pergamus*, to congratulate him upon his Recovery.

§. XXI. WHILST *Sicinius* was preparing for his Departure, ſeveral Embaſſies arrived at *Rome* from the Eaſtern Countries. The moſt conſiderable, and moſt important was that of [31] *Ariarathes*, King of *Cappadocia*, the fifth of that Name. This Monarch had ſent to the *Romans*, the only Son whom he acknowledged to be of his Blood, and whom he intended for his Succeſſor. To truſt, and ſend him to them, was ſecuring him the Protection of the prevailing Republick, and procuring him a perpetual Reſource againſt his ſuppoſititious, malecontent, and rejected, Brothers. The Prince, who was yet a Child, was received at *Rome* with the greateſt Demonſtrations of Friendſhip. *Sicinius*, who was not yet ſet out for *Macedon*, was ordered to ſupply the *Cappadocian* with all Neceſſaries; and as foreign Affairs were the *Prætor*'s Province, he furniſhed him with Lodgings at the Expence of the Publick.

AFTER the *Cappadocian* Ambaſſadors, thoſe of *Thrace* were admitted into the Senate. They demanded the Friendſhip of the *Romans*; and it is eaſy to judge, with what Joy the Republick entered into an Alliance with a Nation which bordered upon *Macedon*, and upon which *Perſes* chiefly built his Hopes. To draw off *Thrace* from the *Macedonian*, was in a manner to conquer him.

31 See what we have ſaid above of King *Ariarathes* in ſeveral Parts of this Volume.

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And then *Perſes* himſelf made his laſt Effort to ſuſpend the Hoſtilities of the *Roman* People. Whether it was that he was aſhamed of the Infamy, which the Violence offered *Eumenes* had brought upon him; or whether he had yet ſome Negotiations to finiſh; whatever was his Motive, *Perſes* ſent two Perſons, in whom he could confide, to the Senate, before he began the War. Their Names were *Solon* and *Hippias*. But they had no Succeſs with the *Conſcript Fathers*. They in vain endeavoured to colour over their Maſter's Crimes, or leſſen the Odium of them. The Depoſition of *Praxo* left no room for doubt. It was certain, that ſhe had received the four Aſſaſſins, at the Recommendation of *Perſes*. She produced his own Letters. Three of the Villains had diſappeared; and the Body of the fourth had been found on the Top of *Parnaſſus*. Theſe were ſuch Proofs as would not admit of a Reply; ſo that the Excuſes of *Perſes* only created a greater Indignation againſt him. As ſoon as the Orators had done ſpeaking, they, and all the *Macedonians*, which had lately arrived at *Rome*, were commanded by the Senate to leave *Rome* immediately; and *Italy*, in thirty Days. And the *Conſuls* were ordered to ſee this Decree put in execution.

§. XXII. Neither *Acilius* nor his Collegue were yet gone from *Rome*, though the Seaſon was far advanced. Other Generals did not uſe to delay taking the Field ſo long. And in the mean time, the *Ligures*, againſt whom they were both deſigned to act, opened their Arms to receive them. The many unfortunate *Statiellates*, who had been reduced to Slavery the laſt Year by the mercileſs *Popilius*, implored the Aſſiſtance of the two *Conſuls*; and they were authorized, by a Decree of the Senate, to reſtore theſe unfortunate Men, whoſe Fate was to be lamented, their Liberty. But the two *Conſuls* were both unaffected with their great Misfortunes. One regarded no Body but his Brother, againſt whom the Decree was chiefly levelled; and the other did what his Collegue deſired him. So that their Obſtinacy became inſupportable to the Senate; and upon a new Incident, they were forced to obey the Decree, in ſpight of themſelves. The ſame *Popilius*, who having been *Conſul* the laſt Year, was yet commanding the *Roman* Army in *Liguria*, till his Succeſſors arrived, had lately carried his Inhumanity to the higheſt Pitch. He had again turned his Arms againſt the Remains of the *Statiellates*, and had killed ſixteen thouſand of them. This barbarous Execution had forced the moſt peaceable *Ligures* to rebel; and all was in a Flame, in a Province, which it was of Importance to appeaſe, now that the War beyond Sea was juſt breaking out. Nay, the imprudent *Popilius* had even writ to the Senate, and boaſted of his new Expedition, as an Act of Valour. And then the *Conſcript Fathers* could no longer bear the repeated Diſobedience of a General, who had nothing of the *Roman*, but his Birth, and Name. They ſhewed their Reſentment againſt the *Conſuls*, who had too long obſtinately refuſed to obey their Orders; and reprimanded them in a full Houſe, with their Dilatorineſs in ſetting out for their Province. Nor was this all. Two *Tribunes of the People*, one named *Marcius Sermo*, and the other *Marcius Scylla*, threatened them with a Fine, if they continued in the City; and read in full Senate, the Minute of a Petition already drawn up concerning the Affair of the *Statiellates*. The Purport of it was, that if any of the *Statiellates* were not reſtored to their Liberty before the firſt of *Auguſt*, the Senate, after being ſworn again, ſhould appoint a Magiſtrate to inform againſt him, by whoſe Means they were kept in Slavery. The Petition was read, and confirmed in the *Comitia*; and by vertue of this *Plebiſcitum*, the *Prætor Licinius* was nominated to pronounce Sentence againſt the Authors of the Sale of the *Statiellates*, and againſt thoſe who obſtructed their recovering their Liberty. After which the *Conſuls* were forced to go, and put themſelves at the Head of their Armies in *Liguria*; and the *Conſul* for the laſt Year delivered up his Troops to them.

So that *M. Popilius Lænas* was now reduced to the Condition of a private Man. And then he was ſenſible of the Injuſtice of his Proceedings, and durſt not appear before the Senate, whoſe Power he had defied, when he was in Office. Both the People and Senate were againſt him. Beſides, the *Prætor Licinius* had received a Commiſſion to judge him; and his Judgment was agreeable to the Deciſions of the Senate. *Popilius* was cited to appear; and was then guilty of a freſh Act of Diſobedience. The *Prætor* was therefore forced to get a ſecond Decree of the People,

ple, to oblige him to come before him. *Licinius* had Orders to condemn him for Contumacy, if he did not return to *Rome* before *The Ides of November*. And this laſt Step at length compelled him to appear. Then, what Reproaches had he to ſuffer from the *Conſcript Fathers!* They inſulted this proud *Conſul*, who was now become a private Perſon, and ſubject to be tried at the Tribunals which he had deſpiſed; and at length a Decree was paſt, reſtoring Liberty to all the *Ligures*, who had not taken up Arms ſince the *Conſulate* of *Q. Fulvius*, and *L. Manlius*. The *Conſul*, who was Brother to the cruel *Popilius*, received Orders to undo what his Brother had done, reſtore the *Statiellates* their Liberty, and aſſign them Lands to cultivate on the other ſide of the *Po*. And as for the guilty *Popilius*, the *Prætor* his Judge made him undergo two Examinations. But out of Regard to his Brother, and the Interceſſions of the *Popilian* Family, he delayed pronouncing Sentence till after *The Ides of March*. By that means he avoided condemning a Man of Diſtinction, who was not without Merit. The Office of the *Prætor*, and his Commiſſion with it, expired before the time, which he granted the Accuſed to make his Defence. Thus ended an Affair, which ſerved only to embroil *Popilius*, the People, the Senate, the two *Conſuls*, and the *Ligures*, with one another. However *Rome*, by theſe Demonſtrations of Clemency, and Appearances of Severity, pacified *Liguria*; at a time when all the Forces of the Republick were going to be employed againſt *Macedon*.

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§. XXIII. The Senate likewiſe treated the *Africans* with the ſame Regard. It was dangerous to exaſperate them, leſt *Perſes* ſhould take Advantage of the Diſcontents of theſe Allies of *Rome*. And therefore the *Conſcript Fathers* artfully extricated themſelves by Delays, out of an Affair, which was brought before their Tribunal. The *Carthaginians* brought Complaints againſt King *Maſiniſſa* their Neighbour. They affirmed, That this ambitious Prince, finding himſelf ſupported by the *Romans*, had taken from their Republick above ſeventy Towns and Caſtles, in the Space of two Years; and declared, That they had not put themſelves upon the defenſive, for fear of being accuſed of violating their Faith, in relation to their laſt Treaty with *Rome*. They were forbidden by that Treaty to take up Arms againſt the Allies of *Rome*, without the Conſent of the *Roman* Republick. And *Carthage* deſired that one of theſe three things might be granted her; either That the Senate would judge impartially between her and *Maſiniſſa*; or That they would give her Leave to take up Arms againſt the Uſurper; or That they would determine how much of her Territory they would ſuffer the King her Neighbour to invade hereafter, with Impunity. *We had rather*, ſaid they, *give him up what you allot him of our Lands, than come to open Force. To live in Slavery to* Rome, *is a leſs Evil, than to be continually expoſed to the Robberies of a petty King of* Numidia. And this ſaid, the Ambaſſadors of *Carthage* fell proſtrate. Theſe ſorts of Submiſſions coſt the *Carthaginians* nothing; and they were not always ſure Proofs of their real Sentiments. On the contrary, *Rome* had Reaſon to ſuſpect that mutual Embaſſies had been ſent from *Macedon* to *Carthage*, and from the *Carthaginians* to *Macedon*; and therefore in the preſent State of Affairs it was dangerous to ſour them.

Guluſſa, the Son of *Maſiniſſa*, happened accidentally to be at *Rome* at that time; and the Senate ſent for him, and examined him, concerning the Injuries for which *Carthage* demanded Satisfaction. But the young Prince was not prepared to anſwer theſe Reproaches. He was come to *Rome* on very different Affairs; and *Carthage* had made a great Secret of her Deputation. He therefore could only entreat *The Conſcript Fathers*, not to be too haſty in giving Judgment againſt a faithful Ally, whoſe Neighbours were continually calumniating him. The Senate were very glad to have room to ſuſpend a Decree, which perhaps *Carthage* had demanded, with no other View but to complain of the want of it, and break the Alliance; and *Guluſſa* was therefore ſent away, and deſired to preſs his Father to ſend Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, prepared to anſwer the Accuſations of the *Carthaginians*. To which the Senate added, that they were very ready to gratify the King of *Numidia* in all other Caſes; but that Favour ſhould never prevail over Juſtice in *Rome*. Then Preſents were made to the Prince, and to the *Carthaginians*; they were ſent back to *Africa*; and *Guluſſa* there reported the Anſwers of the Senate, which were perhaps as much founded in Policy, as a Love of Equity.

§. XXIV. And

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§. XXIV. And now the War with *Perſes*, which had hitherto only been reſolved on, was at length declared. *Rome* had ſent a Deputation to *Macedon* for the laſt time. The Order of the Deputies had been again to demand of the King, to reſtore what he kept from the *Romans*, or openly renounce their Friendſhip. And this Step was ill taken. The Report of the Ambaſſadors, or rather *Feciales* to the Senate, after their Return, was this. *When we came to* Macedon, *we ſaw nothing in all the Cities but Preparations for War. When we came to the Court, we were made to wait ſo long, that we at laſt deſpaired of obtaining an Audience. Nay, we were returning to* Rome, *and were called back. When we were brought into* Perſes's *Preſence, we repreſented to him, that by the Treaty made with his Father, and renewed by himſelf, he was obliged to keep within his Limits, and not make War on the Allies of* Rome. *After which we ſhewed him wherein he had broken this Treaty. We inſiſted particularly on that Aſſembly which was held in* Samothracia, *between his Envoys, and the Deputies of the* Greek *Cities in* Aſia. *And we concluded with again demanding the Reſtitution of every thing that he had uſurped from our Allies, and Satisfaction for all the Injuries he had done us. Then notwithſtanding our Moderation, the King flew out into a great Rage, and did not ſpare Reproaches. He called* Rome *a proud Republick, which uſurped a Dominion over crowned Heads; and pretended to rule the World by her imperious Embaſſies, and govern Sovereigns, as her Senate ſhall think fit. Then he reproached us with an inſatiable Avarice, that made us bring into this Capital all the Riches of the Eaſt. The King's Geſtures, and Tone of Voice, ſhewed the Exceſs of his Paſſion. And at length being tired with crying out, and inveighing againſt* Rome, *he put us off to another Audience for our Anſwer. He ſaid he intended to give it us in writing; and the next Day, when we were admitted into his Preſence, we found him more calm, and more proud. This you will judge of, by the Writing he gave us, which was this.*——I have nothing to do with the Treaty *Rome* formerly made with *Philip*. I revived it in the beginning of my Reign, only becauſe the State of my Affairs was ſuch as obliged me to do it. If *Rome* would now have a Peace, let her enter into a freſh Treaty with me. We will ſettle the Conditions of it according to the Intereſts of the two Nations; and an arbitrary Power ſhall not dictate them. *This was the Subſtance of what* Perſes *gave us in writing; and as ſoon as he had given it us, he inſtantly turned his Back upon us, and diſappeared. Then we were diſmiſſed the Court, and told, That the King renounced the Friendſhip of the* Romans. *Indeed we were informed, that* Perſes *heſitated for ſome time, before he pronounced theſe laſt Words. But at length he did ſo; and then we were ordered to leave* Macedon *in three Days. In ſhort, we were neither received graciouſly, nor hoſpitably.* A Report and Anſwer, agreeable to this, was expected by the Senate, who had taken all proper Steps towards a Rupture with *Macedon*.

And then *Rome* made a Diſcovery. She had hitherto known nothing of the new Enemy *Perſes* had raiſed up againſt her, which was *Gentius* King of *Illyricum*. But now ſome Deputies from the Iſland of [32] *Iſſa*, gave the Senate Information; That the *Illyricans* were entered into the Meaſures of the *Macedonian*; That they communicated their Deſigns to each other; and That they by Conſent, took their ſecret Meaſures together, to maintain the War. To prove this the *Iſſans* brought theſe two Arguments. 1. That King *Gentius* had twice entered into their Iſland, contrary to the Faith of Treaties. And 2*dly*, That he maintained ſome Spies of his own Country at *Rome*, under the Title of Ambaſſadors, and all this through the Intrigues of *Perſes*. Theſe were important Advices. The pretended Ambaſſadors from *Gentius*, who had never been heard of before, were brought into the Senate; and when they were examined, they contradicted themſelves. In ſhort, they could not give a good Account of their having continued ſo long in *Rome*, without aſſuming the Character of Ambaſſadors, or demanding an Audience of the Senate; and this looked very ſuſpicious. Nevertheleſs, the *Conſcript Fathers* were not precipitate in their Reſolutions. They ſent three Ambaſſadors to *Illyricum*, to carry their Complaints to King *Gentius*, eſpecially

32 See what we have ſaid of the Iſland of *Iſſa*, Vol. 3. It lies in the Sea of *Dalmatia*, and is now called *Liſſa*. *Marcian of Heraclea* pretends, that this Iſland, which was before a Deſert, was peopled by a Colony of the Inhabitants of *Syracuſe*, who removed thither. We muſt take care not to confound it with another *Iſſa*, which, *Strabo* ſays, had been a City in the Iſland of *Lesbos*; to which he adds, that this latter Iſland had alſo been called by that Name, in the moſt ancient Times.

in relation to his Enterprises against the *Issans*, who were Allies to the *Romans*. But this Precaution did not remedy the Evil. It came too late. The *Illyricans* had entered into too strict Engagements with *Macedon*, to be able to recede. Year of *ROME* DLXXXI. P. Acilius Ligus, C. Popilius Lænas, Consuls.

But the Deputies which *Rome* had on the Coasts of *Asia* reported, That that great Continent was not at all infected with the Poison which *Perses* had endeavoured to spread there. *The* Macedonian, said they, *has in vain sollicited King* Ptolomy *in* Egypt, *and King* Antiochus *in* Asia, *to renounce our Alliance. And as for* Eumenes, *he has not so much as made an Attempt upon him. All these Princes have promised us Succours. The* Rhodians *only appear a little wavering.* Perses *has instilled some of his Maxims into them.* But the Senate was in no Pain about the Fidelity of the *Rhodians*. They had Ambassadors at *Rome*, who offered to clear their Country from the ill Reports that were spread of it. The chief Difficulty of the Senate at present, was to know, how to appease the Gods, or calm the Superstitions of the People. During these first Steps towards a new War, the most common Events were turned into fatal Presages, by weak Imaginations. In the Night, a Storm had blown down the *Columna Rostrata*, in the *Capitol*, which had been erected in honour to the *Consul Duilius*, after the first *Punic* War; And this was told the *Conscript Fathers* as an Accident, that might have ill Consequences. Nay, the Affair was brought before the *Aruspices*; the *Sybilline* Books were consulted; Victims were slain in the City, and the Province; *Games* were celebrated in honour to the Gods, and especially *Jupiter*; and at length the Divines pronounced, that the Prodigy foretold the Success of the *Romans*. *This Fall*, said they, *shews that the Republick will extend her Limits, and bring back as many Spoils from* Macedon, *as* Duilius *did from* Carthage. And lastly, expiatory Sacrifices, and Supplications were offered up, to avert the ill Effects of several other Prognosticks, which the *Romans* prayed the Gods to turn against the Enemy.

§. XXV. However, these Exercises of Religion did not interrupt the Preparations for War. The *Prætor Sicinius*, who was to go into the East before a *Consul*, with a Fleet and Land Forces, had Orders to hasten his Departure. All the *Quinqueremes*, which were to be found in the Ports of *Italy*, were already refitted. The fifty other Ships which were ordered to attend him, were ready to sail. The Senate had brought to *Brundusium* from *Sicily*, all the Boats that were fit for Use; and the Crews of the new Fleet were made up partly of *Freed-men*, and partly of Allies. The *Legion* which was best furnished with Veterans of any of those that were lately come from the Service in *Liguria*, was already upon the March towards *Brundusium*. Above four thousand auxiliary Foot, and two hundred Horse, were arrived at the *Rendezvous*; and when all were embarked, the *Prætor Sicinius*, who was to command this great Armament, immediately weighed Anchor, and sailed for *Macedon*. *Apollonia* was to be the general *Rendezvous* of the *Roman* Troops. And at length *Sicinius*, after an happy Passage, landed at the Port, and began to commit some Hostilities in *Illyricum*. In one of the little Battels which he fought, one of the Sons of *Fulvius Flaccus* lost his Life, and his Brother fell dangerous ill. Their Father, who was lately *Censor*, and then *Pontifex*, was so struck with this News, that he hanged himself for Grief. He was found hanging in his Chamber. And though the Cause of his Death was obvious, yet it was ascribed to *Jupiter*, who was said to have thus revenged himself on the Prophaner of his Temple.

ROME had now no Enemies but in *Macedon* and *Illyricum*. *Spain* was in Tranquillity; *Liguria* pacified; and the Rebels of *Corsica* and *Sardinia*, lately subdued by the *Prætor Cicereius*. When therefore this brave General was returned to *Rome*, he demanded a Triumph. His Exploits had deserved one; but the War he had engaged in, was not considered as a foreign War. So that a Triumph was refused him; without doubt, because he had only brought revolted Subjects to their Duty. However, this did not hinder him from triumphing on *The Hill of Alba*. He made his Procession there, on the first Day of *October*; and his Triumph there is recorded in the *Fasti Capitolini*. Whereas, the *Consuls* made their *Consulate* remarkable for nothing, but an unheard of Obstinacy.

C. *Popilius* had Orders immediately to return to *Rome*, to preside in the Elections; which it was resolved to bring on some Days sooner than usual, to give the *Consuls* elect the more time to prepare for the War in *Macedon*. But *Popilius* was

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not in haſte. Both he and his Brother were capricious Men, and were never cured of their Stubbornneſs. So that the Senate gave the *Conſul* but an ill Reception, when he returned to the City. They made him give an Account of his Exploits in *Liguria*. They teized him with Interrogations; and as he had nothing to ſay which was much for his Glory, they jeſted upon him, and hiſſed him. Above all, he was ſeverely reproached for his Delay in reſtoring the unfortunate *Statiellates* their Liberty: And after all this he preſided in the *Comitia* in the *Campus Martius*. But contrary to all the Deſires of the Publick, he did not aſſemble them till the uſual time, that is, twelve Days before *The Calends of March*. Then *P. Licinius* [33] *Craſſus*, and *C. Caſſius Longinus* were choſen *Conſuls*. The next Day ſix *Prætors* were choſen; two of which continued in *Rome*, to judge the Cauſes of *Citizens*, and Foreigners; one was ordered, for *Spain*; another, for *Sicily*; a fifth, for *Sardinia*; and the laſt was commanded to be in a Readineſs to be ſent, wherever he ſhould appear to be moſt wanted.

So that nothing now remained for the *Romans*, but to engage their Gods to proſper their Arms in the important War they were going to begin. Superſtition was always at the Head of their Enterpriſes. The Senate therefore iſſued out two Ordinances. The firſt, That *Popillius* ſhould promiſe *Jupiter*, to celebrate *Games* to his Honour, for ten Days, if the Republick continued proſperous for ten Years. The *Pontifex Maximus* drew up the Vow, and the *Conſul* pronounced it after him in due Form. By that means, the People and Senate of *Rome* engaged themſelves to celebrate thoſe Shows at the Expence of the Publick. And the ſecond Ordinance was, That as ſoon as the *Conſuls* elect entered upon their Office, they ſhould offer up to the Gods a great Number of Victims of the firſt Sort, to obtain the Bleſſings of Heaven on the Arms of the Republick.

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§. XXVI. Then the Day ſoon came, when the new *Conſuls* were to begin their *Conſulate*, and all the Altars ſwam with the Blood of the Victims. After the *Aruſpices* had conſulted the Entrails, they anſwered, *That it was neceſſary to begin the War with all Speed; and That the Gods promiſed the Republick to increaſe her Dominions.* And when the *Conſuls* had made a Report of theſe Prognoſticks, and theſe Anſwers to the Senate, *The Fathers* immediately pronounced a Decree, which put the laſt Hand to the Declaration of War with *Perſes*. It was drawn up in theſe Words. *May the Deſign we are forming turn to the Welfare and Advantage of the* Roman *People! It ſhall be declared to the* Comitia *aſſembled, That* Perſes *has broken the Treaty, which was made with his Father, and which he renewed himſelf; That he has taken up Arms againſt our Allies, ſeized their Cities, and laid their Fields waſte; That he has long ſecretly formed a Deſign to make War with us; That he has made Preparations for it, ſtored his Magazines with Arms and Proviſions, and equipped a Fleet; and laſtly, That he has ſollicited our Allies to revolt; and That for theſe Reaſons we deſire the People to order a War to be carried on in* Macedon. The new *Conſuls* were appointed to pronounce this Decree in the *Comitia*, and make the Motion; and the aſſembled People conſented to the War, and ordered it to be begun, in caſe *Perſes* refuſed to give the *Romans* juſt Satisfaction. But theſe two Decrees ſerved only to make the Declaration of War legal in Point of Form. It had been before reſolved on. Preparations were made for it; and a *Prætor* was going to begin Hoſtilities.

There was nothing wanting for the new Enterprize, but a General; and by Right, one of the new *Conſuls* ought to have *Macedon* for his Province. It was a very fine one, in which there was much Glory to be acquired; and therefore both the Collegues were ambitious of it. However, there was a regular Way of ending their Diſpute, which was by Lot. But *Caſſius* thought to have gotten this Advantage from *Licinius*, without leaving it to depend upon Chance. He made uſe of this Chicanery with his Collegue. *Licinius* had formerly, when he was *Prætor*, excuſed himſelf from going into his Province, under Pretence that he had Sacrifices to offer in the City, at which he muſt neceſſarily be preſent; and had likewiſe ſworn, in a publick Aſſembly, that this was not a feigned Excuſe, but real Truth. And *Caſſius* now contended, that it was as unlawful for *Licinius* to go out of *Italy* in his *Conſulſhip*, as it had been in his *Prætorſhip*. The Conteſt grew warm, and it was

33 *Juſtin* is miſtaken, when in his 33d Book he makes one *Sulpicius* to have been *Caſſius Longinus*'s Collegue. Such Miſtakes are not uncommon with this Hiſtorian.

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brought before the Senate; who determined, that since *Licinius* had been raised to the *Consular* Dignity by the Suffrages of the People, he could not upon any Account be deprived of any of the Privileges of his Office. So that at last Lots were cast for the *Consular* Provinces; and *Licinius* was the happy Man. *Macedon* fell to him; and *Italy*, to *Cassius*. The former had the Command of the only Army that was to fight Battels. The Troops of the latter were only to keep the *Ligures* in Awe. One went to make War with *Perses*; the other had no Enemy to fight with. Year of *ROME* DLXXXII. P. Licinius Crassus, C. Cassius Longinus, Consuls.

And therefore there was a great deal of Difference made by the Senate in the Division of the Troops between the two *Consuls*. Indeed they at first ordered four new *Legions* to be raised, two for each *Consul*; which was the usual Allotment. No *Consular* Army consisted of less than two *Legions*, as every *Prætorian* Army contained at least one. But in all other Circumstances, *Licinius* had the Advantage. Each of *Cassius*'s *Legions* consisted of only five thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse; but those of his Collegue consisted each of six thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse. The *Consul*, who was to act in *Macedon*, had also sixteen thousand auxiliary Foot, and eight hundred Horse added to his *Legions*; besides the *Prætorian* Army, with which *Licinius* was already gone to the *Levant*. Whereas, the *Consul* who was to continue in *Italy*, was allowed only twelve thousand auxiliary Foot, and six hundred Horse. *Licinius* had likewise Leave given him, to choose out as many as he pleased of the best of the Veterans, which were not yet fifty Years old. And lastly, the People waved their Right of nominating a certain Number of *Legionary Tribunes*, and left the Choice of them to the Generals. A Commission was given to the sixth *Prætor*, who had no fixed Province, to equip a Fleet at *Brundusium*, review the Seamen there, and recruit them. He also had Orders to raise two thirds of the Rowers among the *Freedmen* of *Rome*, and one third only among the Allies. *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Corsica*, furnished Provisions for the Army designed for *Macedon*; and to that end the *Sicilians* and *Sardinians* were obliged to pay two tenths to the Republick.

§. XXVII. But these Dispositions were not made without some Opposition. When the *Consul Licinius* made his Levies, there were two things that seemed new in them. First, no *Citizen*, that was past forty five Years of Age, had ever yet been forced to serve; whereas, now such as were fifty were pressed into the Service. And secondly, The *Consuls* were now suffered to choose their own Subalterns themselves; and they overlooked the old *Centurions*, whose Youth had been spent in Arms. Three and twenty of these old Officers were offended at this. They thought themselves injured, and had recourse to the *Tribunes of the People*. Two of that College declared for the *Consuls*; and the other eight for the Malecontents. The Affair was brought before the *Comitia*; and *Popillius*, the eldest *Tribune*, who had been *Consul* two Years before, made a seditious Harangue. This Incendiary represented to the People; That the old Warriors who brought their Complaints before their Tribunal, had spent the best Parts of their Lives in the Fatigues of War; That they had served the Republick as long as the Laws required; That they were still ready to enter into the Service again; and That it was but just therefore, to put them upon the same Foot on which they had been, under former Generals. The *Consul Licinius* said in his Defence, That the Senate had given him leave to choose as many Veterans as he pleased, not exempting the Soldiers who were fifty from the Service; to dispose of his Troops as he pleased, as to Rank and Pre-eminence; and to nominate the Officers for his *Legions*; and concluded his Speech, with entreating the People not to obstruct the Levies that were making for so important a War; and with protesting, That he had no Regard to any thing but the publick Good, in the Choice he had made of his *Centurions*.

When *Licinius* had done speaking, one of the twenty three Malecontents desired Leave of the *Consul*, and *Tribunes*, to speak in his Turn; and he spake thus. *My Name is* Ligustinus, *and I am of the* Crustumian Tribe. *All the Inheritance my Father left me, was a little Land, and the Hut in which I was born. The Wife I married brought me no Portion, but an honest and unspotted Chastity, and by the Blessing of the Gods a numerous Offspring. She has brought me eight Children, six Boys and two Girls. The latter are provided for. Four of my Sons are grown up to be Men, and fit to serve in the Troops. This is the State of my Family; and my Services are these. I made my two first Campaigns in* Macedon, *in the* Consulship *of*

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Liv. B. 42. c. 34.

Sulpicius *and* Aurelius; *and was then only a private Centinel. Two Years after,* Flamininus *made me a* Centurion, *in the tenth* 34 *Order of the* Haſtati. Philip *was overcome. I returned to* Rome, *and was diſbanded. Then that I might not continue idle, I followed* Cato *into* Spain: *And that ſevere Judge of Men and Manners made me firſt Captain of the* Haſtati. *After this, I went as a Volunteer in the Army which went into* Greece, *to make War with* Antiochus, *and the* Ætolians. *Then the* Conſul Acilius *made me firſt a* Centurion *of the* Principes. *We ſubdued the King of* Syria, *and the* Ætolians *his Allies. And after this I ſerved twice more in* Spain. *I returned from thence to* Rome *with* Fulvius Flaccus, *to aſſiſt at his Triumph; and then immediately went back at the Deſire of* Sempronius Gracchus *to the ſame Province; where I was made firſt* Centurion *of the* Triarii. *I have gained above thirty Prizes of Valour, and among the reſt ſix* Civic *Crowns, which all ſpeak in my Favour. And in one Word, I have ſerved twenty two, though the Laws only require a* Citizen *to ſerve twenty Years* 35, *and am paſt fifty. What Right then has any Man to make me light again? Beſides, are not my four Sons able to ſupply my Place in the* Roman *Armies?*

Livy ibid.

This Diſcourſe of *Liguſtinus* evidently proved the Juſtice of his Cauſe; and the People were ready to diſmiſs him with Honour. But he proceeded to add, what proved him to have as much Probity as Valour. *But after all,* ſaid he, *though no Man can, with any Reaſon, force me into the Service, yet I don't refuſe to dedicate the Remains of my Life to my Country; and I leave it to my Governors to place me in what Station they pleaſe. All my Buſineſs ought to be, to take care not to appear unworthy of the Poſt in which they put me. And as for you, dear fellow-Soldiers, though you are injured, and your Appeal is juſt, yet follow my Example. Continue to ſhew the ſame Deference to our Generals, which you have done from your Childhood? What does it ſignify, after all, in what Rank they place us? To defend* Rome, *and maintain her Intereſt by Arms, without any Regard to ſelfiſh Views, is true* Roman *Virtue.* Theſe Words made an Impreſſion on all the Appellants. The *Conſul* highly commended *Liguſtinus* in the Aſſembly, and immediately carried him to the Senate. *The Conſcript Fathers* not only approved of his Conduct, but thanked him. All Diſcontents ceaſed, and the Levies were carried on without any Diſturbance.

Besides the *Conſular* Armies, four *Legions* were raiſed in the Cities to be kept by way of Reſerve in *Rome*, to be ſent wherever there ſhould be Occaſion. *Licinius* alſo deſired new Reinforcements for *Macedon*; and he was promiſed two thouſand *Ligures*, as many *Cretan* Archers as could be raiſed in the Iſland, a Body of *Numidian* Horſe, and ſome Elephants. To this end, Deputations were ſent to *Crete*, *Carthage*, and King *Maſiniſſa*. The *Prætors* of *Sicily* and *Sardinia* had Orders to furniſh the Army in *Macedon*, with Corn. And laſtly, the *Feriæ Latinæ* were held in the Temple of *Jupiter Latialis*, and the *Conſuls* received their Inveſtitures on the firſt Day of *June*. All things were preparing at *Brunduſium*, for embarking *Licinius*, and his Troops, when new Ambaſſadors came from King *Perſes*. But they were not ſuffered to enter the City. They had been declared Enemies to *Rome* by the People and Senate; and were therefore brought to an Audience without the Walls, in the Temple of *Bellona*. There the *Macedonians* repreſented that it was needleſs to ſend an Army into *Macedon*. *Perſes*, ſaid they, *is ready to give the Republick all the Satisfaction that ſhe requires.* But the Senate perceived, That the Deſign of the Embaſſy was to gain time; and therefore only asked the Ambaſſadors whether it was not true, That their Maſter had ſeized *Perræbia*; That he had taken ſome Cities in *Theſſaly*; and That he had made Preparations for War? To this the Ambaſſadors gave a confuſed Anſwer. The Infraction of the Treaties was notorious; and this was enough. The Deputies were ſent back with this Anſwer. *That a* Conſul *would ſoon be ſent into* Macedon; *and That* Perſes *might treat with him, if he was ſincerely inclined to give the* Romans *Satisfaction.* Then the *Macedonians* had Notice given them not to appear again in *Rome*, and to leave *Italy* in eleven Days. *Sp. Carvilius* was ordered to watch them, and keep them always in Sight till they were gone; and nothing was talked of in *Rome* but the War with *Perſes*. It was thought very neceſſary for her to maintain herſelf in the Poſſeſſion of a ſovereign Authority over all the Eaſt.

Livy, B. 42. c. 36.

34 By the tenth *Order* of the *Haſtati*, *Livy* here means the tenth *Manipulus*. We have obſerved in the ſecond Volume, that the *Latin* Word *Ordo*, which anſwers to the *Greek* Term Τάγμα, ſignified any ſort of little Battalion, becauſe the *Legions* were actually divided into *Manipuli*. See what we have there ſaid of the Soldiery of the ancient *Romans*.

35 See what we have ſaid in the preceding Volume of the Years which the military Laws required a *Roman Citizen* to ſerve in the Army, particularly in

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Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK XLIV.

§. I. THE Eyes of all the World were now fixed on the new War which the *Romans* were going to make in *Macedon*. The Sovereigns, Republicks, and free Cities of *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africa*, were all intereſted in it. On this depended the Weight of the Yoke which the imperious Republick impoſed upon the Potentates, more than on their Subjects; or their Deliverance from it. And every one wiſhed well to one or the other Party, as his Intereſt led him. The Eaſt was divided. *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus* was a perſonal and avowed Enemy to the *Macedonian*. He hated him as his Aſſaſſin. *Antiochus Epiphanes*, King of *Syria*, was yet full of the Grandeur and Majeſty of the *Romans*; and as he had been brought up by the Republick, depended on her Protection. He expected, by Help of their Patronage, to preſerve the Kingdom of *Syria*; and to invade that of *Egypt*, as Guardian to the young Princes his Nephews. *Cœlo-Syria* and *Judæa* were already ſubject to him. Among the People of God, *Epiphanes* changed the High-Prieſts at Pleaſure, and ſold the Prieſthood and Regal Power together, to the Ambitious. And all theſe Uſurpations could not be preſerved, but under Shelter of the *Romans*. So that the King of *Syria* was one of the moſt zealous Advocates they had among all the Sovereigns in *Aſia*. Whilſt on the other hand, *Ptolomy Philometor* had no ſtronger Barrier againſt the Inundation of the *Syrians* into *Egypt*, than the Authority of *Rome*. He therefore cultivated her Friendſhip with Care, and trembled at every Order of the *Roman* Senate and People. *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia*, had entered into too ſtrict Engagements with the Republick, and with *Eumenes*, to be able to break them. He was Father-in-law to the King of *Pergamus*; and had juſt committed to the *Romans* the Care of the Education of his Son, the only Hopes of his Throne. This was a Pledge of his Affection, and a Security for his Fidelity. *Pruſias* of *Bithynia* was the only King of *Aſia*, who obſerved a perfect Neutrality. He reſpected the *Romans*; but had married the Siſter of *Perſes*. And the politick *Bythinian* delayed chuſing his Party, till he ſaw what Turn Things would take; being always ſure to be able to reconcile himſelf with *Macedon*, thro' the Interpoſition of his Wife; and to get the *Romans* to excuſe him from taking up Arms againſt his Brother-in-law *Perſes*. So that of all the chief Monarchs in *Aſia*, *Rome* had not one againſt her; and the greateſt Part of them had promiſed her Succours of Men and Ammunition.

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On the Side of *Africa*, *Maſiniſſa* declared openly for the *Romans*; and *Carthage* durſt neither take up Arms againſt them, nor even refuſe aſſiſting her Conquerors. *Maſiniſſa*, in Gratitude to the Republick his Benefactreſs, was preparing to ſend *Miſagenes*, his natural Son, into *Macedon*, with Proviſions, Troops, and Elephants, for the War with *Perſes*. But after all, his principal Aim was to profit by the Commotions in *Europe*. If *Rome* ſhould be conquered, he could make himſelf Maſter of all thoſe Dominions of *Carthage*, which the *Romans*, out of Policy, would not ſuffer him to invade. If *Rome* ſhould be victorious, he would have the Merit of having aſſiſted her, in her Deſigns. So that whatever the Condition of *Rome* ſhould be after the War, the *Numidian* King had nothing to loſe, and a great deal to hope for.

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As for *Perſes*, he was almoſt reduced to his Kingdom of *Macedon* only. Scarce any Body declared openly for him, but *Cotys* the King of the *Odryſians* in *Thrace*, a People of whom the Ancients have left us very uncertain Accounts. Indeed *Gentius* King of *Illyricum*, had given ſome plain Proofs of a ſettled Correſpondence with the *Macedonian*. But could the latter depend on an inconſtant, capricious Prince, who was wholly governed by Humour? A ſudden Start of Paſſion, or Turn of Thought, was ſufficient to draw him off from a Confederacy to which he had bound himſelf by the ſtricteſt Ties. As for the Republicks, and free Cities of *Greece*, in *Europe* and *Aſia*, the Hearts of the People were more inclined towards the *Macedonian*, than the *Romans*; but their Governours ſeemed divided among themſelves. Thoſe who eſpouſed the Intereſts of *Rome*, did it with too much Warmth. Their Zeal made them ſuſpected; and they thereby injured the Cauſe which they embraced. Beſides, their Views were too ſelfiſh. Few of them acted purely upon a Motive of ſupporting the Equity of the *Roman* Cauſe. The greateſt Part aimed only at aggrandizing themſelves. And among the *Greeks* which favoured *Perſes*, there were ſome who, being determined to follow any Meaſures that were for their Intereſt, had been ſurprized into the King's Party, not ſo much by his Bounties, as his Promiſes. Others followed the Example of the People, and conformed themſelves to their Inclinations, in order to obtain their Suffrages in the Diets. And laſtly, others were over-run with Debts, and deſired a Revolution, only in order to recover their Credit. Whilſt the wiſeſt Part were neither for the Ruin of the *Romans*, or the entire Deſtruction of *Perſes*; but for ſuch an Equality between the two Powers, as would ſecure the Tranquillity of *Greece*, and leave it independent. Theſe ſenſible Men, who were but few in Number, were only Spectators of the Diviſions in the Diets and Aſſemblies of the Cities. In one Word, the *Greeks* ſcarce concerned themſelves at all in the new War, more than in Words. They acted very little in it.

§. II. Whilst the World was thus kept in Suſpence between the two moſt warlike Nations in the Univerſe, *Sicinius* arrived in *Epirus*, to pave the Way for the Expedition of the *Conſul Licinius*. The *Prætor* pitched his firſt Camp near *Nympheum* [1], in the Territory of *Apollonia*. His little Army conſiſted of only five thouſand Foot, and three hundred Horſe. That is, he had only tranſported one entire *Legion*, with the Auxiliaries that the Allies were obliged to add to it. At the Solicitation of the Inhabitants themſelves, he ſent two thouſand Men to ſeize ſome Caſtles, and other Ports, in the Country of the *Daſſaretæ*; to hinder the Communication between *Illyricum* and *Macedon*, and to facilitate the Paſſage of the *Conſular* Army when it ſhould arrive. At the ſame time, landed at *Corcyra* five Commiſſioners from *Rome*, with a thouſand Soldiers, which they were to divide among them, to guard them, as they went to viſit the Cities of *Greece*. *Publius* and *Servius Lentulus*, were to go from *Cephalonia* into *Peloponneſus*. *Q. Marcius* and *A. Attilius*, went thro' *Epirus*, *Ætolia*, *Theſſaly*, *Eubœa*, and *Bœotia*, where they were to join the *Lentuli*. And *Decimius*'s Orders were, to go into *Illyricum*, to ſound King *Gentius*, and to make the laſt Attempt to bring him to the *Roman* Party. Theſe Deputies were no ſooner come to *Corcyra*, but an Envoy from *Perſes* brought them a Letter thither. The King of *Macedon* demanded to know of them, with what Deſign they were come into *Greece*; and why they began to put Garriſons into free Cities? But the five *Romans* would not vouchſafe to write to the King. They only gave the Envoy this verbal Anſwer, That their only Deſign was to ſecure the Places which belonged to their Friends and Allies. Then the Commiſſioners ſeparated, to go to the Places aſſigned them. The Negotiations of the two *Lentuli* in *Peloponneſus*, did not meet with an univerſal Approbation. The *Achæans* complained of the little Regard that had been ſhewn them. *We have at all times*, ſaid they, *and eſpecially in the two Wars with* Philip, *and* Antiochus the Great, *been inviolably attached to the* Romans. *Nevertheleſs, the Commiſſioners, in their Speeches, are as liberal of their Praiſes on the* Meſſenians *and* Ætolians, *as on us. Tho' theſe formerly took up Arms againſt their Republick,*

[1] There were two Promontories called *Nympheum*; one of which was in *Macedon*, near Mount *Athos*, in the South Part of this Kingdom. The *Italians* now call it *Capo Nympheo*. The other, which is here ſpoken of, was near the River *Aous*, in the *Ionian* Sea. It is now *Capo Pali*. *Pliny* ſays, that from the latter Fires ſometimes burſt out, but did no Damage in the Neighbourhood.

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and have been but very lately received into the Achæan *League.* But these Reproaches were of no Consequence; they only shewed how delicate the *Greeks* were; and taught the Deputies to be more guarded in their Expressions.

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MARCIUS and *Attilius* were more successful in their Negotiations. They went into *Epirus*, assembled the National Diet at *Gitanæ* [2], and were favourably heard. The *Epirots* lent them a Body of four hundred Men, whom they sent to the Assistance of [3] *Orestis*, a *Macedonian* Province which had revolted from *Perses*. From thence they came to *Ætolia*; where they did not tarry long. The whole Country was well disposed towards *Rome*; and *Lyciscus* the chief of the *Ætolians* was devoted to her Interest. Then the Commissioners fell down into *Thessaly*; where they met the Deputies of *Acarnania*, and *Bœotia*. The two *Romans* represented to the former, That Heaven offered them a favourable Opportunity to repair their past Faults. *Signalize yourselves as much now*, said they, *by your constant Fidelity for* Rome, *as you formerly did by your inveterate Hatred to her.* And *Marcius* and *Attilius* reproached the *Bœotians* with the new Engagements they had entered into with *Perses*. But they threw the Blame on *Ismenias*, their *Prætor*, and a few Cities which it was easy to distinguish from the faithful ones. To which the *Romans* answered, That Care would be taken of that Matter. In short, the *Roman* Deputies assembled the *Bœotian* Diet. And lastly, as for the *Thessalians*, they were told how great a Satisfaction it was to the *Romans* to have seen their sincere Attachment to *Rome* in the Wars with *Philip* and *Antiochus*. But after all, *Greece* was still wavering; and *Rome* could not absolutely depend on so many free Cities, and so many Men, which were naturally full of Levity, and given to Faction.

But whilst *Quintus Marcius* was residing in *Thessaly*, *Perses* conceived Hopes of being able to reconcile himself to him, and employ him usefully in a Mediation with his Republick. *Marcius* was of a Family which had long been in Friendship with the Kings of *Macedon*. They and the *Marcii* had been united by the mutual Ties of Hospitality; and this very *Marcius* had given himself the Surname of *Philip*, out of Respect to the late King, the Father of *Perses*. Besides, this Commissioner had Interest and Weight at *Rome*. He had been promoted to the *Consulate* fifteen Years ago; and had still Interest enough among the People to obtain that Honour a second time. *Perses* therefore thought, that thro' the Assistance of an old Friend of his Father's, he might appease the Anger of the *Romans*, and avert the Storm that threatened him: and immediately dispatched away Envoys to *Thessaly*, where *Marcius* and *Attilius* were then residing. The Deputies chose to address themselves first to *Marcius*, whose Heart must have been better disposed towards their Master; and he received them graciously. The first Compliments turned on the old Hospitality settled between King *Philip* and the *Marcian* Family; and then the *Macedonian* Deputies desired that *Perses* might have a Conference with the *Roman* Envoys in *Thessaly*. *Marcius* answered, That he remembered with Pleasure, the Friendship his Father had had for *Philip*; and That he would not decline the Interview. *Let* Perses, said he, *come to the Banks of the* Peneus, *at the Time that we shall appoint; and we will meet him, at the Foot of Mount* Omolus [4], *in the Road to* Dium [5]. This News kindled some Sparks of Hope in the King's Breast. He rejoiced greatly at the favourable Reception which *Marcius* had given his Ambassadors; and then prepared to appear at the Place appointed, in all the State that became the Majesty of a King. He took a good Number of Courtiers with him; and ordered all his Guards to attend him. And the two *Roman* Commissioners were not attended with a less splendid Retinue. They set out from *Larissa*, with the Deputies of all the Nations of *Greece*. The latter were very desirous of being present at the Conference, that they might inform their respective Diets of the Re-

2 *Gitanæ*, or rather *Ginate*, was a City that belonged to *Chaonia* in *Epirus*, at a little Distance from *Oricum*.

3 *Orestis*, a Canton of old *Epirus*, bordered upon the Country of the *Molossi*, and *Macedon*. We have already spoken of the People of this Country; and of *Argi* their capital City, which was surnamed *Orestium*, because founded by *Orestes* the Son of *Agamemnon*.

4 The *Omolus* is a Mountain in *Thessaly*, which is a Part of the *Pelion*. It commanded the City of *Thebes* in *Phthiotis*. *Ptolomy* speaks of a City of the same Name which belonged to *Magnesia*.

5 We have several times spoken of *Dium*, a maritime City of *Pieria*, a Province of *Macedon*. It stood between the Mouths of the Rivers *Haliacmon* and *Pharibus*.

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ſult of it. Beſides, an Interview between the greateſt King in *Europe*, and the Deputies of the moſt powerful Republick in the World, muſt be a fine Sight, and more worthy of the Curioſity of the *Greeks*, than the *Olympick*, or *Iſthmian Games*.

§. III. In a few Days all was ready; and the King on one Part, and the *Roman* Commiſſioners on the other, came to the Place appointed. The River *Peneus* divided the Deputies of *Rome* from the *Macedonian*; and when they ſaw one another on the oppoſite Banks, the Ceremonial raiſed a Sort of Diſpute. The *Romans* pretended, That the King ought to paſs the River, and come to them. *Perſes*, ſaid they, *deſired the Interview*; *and it is beneath the Dignity of the* Romans *to ſtoop to a King*. On the other hand, *Perſes* inſiſted on his Right of Sovereignty. In order to terminate this Diſpute, many Deputies on both Sides croſſed the River, backwards and forwards; and at laſt *Marcius* put an End to it by a Jeſt, which had a better Effect than the moſt ſolid Reaſons. *My Surname*, ſaid he, *is* Philip, *the Name of the Father of* Perſes. *Is it not then regular that the Son ſhould make the firſt Advances towards his Father? Beſides, let him conſider my Age!* This Turn did not diſpleaſe the King; neither did the King value paſſing the River, as ſoon as he had a Pretence to ſave his Honour. All the Diſpute was now concerning the Number of the *Macedonians* which ſhould croſs the River with the King. The Commiſſioners inſiſted, that there ſhould only three Perſons come with him; or that he ſhould give Hoſtages, if he brought all his Guards. There was Reaſon to fear Violence from a Prince who had but an ill Character, with Regard to Fidelity; and *Perſes* was not ſo difficult on this Head as the former. He gave for Hoſtages, *Hippias* and *Pantauchus*, his deareſt Confidants, whom he had ſent to *Marcius*, in *Theſſaly*. His Reſentment at the Affront of being ſuſpected of Treachery was not ſo great, as his Fondneſs for the idle Vanity of being attended in a pompous Manner.

PERSES therefore appeared on the oppoſite Bank, with all his Guards; but all, except himſelf and the Deputies, retired. Three Seats were ſet for them; and when they were ſeated, *Marcius* ſpoke firſt, in this manner. *I take it for granted*, ſaid he to the King, *that you expect I ſhould give you an Anſwer to the Letter you wrote to us at* Corcyra. *We ſee what Complaints you there make, of our Precipitation in guarding the* Greek *Cities, and putting* Roman *Garriſons in them*; *and if you will give me Leave, I will open to you the true Motives of this prudent Precaution. You have put us under a Neceſſity of either reducing you by Force of Arms, or bringing you to Reaſon by ſalutary Remonſtrances: and we, like good* Phyſicians, *are deſirous of trying once more, what Effect can be wrought upon you by Conferences; becauſe the gentleſt Method we can take. As for me, I am thankful to the Gods, that I am not put at the Head of our Armies. I ſhould then be forced, in ſpight of my ſelf, to puniſh with the Sword, your Breaches of the Treaty, which you have renewed with* Rome. *How often have you contravened it? You have driven out of your Dominions* Abrupolis, *a Friend and Ally of the* Roman *People. You have given the Aſſaſſins of King* Artetarus *a Retreat in your Dominions*; *and, to ſay no more, you ſeemed to diſcover a malicious Joy at his Death. Yet* Artetarus *was the moſt attached to the Intereſts of* Rome, *of any of the little Sovereigns of* Illyricum. *You have drawn off* Bœotia *from us, and entered into private Negotiations with her. Two Deputies came to* Rome *from* Thebes *to complain of it*; *and I had rather be informed by you, who it was that aſſaſſinated them upon the Road, than impute their Deaths to you. Beſides, who can be thought the Cauſe of the Civil Wars in* Ætolia *but yourſelf? You have alſo made War in* Dolopia, *and ravaged it in Perſon*; *and 'tis with Horror, that I put you in mind of the deſigned Aſſaſſination of King* Eumenes. *He came to* Delphi, *to offer a Sacrifice, and had very like to have fallen a Victim there himſelf. And who is accuſed of this, you very well know. That* Rammius *of* Brunduſium, *who uſed to entertain the foreign Lords, and our Generals at his Houſe, has too openly defamed you at* Rome, *for you to be ignorant of it. And yet, you ask why we make War in* Macedon, *and fortify the Cities of* Greece? *If theſe Reproaches are tedious to you, the Way to have avoided them, would have been to have carried on the War, without enquiring into the Reaſons which oblige us to bring it upon you. But you ſeemed to deſire to know our Motives. I have declared them to you, with the Sincerity of a Friend*

And happy are you, if you can give us such Answers as will be allowed to be valid by the Senate.

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Perses, without seeming to be disconcerted at this Discourse, answered it in these Words. *My Accusers are my Judges; but nevertheless, my Cause is so good, that I neither fear their Accusation, nor their Judgments. I can with Honour avow some of the Articles that are made Crimes in me, and glory in part of these pretended Grievances; and I can answer others, in one Word, since they are only Reproaches, without Proof. It is pretended, that I ordered* Eumenes *to be assassinated, and persuaded* Rammius *to poison your Generals. Has then a Prince, who is so much hated by his Neighbours as the King of* Pergamus, *no Enemy but me? Should I have chosen no Body to execute the Treachery imputed to me, but a wretched Inhabitant of* Brundusium, *who was unknown to me? Or would even a private Citizen have been condemned on uncertain Presumptions, in any Court of Justice in the World, but at* Rome? *It is also said, that I caused the* Theban *Ambassadors to be murdered in their return from* Rome. *But don't you know, that they were drowned at Sea? Indeed the Assassins of King* Artetarus *did take Refuge in my Dominions. But are we responsible for all the Malefactors that seek Refuge in our Territories? Is the Republick chargeable with the Crimes of all the Exiles, which have fled for Safety into* Italy? *This is as much the Case of all other Nations in the World as mine. Nay, I actually did more against those Wretches, than could have been demanded of me. As soon as I heard from* Rome *that they were retired to* Macedon, *I drove them from thence. These are the things that are laid to my charge, considered in my private Character; and the Steps that I am reproached with, as King of* Macedon, *are as follow. It is said, that I have broken the Treaty made, and renewed with* Rome. *But what does that Treaty mean? Does it oblige me to sit still when I am attacked, and tamely suffer my Frontiers to be ravaged, without Opposition? No surely. It only obliges me to keep within my Limits.* Abrupolis *was an unjust Aggressor; and he has suffered the Punishment due to his Rashness. The Law of Nations empowered me to stand upon the defensive. Where then is my Crime? The War I made was just; I conquered; and my Enemy perished. Do you then reproach me with what is truly my Glory? And I had yet juster Motives to make War on the* Dolopes. *Their Province was a Part of my Dominions.* Rome *herself subjected it to the Authority of my Father. Nevertheless, these Rebels had pretended to be independent. They had barbarously murdered the Governors I had sent to them; and this drew upon them the Punishment I inflicted on this untractable People. Shall it also be charged upon me as a Crime, that I took a Journey to* Delphi, *to a Temple highly reverenced throughout all* Greece? *But it is objected, that I carried an Army with me. Indeed I had accidentally brought it to my Frontiers, and it served to guard me through* Greece. *But did it commit any Devastations, or take any Cities? And as to my Alliance with* Boeotia, *why should this be taken ill? I both notified and excused it to the Senate of* Rome; *where I had some Opposers, who were not so able, or so favourable Judges, as* Marcius. *And lastly,* Eumenes *is, it seems, come to give your* Conscript Fathers *ill Impressions of me; and he is positive, that the Liberty you have granted* Greece *will never be safe, as long as* Macedon *shall be governed by Kings. I shall therefore retort the same Accusation upon himself, and affirm, that* Antiochus, *whom you drove beyond Mount* Taurus, *never created so many Troubles in* Asia, *as the barbarous* Eumenes. *Tranquillity is never to be hoped for, as long as he continues upon the Throne. Whereas, all the Reproaches that are thrown upon me, are wholly founded in Prejudice and Fancy. My Designs are explained, and my innocent Actions, are said to proceed from bad Motives. Whereas, my own Conscience is the only proper Judge of them; and to that I can safely appeal. Besides, do inward Designs deserve to be revenged with open War? What will become of that great Regard for Equity, for which your Republick is so famous; if she allows sinister Constructions and Interpretations of Things, to be a sufficient Foundation for Ruin and Slaughter?*

Liv. B. 42. c. 42.

This Answer appeared to the two Commissioners to be more artful than true; nevertheless *Marcius* pretended to be convinced by it: and he adjured the King, by the ancient Hospitality that had united his Family to that of the Kings of *Macedon*, to send an Embassy to *Rome*, to explain his Reasons to the Senate, and con-

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vince them of their Force. The artful *Roman* had his Views in it. On the ſide of *Rome*, every thing was not yet ready for the War; neither was the *Conſul Licinius* yet arrived. It was therefore neceſſary to gain time, and ſuſpend the Operations of the Campaign. If *Perſes* had immediately entered upon Action, he might have ſeized the Paſſes, and made it more difficult for his Enemies to enter his Dominions. The *Roman* therefore was for amuſing him with falſe Hopes; and the King fell into the Snare. He deſired a Truce till the Ambaſſadors returned. And *Marcius*, though very willing to do it, feigned Difficulties, and made it Matter of great Favour to grant the *Macedonian* what was only to his own Prejudice. But at length *Perſes* ſent away the Embaſſy; an end was put to the Conference; and the Commiſſioners came into *Bœotia*.

§. IV. That Province was all in a Flame, as ſoon as it was known that the two *Roman* Deputies came to find out the Cities that had joined with *Perſes*, and thoſe which ſtill adhered to the Republick. The Envoys of *Cheronæa* and *Thebes* came firſt before the Commiſſioners; and they proteſted, that they were not preſent at the Aſſembly, which had entered into Engagements with *Macedon*. Nevertheleſs *Attilius* and *Marcius* gave no other Anſwer to this Vindication of their Conduct; but only ordered them to follow them to *Chalcis*. After this the two *Romans* continued their Rout, and when they came to the City of *Thebes*, they found it divided.

In the laſt Diet of *Bœotia*, the Heads, and chief Officers of the State had been created. But there was a Party which did not approve of the Election, and theſe Malecontents had aſſembled at *Thebes*, where they had made a Decree, forbidding any to recognize the Authority of the new Magiſtrates. The latter had at firſt voluntarily baniſhed themſelves, and retired to [6] *Theſpiæ*. But they had ſoon after been recalled, and then they paſſed Sentence of Death on the Authors of the firſt Decree. The new *Prætor Iſmenias*, had been the chief Author of this cruel Judgment; and then the Perſons condemned had recourſe to the Juſtice of the *Roman* Commiſſioners, and charged *Iſmenias* with having been the Agent employed in the Alliance which *Bœotia* had made with *Perſes*. Hence the mutual Accuſations that the Condemned on one ſide, and *Iſmenias* on the other, brought againſt one another before *Attilius* and *Marcius*: and the *Romans* brought both Parties to, what was with them, the capital Point; that is, to renounce the Alliance with *Perſes*, and prefer that with *Rome*; but with ſome Difference. *Iſmenias* was for *Bœotia*'s embracing the Cauſe of *Rome* in a national Body; but the Condemned were for every particular City's declaring for the *Roman* Republick. And this laſt Expedient was moſt agreeable to the Commiſſioners. They would thereby more eaſily diſcover the real Sentiments of all the *Bœotians*. So that the Deputies of particular Cities were more favourably received by the *Roman* Commiſſioners, than the General Officers of the Nation; and this brought *Iſmenias* into Diſgrace. Some of the Condemned even formed a Plot againſt his Life; and if he had not fled to the Tribunal of the two Commiſſioners for Refuge, he had been ſtoned to Death. And while theſe things were tranſacting at *Chalcis*, the Inhabitants of [7] *Coronæa*, and [8] *Haliartus* came to *Thebes*, to maintain the Intereſts of *Perſes*. Their Deſign was to keep this Capital of *Bœotia* ſteddy to the Alliance made with *Macedon*. But the Heads of *Thebes* remonſtrated, That as far as they could judge by the Wars of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, the *Romans* would certainly prove ſtrongeſt in the Diſpute. So that *Iſmenias*, *Nicon*, and *Hippias*, the Authors of the Treaty made with *Perſes*, were ſacrificed to the *Romans*. The two former were impriſoned; the third fled into *Macedon* for Refuge; and one *Dicetas*, another Advocate for *Perſes*, was ſent to the two Commiſſioners to make them Satisfaction. *Attilius* and *Marcius* received the Deputation of the *Thebans* with Pleaſure; but inſiſted likewiſe, that the reſt of the *Bœotian* Cities, ſhould each

Polyb in Legat. N. 63.

6 *Theſpiæ* was a City of *Bœotia*. It bordered on Mount *Helicon*; and from thence the *Muſes*, to whom the Poets had conſecrated this Mountain, were called *Theſpiades*. *Pauſanias* affirms, that the Inhabitants of this City, gloried in not underſtanding any Art, but that of Agriculture.

7 *Coronæa*, which is to this Day called *Coronea*, belongs to old *Bœotia*. It is near Mount *Helicon*. We have ſpoken of this City in the preceding Volumes.

8 *Haliartus* alſo belonged to *Bœotia*. It ſtood near the Lake *Copias*, and the River *Permeſſus*. See what we have ſaid of it in the third Volume and above, in this. The Ancients alſo ſpeak of another City of this Name, which belonged to *Meſſenia*, a Province in *Peloponneſus*.

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ſeparately make ſolemn Proteſtations of their ſincere Attachment to the *Roman* Republick. And at length the Condemned were ſettled again with Honour in their native City, and the Friends of the *Macedonian* baniſhed. After which the *Bœotian* League was deſtroyed; and moſt of the Cities lived independently of each other, without any other Relation, but that of being Members of the ſame general Body, and living under the Protection of *Rome*. *Iſmenias* and *Dicetas*, who were ſhut up in Priſons, laid violent Hands on themſelves. And thus *Rome* again gained the Superiority in *Bœotia*.

From thence the two Commiſſioners went to *Peloponneſus*, and there found the People of *Achaia* better diſpoſed towards them, than thoſe of *Bœotia* had been. *Attilius* and *Marcius* demanded of the 9 *Archon*, that is, the chief Magiſtrate of the Country, ſome Troops to guard, and defend *Chalcis*; and the *Archon* immediately ſent away a thouſand Men to garriſon it, till the *Roman* Troops arrived. Thus the two Commiſſioners deſtroyed, in a few Days, by their Negotiations, the Plots which *Perſes* had began in *Greece*, many Years ago. The Truce which the *Macedonian* had demanded, gave the *Romans* time to deſtroy his Alliances, and unravel his Intrigues. His Dependence upon *Marcius*, and the Deſire the latter affected to ſhew of Peace, enſnared him. Nevertheleſs, all the Cities of *Bœotia* did not deſert the *Macedonian*. *Coronæa* and *Haliartus* perſiſted in the Alliance they had made with him; and demanded Reinforcements of him, to enable them to hold out againſt the *Thebans*, the declared Friends of *Rome*. But *Perſes* durſt not march any Troops into *Bœotia*, for fear of breaking the Truce. Nevertheleſs we ſhall ſoon ſee, that he was a brave Warrior, though not a very refined Politician.

§. V. Whilst it was yet uncertain, whether Peace or War would be the Fate of *Macedon*, three new Commiſſioners were ſent to the Coaſts of *Aſia* to have a particular Eye on the Appearance, Motions, and Inclinations, of the *Rhodians*. *Rome* had ſuſpected them for ſome time. *Rhodes* had thought her ſelf injured by the *Romans*, and had given ſome plain Proofs of an Affection for *Perſes*; and the *Roman* Senate thought that Republick was not to be neglected. In the War with *Philip* and *Antiochus*, ſhe had ſent great Supplies to the *Roman* Armies. She actually had at this time a Fleet of forty Sail in her Ports. Theſe Ships were equip- *Livy, B. 42. c. 45.*

9 The *Achæans*, and eſpecially the *Athenians*, gave their chief Magiſtrates the Name of *Archons*. It is well known, that they had the ſupreme Authority in *Athens*. This City had been firſt governed by Kings, till the time of *Codrus*, who was the ſeventeenth, and laſt. He generouſly devoted himſelf to Death to ſave his Country, in a War it had to maintain with the *Dorians*. After his Death, the Citizens of *Athens*, believing that they could not find ſuch another King as *Codrus*, altered the Government from a Monarchy, and put it into the Hands of *Archons*, to be elected by the People: and theſe Magiſtrates were of three ſorts. At firſt their Power was *perpetual*, or for Life. Then it was limited to ten Years. And afterwards it was confined to one only; ſo that from being *Decennial*, the *Archons* became *Annual*.

There are reckoned up thirteen *Perpetual Archons*. They governed the State ſucceſſively, for the Space of near three hundred Years, from *Medon* the Son of *Codrus*, to *Alcmeon*, who was the laſt. But the Hiſtorians mention only ſeven *Decennial Archons*, who ſucceeded one another, without Interruption. *Charops* was the firſt to whom the *Athenians* committed the Adminiſtration for ten Years; and *Eryxias* the laſt. After him, the *Archons* became *Annual*, in the Time that *Numa* reigned at *Rome*; and the *Athenian* Republick was governed by theſe Magiſtrates for above ſix hundred Years; and even after the *Romans* had brought all *Greece* under their Dominion. But then the *Archons* governed only in Subjection to thoſe Maſters of the World.

Nine of theſe Magiſtrates were choſen every Year, and the ſovereign Authority was lodged in them all together. But the firſt only had the Name of *Archon*. He was as it were the Head of all the reſt, by his Pre-eminence. The ſecond was called *King*; the third *Polemarchos*; and the ſix others *Theſmothetai*. The Juriſdiction of the firſt extended to all Matters of Juſtice and civil Polity. The publick Acts were dated by the Year of his Election; and were ſigned by him only, of the nine. The care of the *Sacrifices*, and what related to Religion, belonged to the *King*. It was his Province, to ſee that Order and Decency were preſerved in the Celebration of the Feſtivals, and to take Cognizance of all Acts of Impiety, Sacrilege, or Prophaneneſs, that were committed throughout the whole *Athenian* Republick. The Command of the Troops, and the Superintendency of War, were the Province of the *Polemarchos*. And the ſix *Theſmothetai* were to take care that the Laws were carefully preſerved and obeyed. It was their Buſineſs to prevent, and reform, Abuſes. Before *Solon's* time, theſe nine Magiſtrates were elected by a Majority of Voices. But this Lawgiver thought it would be better to have them choſen by Lot. After they were choſen, they were obliged to appear before the Senate, to undergo a ſevere Examination, and to be as it were inveſted in their Dignity. And the Approbation of the Senate was deemed null, unleſs confirmed by a general Aſſembly of the People. When they were out of their Office, they gave an Account of their Adminiſtration; and if their Adminiſtration was judged blameleſs, they always had Seats given them in the *Areopagus*. The moſt famous of the *Athenian Archons* were *Solon*, *Miltiades*, *Ariſtides*, *Themiſtocles*, *Alcibiades*, &c.

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Polyb. in Legat. N. 64.

ping with all Diligence; and it was not known for what Expedition they were designed. During these Transactions the *Roman* Deputies arrived; and they found the *Rhodians* better disposed than they had expected. *Hegesilochus*, who was entirely for the *Romans*, was then 10 *Prutanes*; which was the Title the *Rhodians* gave the chief Magistrate in their Republick; and as soon as he had discovered that *Rome* would carry the War into *Macedon*, he had assembled the People, and addressed himself to them, in this manner. *The* Roman *Forces are coming once more to exert themselves in the East. What then can we do better than join with* Rome? *We are become rich and powerful, by having assisted her in her former Expeditions. What then do we not owe her in point of Gratitude? Besides, our common Safety depends upon not dividing our Interests from hers. Let us not then be both ungrateful and imprudent! And if it be necessary for us to declare for* Rome, *let us not delay to the last Minute, the Succours which she has a Right to demand of us. Our Gallies lay unemployed in our Ports; let us equip them: and by our Diligence anticipate the Expectations of the Republick, our Benefactress. It is a troublesome thing to prepare an Armament with Hurry and Precipitation. Let* Rome *then find us prepared to serve her!* This Proposal of the *Prutanes* had been approved; and forty Gallies had been immediately equipped. So that upon the Arrival of the *Roman* Deputies, *Hegesilochus* gloried in his Foresight. He very respectfully shewed them his Armament, heard their Praises with Pleasure, and they went away well satisfied with the Zeal of the *Rhodians*.

But the *Roman* Envoys were scarce re-embarked, before Ambassadors arrived at *Rhodes* from *Perses*. They brought from the King a circular Letter, drawn up in the same manner, as those which he had written to several *Greek* Nations. He boasted of having brought *Marcius* and his Collegue to Reason; and added, *I expect from* Rome *Answers of Peace; and I, at all Events, depend on your Affection.* The Senate of *Rhodes* assembled to give Audience to the *Macedonian* Ambassadors; and the sole Aim of their Harangue, was to persuade the *Rhodians* to stand neuter, till War was openly declared. *By that means*, said they, Rhodes *will become the Arbitress of the Peace. By that means she will provide for her own Safety, and the Liberty of all* Greece. *Afterwards, if* Rome *shall obstinately persist in troubling the Repose of the East; it will then be your Business to take up Arms to defend yourself from Tyranny, and to guard against Surprizes.* This Discourse was heard with Attention; but the Senators were already prepossessed in favour of the *Romans*. So that the Reception given to the Deputies of *Macedon* went no farther than Civilities; and the Answer they received was not agreeable to the King. The *Prytanes* gave it in these Words. *We entreat* Perses *to ask nothing of us, which may be prejudicial to the Interests of* Rome. After this the Ambassadors withdrew, and carried nothing from *Rhodes* but Compliments. Thus ended the several Negotiations of the *Romans* and *Perses*, during the Truce. The *Romans* left almost all the Nations wherever they came strongly inclined to favour them; and *Lucius Decimius* alone, was unsuccessful in his Negotiation with *Gentius*. But he returned to *Rome*, loaded with a Suspicion, which was much to his Dishonour. It was pretended, that he had taken Money of the King of *Illyricum*.

Livy, B. 42. *c.* 47.

§. VI. And now, *Marcius* and *Attilius*, the Deputies sent to *Greece* were, by this time, returned to *Rome*; where they came into the Senate, and gave an Account of their Negotiations. They were well satisfied with what they had done; and particularly valued themselves upon the Truce, which they had brought *Perses* to desire, and demand with Earnestness. *We flattered him*, said they, *with vain Hopes of Peace, and thereby put him off his Guard. He has not stopped up the*

10 The *Rhodians* had probably borrowed the Term *Prutanes* from the *Athenians*. The latter chose annually by Lot five hundred Senators to govern their State, that is, fifty in each of the ten *Tribes*, of which the Republick consisted; as each *Tribe* had its Turn of Precedency. The fifty Senators in Office were called *Prutaneis*; from thence the Place where they used to assemble was called *Prutaneon*; and the Term *Prutaneia* was used to signify the thirty five or thirty six Days, that they continued in Office. During this Space of time, ten of the fifty *Prutanes* presided alternately by the Week under the Title of *Proedroi*. Each had his Day and he to whom the Presidentship fell was stile *Epistates*. Nevertheless, the Senators of the other *Tribes* had a Right of Voting according to the Rank that was fallen to them by Lot. But it belonged to the *Prutaneis* to call the Assembly; the *Proedroi* to state the Subjects of their Debate and to the *Epistates* to collect the Votes, and pronounce according to the Majority.

Pass

Paſſes againſt our Armies. The Conſuls *will find them open.* And on this Occaſion the old Senators diſplayed their Virtue in the fulleſt Luſtre. They thought the Proceedings of *Marcius* and *Attilius* blame-worthy. They ſaid; *Should you have put a Cheat upon a King, though an Enemy? Are theſe Artifices agreeable to* Roman *Probity? Was it thus that our Anceſtors conquered the Nations, and brought them into Subjection to their Dominion? They declared War, before they made it. Nay, they often named the very Place, where the Diſputes ſhould be determined by Battels. They gave* Pyrrhus *an Account of the Phyſician, who offered to poiſon him. They ſent back to the* Faliſci *the young Nobility, whom a Traitor had brought to their Camp. It was by the Sword, and not by Tricks, that they got the Superiority over their Enemies. Let us then leave all Craft and Diſſimulation to the* Greeks *and* Carthaginians. *An open Frankneſs, and true Valour, are the only Means a* Roman *ought to uſe, in order to conquer.* But the young Senators were not ſo very ſcrupulous. They had learnt other Maxims, in their Commerce with the Eaſtern Nations. Artful Fetches to deceive an Enemy did not appear to them ſo odious, as they had formerly been. Chicanery began to be thought Prudence at *Rome*; and Deceit, Wiſdom. The Conduct of the two Deputies was approved by the Majority of the Houſe; and the *Macedonian* was laughed at for his Credulity. *Marcius* was ſent to *Macedon* a ſecond time, on board the Fleet, with *Attilius*, to ſeize *Lariſſa*. *Sicinius* had Orders to ſend two thouſand Men on this Expedition; and to give *Lentulus* three hundred more, to keep *Bœotia* in Awe.

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Thus the War with *Perſes* was too far advanced to be prevented; nevertheleſs *Rome* was willing, for Form's ſake, to hear the laſt Ambaſſadors of this Prince. This was amuſing herſelf at the Expence of the *Macedonian*. His Deputies laboured to juſtify their Maſter, as to the Aſſaſſination of *Eumenes*. To clear him of this, was to efface the greateſt Reproach of his Life. But notwithſtanding the Pains they took to colour over this black Action, they could not deſtroy that Conviction, which was founded in plain Proofs of the Crime. However, they endeavoured to move the Senate by Supplications. But the latter were too much exaſperated, to be ſoftened: and the Iſſue was, that the *Macedonians* were ordered to leave *Rome* inſtantly; and *Italy*, in thirty Days.

Nothing now remained but to ſend away the *Conſular* Army. The *Prætor*, *C. Lucretius*, who was to be Admiral of the Fleet, had only forty *Quinqueremes* under his Command. The Republick would not ſtrip her Ports of all her Gallies. Another *Lucretius*, the Brother of the *Prætor*, ſet ſail firſt, with a Squadron of ſome *Triremes*, which were furniſhed by the maritime Cities on the Coaſt of *Italy*, came and landed at *Dyrrachium*. There he found a Fleet of little Ships, conſiſting of ten Barks, belonging to that Port, twelve Brigantines of the Iſland of *Iſſa*, and fifty five light Boats, built in that part of *Illyricum*, which was ſubject to King *Gentius*. *Lucretius* ſuppoſed, that this Armament had been got ready only to ſerve the *Romans*; and he made it follow him to *Corcyra*, and from thence to the Iſland of *Cephalonia*, where he waited for the Admiral his Brother. Accordingly, *C. Lucretius* ſailed from *Naples* with the *Roman* Fleet, and after five Days, entered the Port of *Cephalonia*; where his Fleet lay at Anchor for ſome Days, to land the Troops, and wait for the Tranſports.

So that nothing was now wanting in *Macedon* to put the Troops in Motion, but the Arrival of the *Conſul Licinius*. And at length, this General put on the military Habit at *Rome*, went to pay his Homage to *Jupiter* at the *Capitol*, and left the City. The Ceremony of the *Conſuls* ſetting out for their Provinces, though fine, was now grown ſo old, that it was of late but little regarded by the People. Nevertheleſs, the *Romans* of all Conditions came now in Crowds, to be Witneſſes of the Solemnity of the Sacrifice, at which *Licinius* aſſiſted, and to conduct him without the Gates. The Importance of the War the *Conſul* was going to begin, and the Reputation of the Enemy he was to fight, affected them. And this made the *Romans* ſo ſollicitous to ſee the Man, who was entruſted with the Care of the Glory and Safety of the publick, and to attend him with their Vows and Prayers. The Spectators were full of Reflections at this Sight, and ſaid, *We now ſee this* Conſul *ſetting out with Pomp; but who knows whether Heaven will ſend him back victorious? Will he appear again on this* Capitol *as a triumphant Victor; or will he follow the Chariot of* Perſes? *The* Macedonians *have made themſelves*

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ſelves famous by vaſt Conqueſts. Philip, *our laſt Enemy, was very brave, though not ſucceſsful: And perhaps the Son may repair the Loſſes of the Father.* O Rome! *What will become of thy Splendor, if the* Macedonian *ſhould prevail!* Thus the Love of their Country divided their Hearts between Hope and Fear.

NEVERTHELESS, it muſt be owned, that *Rome* neglected nothing to ſecure *Licinius* Succeſs in his Expedition. She gave him for his Aſſiſtants and Counſellors, two Men of Diſtinction, who had been honoured with the *Conſulate*; and three *Patricians* of great Families attended him, to learn the Art of War. One was *Cornelius Lentulus*, and the two others were Deſcendants of the *Manlian* Family. Thus attended, the *Conſul* arrived at *Brunduſium*, there embarked with his Troops, landed at the Port of *Apollonia*, and came to the Camp at *Nympheum*, which the *Prætor Sicinius* had ſeized ſome Months ſince. All the Paſſes into *Theſſaly* and *Macedon* were open. The Hopes of Peace had deceived *Perſes*, and thrown him into a kind of Lethargy. But at length the Arrival of the *Conſul*, and the Ambaſſadors he had ſent to *Rome*, awoke him. He found, that the *Roman* Senate would neither admit of his Juſtifications, or hearken to his Entreaties; and he knew that *Licinius*, at the Head of a great Army, ſeconded by a Fleet, was going to enter upon Action. So that there was now no receding. The War he had endeavoured to avoid was become neceſſary, for the ſake of his own Glory, and the Defence of his Dominions. But nevertheleſs, he thought it proper to call a Council, before he ran the Hazards of it.

§. VII. THE Court of *Perſes* conſiſted partly of wiſe, but timorous Counſellors; and partly of bold Warriors, who were very greedy of Glory, but Men of no great Foreſight and Penetration. The former thought it more adviſeable to become tributary to the *Romans*, or to give them up a part of *Macedon*, if they required it, than to make the Fate of a great Kingdom entirely to depend on the Hazards of Battels. *As long as the Crown continues on the King's Head,* ſaid they, *there will be room to hope that ſome unexpected Revolutions, or happy Circumſtances or other, may put it in our Power to recover what we voluntarily give up. But if on the contrary, we loſe all, and are reduced to the State of a Province, we muſt renounce even the very Hopes of Liberty.* But the military Gentlemen had the Aſcendant in the Council, and they voted for repelling the Attacks of the proud Republick, by force of Arms. *The more we give Way,* ſaid they, *the more ſhe will demand. She aſpires at no leſs than an abſolute Sovereignty over us. What want is* Rome *in, of Lands, or Money! Her Aim is only to extend her Dominion, and exerciſe it in Repoſe. Though ſhe ſubdued* Carthage, *ſhe did not ſeize her Territories. Her Policy was to ſettle* Maſiniſſa, *a powerful King, in the Neighbourhood of the Conquered, to keep them continually in Awe.* The Romans *alſo baniſhed King* Antiochus *beyond Mount* Taurus; *and his Succeſſors are forced to regulate their Proceedings, by the Orders of a foreign Senate. There is only one Monarch left near enough to* Italy, *to make her tremble, and powerful enough to take Advantage of the leaſt Decay of the* Roman *Power*; *which is your ſelf, my Lord. And hence proceeds the Uneaſineſs of the* Romans, *and their Earneſtneſs to humble you. Will you then ſuffer them to baniſh you to the fartheſt part of* Samothracia, *or confine you to ſome Iſland, there to ſpend the reſt of your Days, deprived of your regal Power? No ſurely*; Perſes *ought to ſupport the Dignity of his Throne by his Arms, and either free the World from the Oppreſſion of thoſe Tyrants, or bear whatever Misfortunes the War brings with it, as becomes a brave Man. You will perhaps gain your Point, and drive the* Romans *out of* Greece, *as they drove* Hannibal *out of* Italy. *You have already gained the Crown from a Brother who was your Rival; can you not then preſerve it againſt Uſurpers? By the War we ſhall at leaſt gain an honourable Peace. Whereas, to purchaſe one by ſhameful Submiſſions, were infamous.*

Livy, B. 42. c. 50.

THE Council was held at *Pella*, in the old Palace of the Kings of *Macedon*, and the Remembrance of the Exploits of his Predeceſſors, affected *Perſes* as much as the Diſcourſes of his brave Officers, and made him chooſe the moſt dangerous Part. *War*, cried he; *Let us make War, ſince the Fates decree it*; and immediately diſpatched away Orders to his Troops, to repair to *Ci-*

tium

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tium [11], which he appointed to be their general *Rendezvous*. Then he implored the Assistance of *Minerva*, the Protectress of the Descendants of *Hercules*; and came himself to *Citium* with all his Court. His Army was already encamped without the City, and waiting for him there. *Hippias* commanded it in the Absence of the King; and it was reckoned to contain in all forty thousand *Macedonian* Troops. The one half of which were *Phalangites*, that is, taught to fight after the manner of the *Phalanx*; and the rest consisted of two Bodies, which were armed with little Bucklers, and were also called *Legions* by the *Macedonians*. These were the choicest Troops in all the Army; and they were commanded by two Generals, *Leonatus*, and *Thrasippus*. Three thousand other Soldiers were also armed with the same Bucklers, as the chosen Troops, and were commanded by *Antiphilus*. The rest of the forty thousand Men consisted of [12] *Pœonian*, [13] *Patorean*, [14] *Parstrymonian*, and [15] *Agrian* Forces, which were raised on the Confines of *Macedon* towards *Thrace*, and were commanded by that *Didas*, whom *Perses* had employed to make away with Prince *Demetrius*. And to all these Troops we ought here to add two thousand *Gauls*, which *Asclepiodorus* commanded; three thousand native *Thracians*, under their own General; as many *Cretans*, under different Commanders; five hundred *Greeks* of different Countries, commanded by *Leonidas* the *Macedonian*, who was said to be descended from the Kings of *Macedon*; (He was banished from his own Country, for having kept up a Correspondence, by Letter, with *Perses*; and had fled into *Macedon* for Refuge.) And lastly, a Company of about five hundred Men, partly *Bœotians*, and partly *Ætolians*, who were commanded by an *Achæan*, named *Lyco*. All these were Infantry. Besides which, *Perses* had also three thousand *Macedonian* Horse, and a thousand others, which *Cotys*, King of a Canton in *Thrace*, had brought him. But there were yet no *Illyricans* in all this Number. *Gentius*, doubtless, waited to declare for *Rome*. But be that as it will, *Perses*'s Army was the largest that had been seen in *Macedon*, since the time of *Alexander the Great*. This Kingdom was grown exceeding populous during the Peace, and had not yet unlearnt the Arts of War. *Philip*, and *Perses* himself had exercised his Subjects in several Battels, sometimes with the *Greeks*, and sometimes with the *Thracians*.

The King marched all these Troops into the Plain, not to take an exact review of them, but purely to have a Sight of all those Men that were assembled together under his Standards. A Throne was erected for him in the midst of the Plain, and he sate upon it; and from thence harangued his Army in these Words. *It is now twenty six Years since my Father* Philip *made a Treaty of Peace with* Rome. *And how many Insolences did he afterwards suffer from a Republick, which usurps Authority, only to humble crowned Heads! But Death has taken from us this powerful Monarch, when he was thinking of breaking off the Chains, which kept him in Slavery, even on a Throne. And as to me, I have with my Blood received from* Philip *a Love of that Independence, which is the best Flower in a Crown; and upon the first Marks that I shewed of bearing the Yoke with Impatience,* Rome *became outragious. She immediately sent her Ambassadors to insult me in my own Palace, and her Soldiers to seize the Cities in my Neighbourhood. Then they amused me with a fallacious Truce, and thereby gained time to prepare for an unjust War. However, these Preparations are the less formidable, because not unexpected. I have, by my Precautions, prevented the Designs of* Rome, *and my Forces are superior to hers. The choicest part of the most warlike Nations in the World, are here united in one Body. I here see* Thracians, Gauls, Macedonians, *and* Greeks. *Their Arms are uniform, and taken out of my Magazines.* Alexander *did not lead a larger*

11 The City of *Citium*, according to the Conjectures of modern Geographers, stood above *Thessalonica*, between two Rivers of *Macedon*, one of which was called *Echedorus*, and the other *Charmus*. The first is now called *Verataser*, according to *Castaldus*; and the latter *Cilabro*, according to *Molet*.

12 The *Paonians*, a People originally *Thracians*, were dispersed in several Cantons of *Macedon*, to which they gave the Name of *Paonia*. We have already spoken of this Nation.

13 The *Patoreans* were Neighbours to the *Thracians*, and possessed the North-part of *Macedon*. Their Country was surrounded with Mountains, as the Name implies.

14 The *Parstrymonians* were probably so called, because they inhabited that part of *Macedon*, which lay next to the River *Strymon*.

15 The People formerly called *Agrianes*, spread themselves in the Neighbourhood of a River of the same Name, in the East-part of *Thrace*.

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Army to the Conqueſt of Aſia. *But the Swords that glitter in ſo many Hands are not ſo much my Dependence, as the martial Ardour of thoſe that carry them. Your Fathers, by their Conqueſts, opened themſelves a Way to the Banks of the* Indus, *and the* Ganges; *and did not put an end to their Conqueſts, till they found themſelves ſtopped by* The Red Sea. *You have not degenerated from them, and your Enemies are not ſo formidable, as all the Eaſt was to them. Can a* Conſul, *attended by two* Legions, *without any Auxiliaries, but ſome* Lydians, Phrygians, *and a few* Numidians, *ſtrike Terror into you? Remember, that the preſent Buſineſs is not, as formerly, to extend your Limits; but to defend your Eſtates, Lives, and Liberty. The* Romans *have not now croſſed the Sea, under the ſpecious Pretence of ſetting* Macedon *at Liberty, but to reduce her to the State of a Province. They make it no Secret at preſent. They are uneaſy to have a King ſo near them; and want to diſarm thoſe brave Men, whoſe Courage has been felt to the Ends of the World.* Rome *will never be ſatisfied, till ſhe has made you ſubject to her Laws. You muſt deliver up your Arms, King, and Kingdom together, if you will not fight to defend them.*

Livy, B. 42. c. 52.

Livy. ibid.

§. VIII. At theſe Words there was ſo great a Shout made, that the King was forced to break off; and this Clamour was raiſed to expreſs the different Sentiments of their Hearts. By ſome, it was deſigned as a Mark of Applauſe to the Orator; by others, as an Expreſſion of their Rage againſt the *Romans*. And in the greateſt part, it was given as a Proof of their Ardour to go and fight the Enemy. This therefore the King thought a favourable Omen; and he left the Plain, to go and give Audience to the Deputies of the Cities under his Dominion. Some offered to contribute Sums of Money towards the War; others, to furniſh the Army with Proviſions. But *Perſes* only thanked his faithful Subjects for their great Readineſs to ſerve him, and deſired nothing of them, except Carriages for his Machines of War, and the Baggage of his Army. Then the King immediately marched for *Theſſaly*, a Country which had been the Seat of the War, which *Philip* his Father had made with the *Romans*. So that he came from the Heart of his Dominions to *Eordea* [16], and encamped on the Banks of a Lake, called [17] *Begonites*. From thence he advanced towards [18] *Elymea*, to the Banks of the River [19] *Haliacmon*. Then, after he had gone through the Defile of the Mountains, which divided *Macedonia Propria* from *Pelagonia*, he came to a little Province called *Tripolis*, from the three Cities of *Azorum*, *Pythium*, and *Delyche*, which were in its Diſtrict. Indeed, theſe Cities at firſt made ſome Difficulty of receiving the *Macedonian* Army; but at length they ſubmitted. *Perſes* expected that the *Perræbi* would receive him with great Readineſs; and their Capital did ſo, without Heſitation. But *Cyrretiæ*, a City of *Pelaſgiotis*, ſuſtained a Siege, and the firſt Day drove the Enemy from her Gates. The next Day therefore *Perſes* attacked it with all his Army, and made himſelf Maſter of it before Night. *Mylæ* [20] however, which was not far from *Cyrretiæ*, made a longer Reſiſtance. It was well fortified, and well guarded. It ventured even to inſult the *Macedonian*; and being beſieged, defended itſelf for three Days with Courage. But at length the Beſieged were fatigued, with the Multitude of Attacks that were continued upon them Day and Night, without Intermiſſion; their Walls were ſcaled, and their Gates battered with *Rams*, at the ſame time; and then they left their Ramparts, to attempt a Sally. But they were repulſed by the Numbers of the Beſiegers, and retired, and left an Entrance open to the Enemy. So that at laſt *Mylæ* was taken, ſacked, and diſmantled; and its Inhabitants were ſold to the beſt Bidders. After this *Perſes* drew near the famous *Valley of Tempe*, and came

16 *Eordea* was a City of *Mygdonia*, a Province of *Macedon*. We muſt take care not to confound it with a Country of this Name, which lay more to the South.

17 The Name of the Lake *Begonites* ſeems to have been unknown to the ancient Geographers; nor are the Moderns better acquainted with its Situation.

48 *Elymea* was a City which ſtood near Weſt *Macedon*. It gave its Name to the Canton of the *Elymiotes*, who lived on the Borders of *Pelagonia* *Tripolitis*.

19 The River *Haliacmon* divided *Macedon* from *Theſſaly*. After it has ran through the Frontiers of theſe two Countries, it falls into *The Thermaic Gulph*. *Sophian* calls it *Pelacas*; but *Mercator* *Platamona*.

20 *Mylæ* was a City of *Pelaſgiotis* in *Theſſaly* between the *Peneus*, and the *Pamiſus*.

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to *Phalanna* [21]; and from thence to [22] *Gyrton*, on the Conflux of the *Peneus*, and [23] *Titareſius*. This was an important Poſt; but *Titus Minuctus Rufus*, and *Hippias* who commanded in *Theſſaly*, one for the *Romans*, and the other for the *Theſſalians*, had ſeized it. So that the *Macedonian* did not attempt to lay Siege to it. He fell down on *Gonni* and *Elatea*, two Cities which he ſurprized; and which opened him an Entrance into the charming *Valley of Tempe*. Then he fortified theſe two Places, left good Garriſons in them, and purſued his March to *Sycurium* [24], at the Foot of Mount *Oſſa*, on the South Side. And the fine Air of the Place, the great Quantity of good Water with which the Country abounded, and the large Fields of *Theſſaly*, which were ſufficient to ſupply his Men with Proviſions, and his Horſes with Forrage, tempted him to fix here, and wait for the Enemy.

§. IX. In the mean time, the *Conſul Licinius*, at the Head of the *Roman* Army, had left the Camp at *Nymphæum*, and after he had croſſed a Part of *Epirus*, was entered into *Athamania*. There he found the Roads rough, and almoſt impaſſable; eſpecially the Paſs of the *Pindus*, which led into *Theſſaly*. The *Roman* Officers themſelves confeſſed, that if *Perſes* had guarded theſe Defiles, their Army of freſh Soldiers, who were not inured to Fatigue, muſt have periſhed there. However, the *Conſul* at length led it to [25] *Gomphi*, much pleaſed with having ſurmounted ſo many Dangers, without any Battel, or Accident. And as his Troops, eſpecially his Cavalry, were extremely harraſſed, he halted ſome time at *Gomphi*, to refreſh them. All the Diſcourſes of the Soldiers turned upon the Ignorance of the *Macedonian* General, who might eaſily have made *Theſſaly* impenetrable; and the *Conſul* returned the Gods Thanks for it by Sacrifices, diſtributed Proviſions among his Men, and marched on towards *Lariſſa*. From thence he came to a little Country in *Theſſaly*, called alſo *Tripolis*, and encamped on the left Bank of the *Peneus*. There *Licinius* ſaw, with much Concern, the fineſt Fields in *Theſſaly* expoſed as a Prey to the *Macedonian*; and made it his whole Buſineſs to get all the Auxiliaries he expected, to his Camp; in order to march from thence to the Enemy. *Eumenes*, attended by his two Brothers, *Attalus* and *Athenæus*, was then actually arrived at *Chalcis*; having left his Dominions in the Hands of *Philetus* his third Brother. But the Reinforcement the King of *Pergamus* was bringing to the Camp was but five thouſand Men; part Infantry, and part Cavalry; for of the ſeven thouſand which he had brought from his own Country, he had left two thouſand at *Chalcis*, under the Command of *Athenæus*, as a Garriſon for the Capital of *Eubœa*. Some few inconſiderable Bodies of Men alſo came to the *Roman* Camp from the Allies in *Greece*. The *Apolloniates* ſent the *Conſul* three hundred Horſe, and one hundred Foot. The *Ætolians* lent him all their Cavalry; and the *Theſſalians* theirs, which made a ſeparate Corps by itſelf. The *Achæans* furniſhed him with a thouſand Foot, armed after the *Cretan* manner, with Bows and Arrows. This auxiliary Cavalry was very acceptable to the *Conſul*, who had brought only three hundred Horſe with him from *Italy*; but upon the whole, his Army was not ſo numerous as that of the King.

As for the *Roman* Fleet commanded by the *Prætor Marcius Lucretius*, it ſailed for *The Gulph of Corinth*, to prevent the Motions of the *Bœotians*, ſome of whoſe Cities had joined with the *Macedonian*. *Haliartus*, a City devoted to the King, was already beſieged by *Lentulus*, at the Head of the *Bœotian* Infantry that aſſiſted the *Romans*. But the *Prætor Lucretius* ſent Orders to *Lentulus* to raiſe the Siege; and he beſieged it himſelf, with the Forces he had landed, which were ten thouſand Men; and were aſſiſted by the two thouſand *Pergamians* which Prince *Athenæus* commanded in *Chalcis*. During this Siege, ſome Reinforcements of Ships came to the *Romans* in the Ports of *Eubœa*, from ſeveral of the Cities of the Allies. Among

21 *Phalanna* ſtood in the ſame Province. The *Peneus* lay to the North of it, and Mount *Pierius* to the South.

22 Some modern Geographers mention a City of *Gyrton*, which belonged to *Stymphalia*, a Region of *Macedon*. *Pauſanias* ſeems to mean this Place, by the Name of *Andreis*. *Nardus* ſays it is now called *Tachi-Volicati*. But the City here ſpoken of ſtood in Eaſt *Theſſaly*, at a little Diſtance from *Gonni* and *Phalanna*.

23 The River called *Titareſius*, now *Titareſo*, riſes in Mount *Titarus*, according to *Strabo*, and runs into the *Peneus*.

24 It appears by *Livy*'s Account, that the City of *Sycurium* was not far from *Gonni*. It belonged to *Magneſia*, a maritime Province of *Theſſaly*.

25 *Gomphi*, which the modern Geographers call *Gonſi*, ſtood in *Theſſaly*, near the Confines of *Epirus*, between the Rivers *Ion* and *Pamiſus*; which both ran into the *Peneus*.

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the reſt, there were two *Carthaginian Quinqueremes*; two *Triremes* from [26] *Heraclea*, a City of *Pontus*, in *Aſia*; four Ships from *Chalcedon*; four more from *Samos*; and five *Rhodian Quadriremes*. But the *Prætor* thanked thoſe Allies for their Zeal; and ſent them back to their own Ports. He wanted no Sea-Forces; becauſe *Perſes* had no Fleet at Sea. In the mean time *Marcius*, after he had taken *Alope*, on the Shore of the *Euripus*, and inſulted [27] *Lariſſa* ſurnamed *Cremaſte*, on *The Maliac Gulph*, came and landed at *Chalcis*. The ſeveral Motions of the *Romans* had yet produced no great Effects. All their Hopes were on the *Conſular* Army.

§. X. *PERSES* ſtill continued in his Camp at *Sycurium*, from whence he ſent and ravaged the Fields of the *Pheræans*, and laid Ambuſhes for the *Romans*, in caſe they ſhould ramble ever ſo little from their Entrenchments. Hence the Inaction of the *Conſul*, and the Murmurs of the *Theſſalians*, whom he ſuffered to be plundered, without ſending them any Succours. The King took Advantage of it, and regaled his Troops very liberally, at the Expence of *Theſſaly*. In the mean time, *Licinius* held Councils, to know where he ſhould enter upon Action; and he was in a Conſultation with *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, when News was brought him, that a great Body of the Enemy was advancing towards him. This News ſurprized the *Conſul*, and drew him out of his Lethargy. He immediately ſounded an Alarm, put all his Men under Arms, and marched out of his Camp an hundred of *Eumenes*'s Horſe, and a little larger Number of Foot, armed with Darts. It was about ten in the Morning; and when *Perſes* was a little more than a Mile from the *Roman* Camp, he ordered his Army to halt, and marched on himſelf, with his Cavalry and light-armed Troops. *Cotys* and the Generals of the other Auilieries marched before him. When he came within five hundred Paces of the Enemy's Camp, he ſaw their Horſe advancing towards him, which conſiſted of two Brigades of *Roman* Cavalry, which were almoſt all *Gauls*, probably *Galatians*, and commanded by *Caſtiagnates*; and with them were ſome Infantry, to the Number of an hundred and fifty Men, which were partly *Myſſians*, and partly *Cretans*. Then *Perſes* halted a little, not knowing the Number of the Enemy; and ſent forward two Troops of *Thracian*, and two of *Macedonian* Horſe, with four Companies of Foot, two *Thracian* and two *Cretan*. Upon this, a kind of Skirmiſh enſued, of which the King and *Conſul* were only Spectators; and the Advantages of this firſt Battel were well nigh equal on both Sides. *Caſtiagnates* and thirty of his *Gauls*, were killed upon the Spot; and the *Macedonian* loſt as many Men. The reſt of the *Romans* retired to their Trenches, and *Perſes* returned to his Camp at *Sycurium*.

Liv. B. 42. Sc. 7.

Livy, ibid.

The next Day *Perſes* appeared again in the ſame Place, at the ſame Hour. But he had the Precaution to order ſome Water-Carts to be brought after his Army, to quench the Thirſt of his Soldiers in a dry and duſty Country. Whilſt the *Romans* kept cloſe in their Camp, and even drew their advanced Guards into it. So that the *Macedonian* fatigued his Troops in vain. But he increaſed their Confidence, by offering a Challenge which the *Roman* would not accept; and conſtantly perſevered in repeating the ſame Defiance every Day. He thought he ſhould at leaſt draw the *Romans* after him, and fight them with Advantage, at a great Diſtance from their Camp. The *Macedonian* knew himſelf to be ſuperior in Cavalry, and light-armed Infantry; and this, no doubt, was the Reaſon that the *Romans* continued immoveable, till they had received a new Reinforcement. *Perſes* therefore, tired at laſt with theſe fruitleſs Attempts, drew near to the *Roman* Camp, and pitched his own within five Miles of it. By this means, he ſpared his Troops the Fatigue of coming ſo far every Morning, to inſult the inactive *Conſul*; and his being ſo near, induced *Perſes* to come more early than uſual, to offer Battel near the *Roman* Camp. The Sun was ſcarce riſen, when the Troops in the *Conſular* Camp judged by the Cloud of Duſt which they ſaw from their Trenches, that the Enemy was approaching; and *Licinius* could ſcarce believe the Account that was brought him. *Perſes* had never yet appeared round his Camp before Ten in the Morning; and the Alarm was general in the *Roman* Army. Both Officers and

[26] The City of *Heraclea* in *Pontus*, bordered upon *Bithynia*. It was built by *Hercules*, according to *Mela*, on the Coaſt of the *Euxine* Sea, an hundred and twenty Miles Eaſt of *The Thracian Boſphorus*, and forty Miles from the Mouth of the River *Sangarius*. It is now but a very ſmall Place, called *Penderachi*, according to *Niger* and *Caſtaldus*.

[27] See what we have ſaid above, of the Name and Situation of *Lariſſa Cremaſte*.

Soldiers ran to Arms; and this Tumult, and their Impatience to fly to the Battel, prevailed on the *Conſul* to grant their Deſires.

The *Macedonian* Army was then but five hundred Paces from the *Roman* Camp, drawn up in good Order, near an Eminence called *Callicinum*. King *Cotys* commanded the *Thracian* Auxiliaries, which he had brought to the King of *Macedon*, in the left Wing. This Cavalry was divided into ſeveral Parts, and Bodies of light-armed Infantry poſted between them. In the right Wing, were poſted the *Macedonian* Cavalry, and the *Cretan* Archers filled up the Spaces between them. Two Generals, one of which was named *Milo*, a Native of *Beræa*, and the other *Meno*, a Native of *Antigonia*, commanded in this Wing. The King's Life Guards, and ſome choice Horſe of the Auxiliaries of ſeveral Nations flanked the two Wings. *Patrocles* commanded on one Side, and *Didas* on the other. *Perſes* himſelf was in the Center, with the choiceſt of the light-armed Infantry, and a Body of the braveſt Troopers ſurrounding him; and before him, were the Slingers, and Bowmen, commanded by *Ion* and *Timanor*.

As for the *Conſul*, he drew up within his Camp the Detachment of Foot he deſigned to ſend out; but did not form his Cavalry till they came into the Plain. *C. Licinius*, the *Conſul*'s Brother, was ordered to command the right Wing, which oppoſed King *Cotys* and his *Thracians*; and he had under his Command the *Latin* Cavalry, and the *Italian* light-armed Infantry. To *M. Lævinus* was given the Command of the left Wing, conſiſting of the auxiliary Cavalry of the *Greeks*, and ſome light-armed Troops; and to *Q. Marcius*, that of the Center, which conſiſted of the extraordinary Cavalry of the *Gallic Brigades*, and three hundred *Aſiatick* Horſe of the *Cyrtian* [28] Nation. *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, with the *Pagamian* Cavalry, made a *Corps-de-reſerve*, which was poſted between the Camp, and the Army. So that it is eaſy to ſee this was not a general Action; only the Cavalry and light-armed Infantry of the two Armies engaged. Neither the *Phalanx* on one Side, nor the *Legions* on the other, appeared in the Plain. But it is ſurprizing that *Licinius* himſelf did not appear in the Action. Probably it was a Cuſtom at *Rome*, for the *Conſul* not to fight, unleſs at the Head of the *Legionaries*. Or perhaps, it will be thought more probable, that *Licinius* did not approve of fighting at this time; but was forced to comply with the Importunities of his Soldiers, and therefore would not perform the Part of a General.

THE Attack was begun by the Slingers and Dartmen. Then the *Thracians* moved firſt, with an Impetuoſity like that of wild Beaſts, which have long been cloſely confined. They fell on the *Latin* Cavalry in the right with a frightful Out-cry; and broke into theſe intrepid Men, who had long been uſed to Battels. The *Thracian* Infantry wounded the Horſes of the *Latins* in the Legs with their Darts, or ham-ſtrung them, and wounded them in the Flank with their Swords. And then *Perſes* himſelf made a Motion. He fell on the *Greeks* which were poſted in the left Wing of the *Roman* Army; and immediately made them retire. Indeed the *Theſſalian* Cavalry was of great Service to them. As they were brave, and had been poſted pretty near theſe fugitive *Greeks*, they came and took their Place, covered them in their Flight, and gave them time to retire towards the *Corps-de-reſerve*, which *Eumenes* commanded. Nevertheleſs, when theſe Fugitives came to join this *Corps-de-reſerve*, they put it into ſome Diſorder; and therefore it was, that the King of *Pergamus* durſt not march againſt the Enemy, who ſtill kept their Ranks. During theſe Tranſactions, *Leonatus* and *Hippias* marched the *Phalanx* precipitately out of the *Macedonian* Camp, and led it to the Field of Battel: and then if the *Conſul* had been obliged to march out his *Legions* too, the Action would have become general. But *Perſes* knew not how to improve ſo favourable a Beginning of Victory. If he had made a Charge with his *Phalanx*, he would probably have firſt put the *Roman* Cavalry into Diſorder, and then gained a compleat Victory. Whereas he on the contrary paid too much Deference to the Advice of his Confidant *Evander* the *Cretan*, whom he had employed to aſſaſſinate *Eumenes*. *Be content, my Lord*, ſaid he, *with the Succeſs of this glorious Day. It were Raſhneſs to hazard all in one ſingle Action. This Eſſay will enable you to obtain an advantageous Peace of the* Romans, *or at leaſt draw off many of their Allies from them.* *Perſes*

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Livy, B. 42. c. 58.

Livy, B. 42. c. 59.

28 *Livy* is the only Author who mentions the *Cyrtians*, and he does not tell us what Country they inhabited.

was

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was at that time wavering between Hope and Fear; and *Evander*'s Diſcourſe determined him. He marched back his *Phalanx* to his Camp, and ſounded a Retreat. The *Romans*, if we may credit the Hiſtorian who moſt diminiſhes the Loſſes of *Rome*, left at leaſt two thouſand of their light-armed Infantry, and two hundred Horſemen, dead upon the Spot; and almoſt two hundred more were taken Priſoners. Whereas the *Macedonian* loſt but twenty Horſemen, and forty Foot.

§. XI. When returned from the Field of Battel, the *Macedonians* made great Rejoicings in their Camp. The *Thracians* entered it, as it were in Triumph, carrying the Heads of the *Romans* which had been killed in the Battle on the Tops of their Lances. Indeed the Victory was wholly owing to them. The *Conſul*'s Camp was full of Conſternation. The Shame of having been overcome, was the greateſt Calamity that could afflict brave Men. And they were under Apprehenſions of being beſieged in their Camp the next Day, and having their Lines forced. *Eumenes* himſelf was not free from theſe Fears; and he adviſed *Licinius* to decamp, and get the River *Peneus* between the Enemy and him. This Propoſal was ſhocking at firſt to the *Conſul*; who could not perſuade himſelf to ſhew any Marks of Weakneſs, and retire before the Enemy. But at length, Reaſon got the better of a Point of Honour; and in the Dead of the Night the *Roman* General paſſed the River with his Army, entrenched himſelf on the further Bank of it, and was then no longer afraid of the Attacks of the *Macedonian*. The next Day *Perſes* appeared round the *Roman* Camp, but found it deſerted. And then he was ſenſible of the Fault he had committed the Day before. He had too readily followed the timorous Advice of *Evander*, had given up the Victory when it was ready to have crowned him, and to complete his Imprudence, had not carefully enough watched the Steps of the *Conſul*. He had ſuffered him to decamp, and paſs the *Peneus* without any Oppoſition; when a Handful of his light-armed Men would have been ſufficient to have ſtopped the *Romans*, in the Tumult of a precipitate March. The *Romans*, on the other hand, valued themſelves upon their good Luck, and were now ſafe. But the *Conſul* was inconſolable at having loſt the Honour of the Day; and in the Council of War the Blame of it was thrown on the *Ætolians*. Five of their Commanders had been ſeen to fly firſt; and that ſtaggered the reſt of the *Greek* Troops, which came from the Allies of the *Romans*. It muſt be owned, that none of the *Roman* Troops were invincible but the *Legionaries*. Nevertheleſs, the *Theſſalian* Cavalry had ſignalized themſelves in the Battel; they received the Praiſes they had deſerved; and the Rewards of Valour were diſtributed among the braveſt of them.

In the *Macedonian* Camp, the King received the Spoils that had been taken from the *Romans*. He was Maſter of the Field of Battel, and the abandoned Camp; and from thence were brought to him a great Number of Coats of Mail, Cuiraſſes, Swords, Helmets, and a greater Quantity of Darts and Arrows; all which he diſtributed among his Soldiers. He likewiſe gave to ſome, Horſes; to others, fine Furniture for Horſes; and to ſeveral, Bucklers, and Captives; of whom above fifteen hundred had been taken from the *Romans*. After this, the King aſſembled his Troops, and addreſſed himſelf to them after this manner. *Your laſt Victory is a Pledge of complete Succeſs in the War. The* Roman Knights, *which were ſo formidable a Body, have already ſunk under your Valour. Yet this is the Body out of which* Rome *chuſes her* Senators, *Officers of the Infantry,* Conſuls, *and* Generals *of Armies. You have juſt divided their Spoils. The Infantry likewiſe of the Enemy, even their terrible* Legions, *trembled with Fear. Their Dread diſperſed ſome; and in the Hurry of paſſing the* Peneus, *a great Number of them were drowned. Whereas it will be eaſy for us to paſs the River without Danger, and go to the new Camp of the Enemy which we will attack to Day, and ſhould have ſeized Yeſterday, if the* Romans *had not ſaved themſelves by Flight. So great was their Terror, after the Battel between the Cavalry only! And if they reſolve to ſtand another Battel with the Infantry, you may well expect the ſame Succeſs when your* Phalanx *comes to cope with their* Legions.

Livy, B. 42. c. 61.

This Diſcourſe was full of Miſrepreſentatons; but the Soldiers, who examine into nothing, fancied that they had actually put the *Roman Knights* to Flight, and defeated the *Conſular Legions*. They with great Pride marched ſolemnly along, dreſſed in the Spoils of many illuſtrious *Romans*; this raiſed the Emulation of the *Phalangite*

langites, who were very earneſt to ſignalize themſelves in their Turns; and *Perſes* reſolved to take Advantage of their Ardour. He made them paſs the River, and led them to [29] *Mopſium*, between *Lariſſa* and *Tempe*. Whilſt the *Romans*, tho' not terrified, were cautious. They ſtill kept on the ſame Bank of the *Peneus*, where they had at firſt encamped; but removed to a ſtronger and more inacceſſible Place. And then the *Conſul* received a conſiderable Reinforcement. The young Prince *Miſagenes*, *Maſiniſſa*'s Baſtard, brought him a thouſand Foot, a thouſand Horſe, and twenty two Elephants. This repaired *Licinius*'s Loſs in the firſt Battel; and he afterwards made the *Macedonian* feel the Effects of the *Roman* Pride, which theſe new Forces had increaſed. In the mean time, *Perſes* held a Council of War. Time had a little abated the Audaciouſneſs which his firſt Victory had given him. And his true Friends adviſed him to make uſe of the Advantage he had gained, in order to procure, by ſlight Submiſſions, a Peace; which would preſerve him from many Dangers. *This Serenity*, ſaid they, *may be followed by a Storm; and it is ſafer to ſeek for Refuge whilſt the fair Weather laſts, than when the Lightning is ready to fall.* Philip *your Father delayed treating with* Flamininus *a little too long. Let us then ſeize this proſperous Moment. You will now be able to bring* Rome *to grant you more favourable Conditions. Or if not, you will at leaſt have the Reputation of having known how to temper the Preſumption that Victory uſually gives; and the People will think themſelves obliged to you for the Blood which you would have ſpared.* This was prudent Advice; and *Perſes* being inclined to follow it, He ſent an Embaſſy to the *Roman* Camp. The *Conſul* aſſembled a great Number of Officers to hear the Ambaſſadors of the Enemy's General; and they ſaid, *We are come to deſire a Peace.* Perſes *offers to maintain inviolably the Treaty you made with the King his Father, and which he renewed. He will pay you the ſame Tribute as* Philip *did; and reſtore your Allies all the Places which his Predeceſſor had given up to them.* A Propoſal which required Conſideration; and it was diſcuſſed. But the Pride and Conſtancy of the *Romans* prevailed. So that the Anſwer the *Conſul* made the Deputies was this. *There is no Peace for* Perſes, *till he ſurrenders up himſelf and his Dominions to the* Romans, *at Diſcretion.* The Ambaſſadors, who knew not how far the *Romans* carried their Steddineſs of Mind, and their Courage, were ſtruck with this Determination, which they did not expect; and upon their Report to the King, the Courtiers ſaid, That nothing more ſhould be mentioned of Peace, and That the *Roman* Pride ſhould be humbled. But *Perſes* was not of that Opinion. From the *Conſul*'s Anſwer, he concluded, that *Rome* would not have ſhewn ſo much Pride, if ſhe had not known herſelf to be ſuperior; and he made freſh Application to *Licinius*, offering him a more conſiderable Tribute than *Philip* had paid. But the *Conſul* would abate nothing of his firſt Pretenſions. It was therefore neceſſary to reſolve to continue the War; and the King returned to his firſt Camp at *Sycurium*, and prepared to renew Hoſtilities.

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§. XII. In the mean time, a Report was ſpread all over *Greece*, that *Perſes* had gained an Advantage over the *Romans*. And this News was received with Joy, not only by the Enemies of *Rome*, but by the Nations and Cities that were moſt attached to her. Some triumphed to ſee her humbled. In others, their Joy was mere Caprice, or the Effect of thoſe unreaſonable Antipathies, which ſometimes lead us to favour one of the Competitors in publick Sports more than another, tho' we can give no Reaſon for it. *Bœotia* eſpecially, rejoiced more than any other Province, and thought herſelf already delivered from the *Roman* Yoke.

The *Prætor Caius Lucretius*, was ſtill carrying on the Siege of *Haliartus*, with the Troops he had landed. The Place could hope for no Relief, and had received no Succours, but ſome Infantry from *Coronæa*, another City of the *Macedonian* Party. Nevertheleſs, the Reſiſtance of the Beſieged was not the leſs vigorous. They often made Sallies againſt the Beſiegers, and often broke the Blows of the *Rams* with Maſſes of Lead which they let down from the Tops of the Ramparts, and drew up again, with Sweeps, or Counterpoiſes. A Breach was no ſooner made, but they repaired it; or built a new Wall with the Rubbiſh and Materials of the Breach itſelf. However, the *Prætor* at length ordered a general Aſſault, on the only Side of the City

[29] *Strabo*, and after him *Stephen of Byſantium*, mentions a City called *Mopſium*; and both place it in *Theſſaly*. It gave its Name to a Hill which the Ancients call *Mopſius*, or *Mopſelus*; and which lay between *Lariſſa* and *The Valley of Tempe*.

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where it was acceſſible. A Part of its Wall was ſurrounded with a Marſh; ſo that the City could not be attacked on that Side. *Lucretius* therefore made his principal Attack againſt a *Courtine* which was flanked with two Towers. A Breach had been made in this *Courtine*, and the *Prætor* himſelf firſt mounted it, deſigning to draw all the Garriſon upon him. The *Romans* were all ready with their Ladders to follow him; but he found more Reſiſtance on the Side of the Breach than he expected. The Beſieged had ſtopped it up with Faſcines; the *Romans* ſaw them ſtanding behind it, armed with burning Flambeaux, and ready to ſet Fire to this dry Wood, in order to burn all thoſe who ſhould be ſo bold as to advance up to it. And whilſt the latter were deliberating about paſſing thro' the Fire with which they were threatened, the former were building a new Wall to ſtop them. A Stratagem which had certainly ſucceeded, had it not been for an unforeſeen Accident! So great a Quantity of Rain fell in the Interim, as wetted the Wood ſo much, that there was no fear of its taking Fire; and then the Beſiegers undertook to mount the Breach. All the Garriſon ran to defend it, and left the Ramparts unguarded. Upon this, the *Romans* ſcaled them, made themſelves Maſters of them, and from thence marched into the City. They at firſt killed old Men, Women, and Children, without Diſtinction. The Warriors, to the Number of two thouſand five hundred, retired to the Citadel; and the next Day ſurrendered at Diſcretion. But it was neceſſary to make an Example of theſe unfaithful *Bœotians*, and puniſh them ſeverely. *Haliartus* was therefore razed, and the Remainder of its Inhabitants ſold to the beſt Bidder; after the City had firſt been plundered, and the *Prætor* had carried on board his Fleet the Statues and Pictures with which it was adorned, and all the rich Furniture of the Temples or private Houſes. From thence the *Prætorian* Army marched to *Thebes*; which opened her Gates, and received it without Oppoſition. The *Prætor* re-inſtated ſome Perſons there, who had been baniſhed for their Adherence to the *Romans*, and reduced to Slavery thoſe Families which had declared for *Macedon*; and then he returned on board his Fleet, after having filled *Bœotia* with Terror.

§. XIII. And now the Allies of *Perſes* were become leſs audacious in their Expreſſions, and *Greece* kept her Affection for him a little more concealed. Whilſt the King himſelf, who was obliged to maintain a War, contrary to his Inclination, ſought for an Opportunity to deſtroy the *Romans* rather by Artifice than Force. He was informed, at his Camp at *Sycurium*, that the *Conſular* Army had juſt carried to their Camp a vaſt Quantity of Bundles of Corn, which they had mowed in the Fields. All the Streets in the Camp were full of Straw, and every Soldier had Heaps of it before his Tent. What then ſo eaſy as to ſet it on Fire! To this End, *Perſes* got ready ſome Tow dipped in Bitumen and Pitch, and then marched to attack the Camp at Midnight. The Advanced-Guards were ſurprized at the unexpected Arrival of the *Macedonian*; and they returned to the Camp, and gave the Alarm there. The *Legionaries* awoke, ran to Arms, and were in an Inſtant at the Gates, and upon the Ramparts. The King ſaw that he had miſſed his Aim, and immediately ordered his Army to march back. And being very apprehenſive that the *Romans* would attack his Rear, he covered it himſelf with his Cavalry and light-armed Infantry. Accordingly, the *Roman* Troops did purſue the *Macedonians* in their Retreat, for ſome time. But they eſcaped with only a ſlight Skirmiſh between their Rear-Guard and the Advance-Guard of the *Romans*, and returned to *Sycurium*.

All the Forrage in the Fields round the *Roman* Camp was now gathered; and the *Conſul* therefore left the Banks of the *Peneus*, came to thoſe of the [30] *Enipeus*, and encamped at [31] *Crannon*, in a Country which the Troops had ſpared. He thought himſelf ſafe there. His Camp was at a great Diſtance from the Enemy, and in order to come at him, they muſt paſs thro' a dry Country, where there was little or no Water. Nevertheleſs, *Perſes* did ſo, and came and braved the *Romans*, without any Effect. Then he drew near to them, and encamped towards *Mopſium*. The *Romans* alſo changed their Poſt, and fortified themſelves near *Pha-*

30 The *Enipeus* riſes in *Phthiotis*; and after it has watered the Plains of *Pharſalia*, falls into the *Epidaurus*. There is alſo a River of this Name in *Peloponneſus*, which runs into the River *Alpheus*.

31 *Crannon* was a City of *Phthiotis*, between the *Epidaurus*, and the *Enipeus*. We have ſpoken of it already.

Iannia

lanna; where they made the beſt Uſe of the Plenty of the Country, and diſperſed themſelves in the Fields in ſmall Bodies, to reap the Corn. The King was informed of this, by a Deſerter; and he immediately ſet out himſelf, with a thouſand Horſe, and two thouſand Foot, partly *Thracian*, and partly *Cretan*, and fell ſuddenly on the Reapers. He ſurrounded the Men and Carts, made ſix hundred *Romans* Priſoners of War, and took a thouſand Carts ready loaded. Nor was this enough for an indefatigable Warrior, whoſe Deſpair made him attempt every thing. He aſſembled together his Troop, and led it to attack the Body of *Romans* which covered the Reapers. A *Legionary Tribune*, named *L. Pompeius*, commanded it; and this brave Man, knowing his Troops to be inferior in Number and Strength to the Enemy, gained an Eminence, and drew them up there, in a Circle, that being formed in very cloſe Order, and covered with their Bucklers, they might face every way, and ward off all the Darts. The King, on the other hand, divided his *Macedonians* into two Bodies. One had Orders to march up to the Top of the Hill, and fight the Enemy there, on even Ground. The other was ordered to be continually throwing up Darts at the Enemy, to keep them in Play, and fatigue them. Nothing incommoded the *Romans* more than a Sort of Darts which were ſhorter than ordinary, and were thrown with Slings. Beſides, they could not without Danger leave their Ranks, to make Head againſt the *Macedonians* who were with Difficulty climbing up to the Top of the Hill. If the *Romans* had diſunited themſelves ever ſo little, they would have been wounded with numberleſs Darts. *Perſes* often preſſed them to ſurrender. But they were too conſtant to comply with his Sollicitations; tho' they were but eight hundred, to about three thouſand; and tho' the Danger was certain, and Death ſeemed inevitable. And at length, the *Conſul* delivered them. Having received timely Notice, by ſome Reapers who had eſcaped out of the firſt Battel, that *Pompeius* was very hard preſſed; he inſtantly marched out of his Camp, with his Squadrons, ſome light-armed Infantry, and a certain Number of Elephants. Then after he had ordered his *Legions* to form themſelves in the Plain, and follow him; he marched on before them, and made all poſſible Haſte to the Hill. By his Side marched the King of *Pergamus*, with his Brother *Attalus*, and *Miſagenes* the young *Numidian* Prince; and almoſt the whole *Roman* Army was put in Motion.

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It is eaſy to judge of the Joy *Pompeius* felt at the Sight of the powerful Succours which the *Conſul* was bringing him in Perſon. And as for *Perſes*, he ſaw that they were too ſtrong for him. If he had not been ſo raſh, he would have contented himſelf with having taken the Carts and Reapers. But inſtead of that, he was ſo audacious as to inſult *Pompeius*, almoſt at the Gates of the *Roman* Camp. Nay, he carried his Raſhneſs yet farther. After he had given Orders for his *Phalanx* and the reſt of his Army to be brought to him in all Haſte, he faced the *Conſular Legion*, and choſe rather to hazard all, than retreat fighting. It muſt be owned indeed, that the *Macedonians* ſtill retained ſome of the ancient Bravery of their Fathers; but they wanted an *Alexander* to lead them. *Perſes* alſo gave Proofs of great Valour; but he wanted Conduct. He ſuſtained the Efforts of all the *Roman* Troops for ſome time; and at length, when over-powered with Numbers, after he had loſt three hundred Foot, and the beſt Part of that invincible Cavalry his Guards, he had Thoughts of retreating. But it was then too late. His *Phalanx* had already left his Camp in Haſte, and was coming to join him. And he ought to have foreſeen what Difficulties they muſt meet with in their March. The Company of Reapers, and the long Train of Carts that his Men were conducting to the *Macedonian* Camp, met the *Phalanx* in a narrow Road; and created inexpreſſible Diſorders. The *Phalangites* preſſed forwards in haſte; and the Carts could not draw back. The armed Soldiers were forced to make their Way over the Carters, Horſes, and Carriages; and they killed ſome, and beat down others. The Horſes being terrified put the *Phalanx* in Diſorder, and that retarded its March. Nor was this the only Inconvenience. In the ſame narrow Way, the *Macedonian* Cavalry, and at length all the Troops that the King commanded, who were warmly preſſed by the *Romans*, came likewiſe, and fell upon the *Phalanx*. The Voice of the Officers, who commanded the *Phalangites* to turn back, were ſcarce heard; and there was a terrible Confuſion. Inſomuch, that if the *Romans* had ventured to have penetrated into this Paſs, they muſt have cut the Enemy's whole

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whole Army in Pieces. And accordingly, ſome Hiſtorians pretend, That a furious Battel was fought there; That *Perſes* loſt eight thouſand Men upon the Spot, and among them two of his Generals; That two thouſand eight hundred of his Men were made Priſoners, and twenty ſeven of his Standards taken; and laſtly, That the *Romans* loſt four thouſand three hundred Men, and four Colours. But it is more ſafe to ſay, That the *Conſul* contented himſelf with delivering *Pompeius* and his Men out of their Danger, and with having routed *Perſes* and his Detachment; and then returned to his Camp. At leaſt, it's certain the Action was a memorable one, and ended much to the Glory of the *Conſul*. *Perſes* was in ſuch a Conſternation at it, that he did not continue in his Camp at *Mopſium*, any longer than was neceſſary to bury his Dead. After he had put a ſtrong Garriſon in *Gonni*, and left *Timotheus* with a Body of Troops at 32 *Phila*, he returned to *Macedon*, to ſpend the Winter there.

§. XIV. As ſoon as he arrived at *Pella*, he was ſurprized with a Piece of News which afflicted him. He was now forced to ſee *Cotys* and his *Thracians*, who had been the ſtrongeſt Part of his Army, during the Campaign, and to whom he was indebted for his firſt Victory, ſet out for his own Country, and leave him. King *Eumenes* had ſent into the Country of the *Odryſians*, one of his Generals, named *Corragus*; and he had raiſed up againſt *Cotys*, *Atlesbis*, one of the petty Sovereigns of *Thrace*. So that *Cotys*'s Dominions were expoſed to the Ravages of the Enemy; and he was forced to go and defend them. The King of *Macedon*, at parting, made the King of the *Odryſians* Preſents; but he gave his Cavalry only two hundred *Talents*, which was ſix Month's Pay, tho' he promiſed them a whole Year's. Avarice was *Perſes*'s Vice.

As to *Licinius*, who was now ſole Maſter of the Field, he made an Attempt on the City of *Gonni*. It ſtood on the Neck of *The Valley of Tempe*, and was a convenient Paſs from *Theſſaly* to *Macedon*. But the Deſign was impracti- cable Then the *Roman* General turned towards *Perræbia*, took *Malæa* and *Tripolis*, as ſoon as he arrived there, and reduced the reſt of the Province. From thence he drew near to *Lariſſa*. *Eumenes* and *Attalus* were then returned into their own Country; ſo that the *Conſul* had only *Miſagenes* and his *Numidians* with him; and he placed them in good Quarters in *Theſſaly*, and preſerved that Country. Then he ſent *Q. Mucius*, one of his Lieutenant-Generals, to ſeize *Ambracia*, and after he had diſmiſſed all his *Grecian* Allies, except the *Achæans*, he entered *Achaia Phthiotis*. There he entirely razed 33 *Pteleum*, and got full Poſſeſſion of 34 *Antrona*. At length, he returned again to *Lariſſa*; and found the City abandoned by the *Macedonians*, and the Citizens retired into the Citadel. But he, without any Difficulty, forced them to ſurrender at Diſcretion. After which, he deliberated whether he ſhould go and lay Siege to *Demetrias*, or enter *Bœotia*, and go to *Thebes*, where he was much wanted. This faithful City was indeed hard preſſed by the Troops of *Coronæa*. Nevertheleſs, *Licinius* choſe to ſpend the Winter in *Bœotia*. This was a more fruitful Country, and conſequently, more convenient for Winter-Quarters than *Magneſia*.

In the mean time, the King of *Illyricum* began to move, in favour of *Perſes*. The Irreſolution of *Gentius* ended at laſt in chooſing the worſt Part. His Caprice got the better of his Reaſon. *Minucius* foreſaw it, and took from him by Force two of the moſt wealthy Places in his Dominions; but did not give them up to be plundered by the *Romans*. He thought to have gained the Affections of the Inhabitants of *Carnus*, by theſe Acts of Clemency. This was then a City of Importance; but only one Hiſtorian mentions the Situation of it. *Mucius* therefore firſt

Livy, B. 43. c. 1.

32 *Phila*, a City of *Pieria*, a Province of *Macedon*, was on the Borders of *Magneſia*, a Country of *Theſſaly*. It ſtood on the Banks of the *Peneus*. *Stephen of Byſantium* makes it to have been founded by *Demetrius*, the Son of *Antigonus*. *Nardus* gives it the Name of *Fello*.

33 *Pteleum* was formerly a City of *Phthiotis* in *Theſſaly*. It was watered by the River *Sperchius*. What remains of it is now called *Fitleo*.

Livy ſpeaks alſo of a City of this Name in *Ionia*, a Province of *Aſia Minor*.

34 *Stephen of Byſantium*, and *Suidas*, derive the Name of the City of *Antrona*, from the *Dens* and Caves about it. It belonged to *Theſſaly*. Some Authors mention another City of *Antrona*, in *Meſſenia*, a Country of *Peloponneſus*.

35 We know of no other City of *Carnus*, but that in *Upper Pannonia*. It was not unknown to *Ptolomy*. It is now only a Village in *Lower Auſtria*, on the Banks of the *Danube*. It is called *Sainte Petronille*. But *Pliny* mentions a City of *Carnus*, in the Country of the *Sabeans*, a People of *Arabia*. That which *Livy* here ſpeaks of, ſtood in *Illyricum*. And the Silence of the Geographers, as to this laſt City, will not ſuffer us to ſay any thing of its ancient Situation.

made Uſe of Menaces, and Sollicitations, to gain it over to the *Romans*; and at length endeavoured to reduce it by Force. But *Carnus* was exceeding ſtrong; and was ſeveral times attacked in vain. And then *Mucius* vented his Rage on the two Cities which he had at firſt ſpared only out of Policy. He now ſuffered the Soldiers to pillage them, and take the Booty themſelves.

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§. XV. THE Expeditions in *Theſſaly*, and thoſe which were yet to be undertaken in *Macedon*, raiſed an Emulation between *Caſſius*, one of the *Conſuls* of the Year, and his Collegue *Licinius*. A Province had fallen to the former, where he could reap but little Glory. As ſoon as he was nominated *Conſul*, he had ſhewn a very great Deſire to procure a Commiſſion for *Macedon*, without drawing Lots; and afterwards to get it by Lot. But his Hopes were fruſtrated. He was appointed to continue in *Italy*, at the Head of an Army, without any other Buſineſs, than that of keeping the *Ligures* and *Gauls*, to their Duty. And now, whether out of Jealouſy to a Collegue, who was more fortunate than himſelf, or out of an ardent Deſire to do his Country ſome important Service, he took a very raſh Reſolution. Without any Orders from the People, or the Conſent of the Senate, he marched towards *Aquileia*, came to the Eaſtern Borders of the *Alpes*, and was ready to carry his Troops through *Illyricum*, into *Macedon*. This was an Outrage upon the publick Authority; and Deputies came from *Aquileia* to the Senate, to complain of the Inconveniencies they ſuffered from a *Conſul*, who, without Order, harraſſed their Province, by marching Troops through it. The Affair was diſcuſſed in the Senate, and the Boldneſs of the *Conſul* was univerſally condemned. It was found to be not only an Act of Diſobedience, but a very imprudent Step. *To lead an Army from* Italy *into* Macedon *by Land*, ſaid the Fathers, *is ſhewing our Enemies the Way to come from* Macedon *into* Italy. *Sulpicius* therefore, who then governed the City as *Prætor*, was ordered to ſend three Expreſſes to *Caſſius*, to command him to return back immediately, and to forbid him to attack any Enemies, but thoſe whom he was ordered to have an Eye upon, by his Commiſſion. But *Rome* poſtponed making thoſe Nations amends, whom *Caſſius* had pillaged in his March, till after his *Conſulate*. The *Prætors*, and other Officers of the Publick, were now frequently guilty of Rapines, in all the *Roman Provinces*.

DEPUTIES were very lately arrived from *Spain*, to complain of the Oppreſſions the People there ſuffered from the *Roman* Magiſtrates. When they were brought into the Senate, theſe *Spaniards* entreated the *Conſcript Fathers*, not to continue to treat the Nations that ſubmitted to them, with the ſame Rigour as the rebellious Countries. *The Pride of your Commanders*, ſaid they, *is become inſupportable, and their Avarice boundleſs*: And the humble Poſture of theſe Deputies, raiſed the Compaſſion of *The Fathers*. Beſides, it was but too evident, that for ſome time paſt, theſe People had been harraſſed with cruel Depredations. *Canuleius*, who was nominated *Prætor* in *Spain*, was not yet gone to his Province. Two *Prætors* had formerly been ſent thither, one for *Hither Spain*, and the other for *Farther*. But *Lucius Canuleius* was now to govern this great Continent alone, without a Collegue; and the Republick ordered him to hear the Complaints of the *Spaniards*, and appoint them *Prætors* and Judges. They deſired to have four Commiſſioners choſen out of the Senators. *Cato*, who was formerly ſo rigid a *Cenſor*, was the firſt; and *P. Scipio*, *Paulus Æmilius*, and *C. Sulpicius* were joined with him. Theſe Judges, who had all commanded in *Spain* with Succeſs, were now inſtructed in the Affairs of that Province; and they began with proſecuting *M. Titinius*. He had been *Prætor* in *Spain* ſix Years before, in the *Conſulſhip* of *M. Junius*, and *Aulus Manlius*. But after he had been accuſed twice, the Charge did not appear ſufficiently ſupported to condemn him. So that he was ſet aſide, till further Information could be had; but at laſt, when he was called up to Judgment, he was acquitted. And this firſt Accuſation much leſſened the Prejudices of the People, concerning the bad Adminiſtration of many *Prætors*.

BUT the *Spaniards* carried on their Proſecutions againſt two others of their old Governors, with more Juſtice. Theſe were *P. Furius Philus*, and *M. Matienus*. The latter had commanded in *Spain*, two Years; and the former, three. Judgment againſt them was at firſt ſuſpended. But afterwards, as the Charges upon

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* *Tiboli. Exul ab ætate Marius libit & fruitur Dis Iratis & tuetiſeri Provincia Foros.* Juvenal.

them grew heavier, they did Juſtice on themſelves. They baniſhed themſelves. One retired to * *Tibur*, and the other to *Præneſte*, and thereby evaded the Puniſhment intended for them, and the making Reſtitution to *Spain*. The *Romans* were of Opinion, that no Puniſhment could [36] equal that of being baniſhed *Rome*. A dangerous Maxim! with which a *Roman* Satyriſt has ſeverely reproached his Nation! A Villain often enjoyed the Fruits of his Rapines in Eaſe, in an agreeable Baniſhment, whilſt the Province, which he had pillaged, and which had got him condemned, had no other Satisfaction, but that of ſeeing him removed from *Rome*.

THE *Spaniards* were ready to have accuſed many more of their old *Prætors*. But the Judges themſelves were tired with ſeeing ſo many of the firſt of the Nobility proſecuted for Extortions. Even *Canuleius* himſelf, the Protector of the *Spaniſh* Nation, endeavoured to ſcreen many illuſtrious Men from the Judgment of the Commiſſioners. He made his Levies as ſoon as poſſible, and ſet out for his Province; and all Enquiries concerning the oppreſſive Magiſtrates ceaſed, after his Departure. But if the Senate forgave what was paſt, they at leaſt put a Stop to the Vexations the *Provinces* ſuffered, for the future. It was decreed, 1. That the *Roman* Magiſtrates ſhould not, for the future, ſet the Price upon the Corn that was to be ſold. 2. That the *Spaniards* ſhould not be obliged to deliver their Corn to the *Prætors*, upon ſuch Terms as the latter thought fit, but at the current Price. And 3*dly*, That they ſhould appoint no more Deputies in the Cities, to collect the publick Money. Theſe Regulations comforted the *Spaniards*, and gave them Hopes that their Government would be more tolerable for the future.

SOME other Envoys from *Spain* preſented alſo a Petition to the Senate; but of a quite different kind. They repreſented, That the *Roman* Officers and Soldiers had had Children by *Spaniſh* Women. They reckoned up no leſs than four thouſand of them. And the Marriages of theſe Women being null in Law, ſince no *Roman Citizen* could marry a Foreigner, unleſs in the privileged Nations, it was uncertain what the State of theſe Children was. Were they free? or were they to be adjudged Slaves, becauſe born of Mothers that were ſo? The Envoys therefore deſired, That they might all have the Right of *Citizenſhip* in one *Spaniſh* City, and live there in full Liberty; and the Senate had Regard to their Petition. The *Fathers* pronounced, That all thoſe who ſhould be judged to be the Children of *Romans*, ſhould go and get their Names enrolled by the *Prætor Canuleius*, after his Arrival in *Spain*; That he ſhould enfranchiſe as many of them as he pleaſed; That all thoſe whom he enfranchiſed ſhould go and People the City of *Carteia* [37], on the Ocean; That they ſhould there have the Right of *Citizenſhip*, and poſſeſs Lands of their own; and laſtly, That the City itſelf ſhould be made *A Roman Colony*. Thus the Republick cultivated the Friendſhip of the *Spaniards*, by her Favours to them; whilſt ſhe was buſy in purſuing an important War in *Macedon*.

§. XVI. *ROME* alſo took ſome Meaſures to prevent exaſperating the *Carthaginians*. Their Capital had very well recovered her Loſſes, ſince *Scipio Africanus* had humbled her. Trade had put her in a flouriſhing Condition; and by means of the People, this City was become exceeding populous. There were now no Traces left of that Miſery, to which an unfortunate War had reduced her. Nor had *Carthage* entirely unlearnt the Art of War, during her Tranquillity. Beſides that ſhe had from time to time furniſhed the *Roman* Armies with Ships, and Auxiliaries; her Quarrels with *Maſiniſſa* had kept the Valour of the *Carthaginians* employed. Indeed, the Senate of *Rome* generally, out of Policy, took upon themſelves the Cognizance of the Diſputes that aroſe, between *Carthage*, and the King of *Numidia*. But they had always begun with pitching Camps, and committing Hoſtilities on both ſides. We have already obſerved, That there had ariſen Diſputes the laſt Year, about the Limits of the two States of *Carthage*, and *Numidia*

36 Ever ſince the Promulgation of the *Porcian* Law, it was not lawful for either the Magiſtrates, or the People, to inflict Death on a *Roman Citizen*, though guilty of the greateſt Crimes. Only *Parricides* indeed were excepted, as *Cicero* plainly ſhews, In his *ſixth Oration againſt Verres*.

37 We have already ſpoken of *Carteia*, which moſt Geographers take for *Tariſſa*, a maritime City of *Andaluſia*, near *The Streights of Gibraltar*. *Marales* thinks it was *Algezira*, a City, of which we have now no Footſteps remaining.

That thereby a Foundation was laid for a War between *Maſiniſſa*, and his Neighbours; That *Rome*, who had aſſumed a Right to judge of the Affair, had ſuſpended it, and not brought it to an Iſſue; and That *Guluſſa* had been ſent to the King his Father, for new Inſtructions concerning it. And now this Prince was returned to *Rome*, and a new Embaſſy from *Carthage* ſoon followed him. The Inclinations of the *Romans* were for *Maſiniſſa*; but the time would not ſuffer them to declare openly againſt *Carthage*. The Senate could not avoid hearing both Parties; nor could they in Prudence have left two Nations to the Fate of Arms, which they were proud to ſee have recourſe to their Tribunal. The *Numidians* and *Carthaginians* therefore were introduced into the Senate; and *Guluſſa* ſpake firſt. Carthage, ſaid he, *is preparing to vent all the Rage and Malice againſt my Father, that Jealouſy can inſpire. She has ſeen his Dominions increaſe through your Favour, and cannot bear our Proſperity. She knows that* Numidia *is devoted to you; and that* Maſiniſſa *regulates his Intereſt only by yours. But as pacifick as he is, he cannot bear to ſee others encroach upon his Rights, and claim a Territory which he claims, only to apply it to your Uſe. All the Profits of it will be applied to* Rome *only. Of this you have freſh Proofs, in the Proviſions and Troops which* Miſagenes *has carried to the Army in* Macedon. *Will you then ſuffer a part of a Diſtrict to be taken from you, which formerly belonged to our Anceſtors, and which* Rome *granted us when ſhe ſettled our Limits?* Carthage *would take it from us by force of Arms. Whilſt you were engaged in the Wars in* Celtiberia, *and the* Spaniards *alſo threatened* Numidia, *the* Carthaginians *ſent* Carthalo *againſt us. This General entered our Frontiers, fell ſuddenly on* Maſiniſſa's *Camp, committed ſome Slaughter there, and made ſome Priſoners. In ſhort, he drew the Peaſants of the Country into a Revolt, and has not ceaſed to moleſt us to this Day. The* Carthaginians *are common Enemies to you, and us. Do you then want Power or Authority to put a Stop to their Inſults? You ought in point of Policy to keep them under. Their Strength increaſes daily with their Riches. And perhaps they are only firſt trying their Strength againſt* Numidia, *in order to turn their Arms afterwards againſt the* Romans, *their Conquerors.*

Year of ROME DLXXXII. P. Licinius Crassus, C. Cassius Longinus, Conſuls.

All the Senate inclined to *Maſiniſſa*, but the State of Affairs at this Juncture ſuſpended their ſhewing their Good-will to him for the preſent. The *Carthaginian* Ambaſſadors were brought into the Houſe; but added nothing to their Accuſations the laſt Year. They only inveighed as before againſt the Ambition of *Maſiniſſa*, complained of his Uſurpations, fell proſtrate, and entreated the Houſe to do them Juſtice, without any Partiality. The Senate promiſed them, that Commiſſioners ſhould immediately be ſent into *Africa*, to determine theſe Differences on the Spot; and forbad both Parties to continue their Hoſtilities. But theſe *Roman* Envoys were charged with ſomething more than putting an end to the Proceſs. They had Orders to conſider the State of the *African* Republick; which had never been more ſuſpected than now. Her Wealth might induce her to become once more a Rival to *Rome*. The *Roman* Deputies were even terrified at the vaſt Proſperity and Plenty which they found in *Carthage*; and nothing comforted them but the Diviſions they found among the Citizens. The leaſt numerous Party of the *Carthaginian* Lords were for the *Romans*, and they were headed by *Hanno*. Others declared themſelves for *Maſiniſſa*, and *Hannibal*, ſurnamed *Pſar*, was the Head of this Faction. The reſt were for the Commons, who were under the Management of *Hamilcar*, ſurnamed *Samis*, and *Carthalo*. Upon their Arrival, the *Romans* diſcovered all theſe Intrigues; and then acted rather as Arbitrators, than Judges in the Cauſe. As *Maſiniſſa* was then in Poſſeſſion of the Land in diſpute, they did not deprive him of it; but pronounced, that he ſhould not be diſpoſſeſſed, till a definitive Sentence was given againſt him: and by theſe Delays the Republick ſeemed to protect the *Numidian* King, without Prejudice to the Rights of *Carthage*.

App. in Punic. c. 37.

§. XVII. As ſoon as the Ambaſſadors nominated to go to *Africa* were embarked, the *Comitia* were held for the great Elections, the *Conſul Caſſius* preſided in them; and the *Conſular Faſces* were given, by a Plurality of Voices, to *A.* [38] *Hoſtilius*

[38] *Caſſiodorus* differs from the *Faſti Capitolini*, as to the *Prænomina* of the two *Conſuls* for this Year 583. He gives them both that of *Caius*. St. *Jerome* in his *Chronicon*, places in this *Conſulſhip*, the Birth of *Attius*, a *Comic* Poet. He was almoſt Cotemporary with the Poet *Pacuvius*, the Son of *Ennius*'s Siſter. We ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak of theſe two Poets hereafter.

Mancinus

Year of *ROME* DLXXXIII.
A. Hostilius Mancinus, A. Attilius Serranus, Consuls. *Fast. Capit.*

Mancinus, and *A. Attilius Serranus*. Six *Prætors* were also chosen. But the Historians have preserved only three of their Names. *M. Bœbius* governed *Rome*, and heard the Causes of the *Citizens*. *Q. Mænius* took Cognizance of the Causes of Foreigners; and *L. Hortensius* went to command the Fleet on the Coasts of *Greece*. We can only guess at the Names of the *Prætors*, of *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Spain*. The *Consuls* drew Lots for their Provinces; and *Macedon* fell to 39 *Hostilius*; and *Liguria*, to *Attilius Serranus*. The old *Consul Licinius* had Orders to continue in the *Levant*, in quality of *Pro-Consul*, till his Successor arrived; and as soon as the latter was installed according to form, and had made his Recruits, he prepared to set out, to continue the War against *Perses*. *Rome* was wholly intent on the *Macedonian* Expedition. The Trial the *Romans* had made of the Valour of the King their Enemy, gave them some Uneasiness concerning the Success of the Enterprize. *Perses* was actually making new Preparations to take the Field, the next Spring. He had gained himself some Reputation the last Year, and kept *Europe* in suspence, between the *Romans* and him. And now it was highly necessary for him to maintain the Glory he had acquired; and he hoped to keep the Success equal, and preserve his Independence. To this end he spent the whole Winter in exercising his Troops, to inure them to Discipline. The *Consular* Army was provided with Elephants, which *Masinissa* had brought from *Numidia*; and *Perses* therefore, in order to preserve his Infantry from the Disorder these frightful Beasts had caused among his Battalions, during the last Campaign, ordered the Helmets of his Foot Soldiers to be stuck thick with Nails. Then the Elephants could not tread upon the Heads of these Soldiers, without hurting their Feet, or turn their Trunks round them. It was also necessary to guard the Horses against the Dread which they naturally have for these Animals: and to this end, the King of *Macedon* ordered moveable wooden Machines to be made, representing Elephants; and by Art made them smell much like real ones. By this means the *Macedonian* Horses were by Degrees accustomed to the Figure and Smell of these Beasts, and were no more afraid of their Approaches.

Zonar. B. 9. c. 22.

But the first use *Perses* made of the Army he had so carefully exercised, was not against the *Romans*. Before he marched it against *Licinius* in *Thessaly*, he thought himself obliged to go and assist *Cotys*, that Sovereign of a Part of *Thrace*, who had done him such important Services the last Year. We have observed, that *Eumenes* had stirred up against this petty King, a neighbouring Prince, named *Atlesbis*; and sent Troops into *Cotys*'s Dominions, under the Command of one of his Generals, named *Corrabus*. And this Diversion had succeeded. *Cotys* was no longer Master of his Territories; his Enemies had seized them. Besides, his Country bordered on *Dardania*; and this Country, which was in the Interest of *Rome*, gave him Terror. In this Extremity therefore *Cotys* had recourse to *Perses*. He had been a faithful Ally to the *Macedonian*, was almost the only one on whom he could depend, and might therefore be assured of his Assistance. Accordingly, *Perses* hastened to him, put the *Pergamians* and *Thracians*, who infested his Territories, to flight; retook the Cities he had lost; and again settled the Province of [40] *Marena*, which was already conquered, under the Dominion of its old Master. Nor was this enough. The King of *Macedon* entered *Dardania*, and there found the People upon the defensive. They had already assembled an Army of ten thousand Men. But *Perses* fell upon them at a time when they least expected it, defeated and routed this tumultuous Army, ravaged the Country, and returned to *Macedon*.

39 The Origin of the *Hostilian* Family is carried up to one *Hostus Hostilius*, who removed from *Medulia*, his native City, to *Rome*, where he obtained the right of *Citizenship*, in the Reign of *Romulus*. This Family reckoned King *Tullus Hostilius* among their Ancestors. The *Mancinus*'s, the *Attilius*'s, the *Cato*'s, and the *Saserna*'s, were so many different Branches of this Stock.

40 We don't know enough of the Country of *Marena* in *Thrace*, to determine exactly its Extent and Situation. Nevertheless, it seems to have been part of the Country of the *Odrysians*, who were subject to *Cotys*, one of the petty Kings of *Thrace*.

§. XVIII. During

Year of ROME DLXXXIII.
A. Hostilius Mancinus, A. Attilius Serranus, Conſuls.

§. XVIII. During theſe Delays of the King, [41] *Licinius*, who was only *Pro-Conſul* in *Greece*, and the *Pro-Prætor Lucretius*, Admiral of the Fleet under *Licinius*, were guilty of unheard of Oppreſſions. This Spirit ſeems now to have prevailed in all the *Roman* Generals, in their Provinces. The Avarice of theſe Commanders was become inſatiable; and the Superiority of their Arms gave a Sanction to their Injuſtice. Complaints were made of it, in all Places where the *Romans* made War; and the *Gauls* beyond the Eaſtern *Alpes*, did not ſpare *C. Caſſius*, who had juſt laid down the *Conſulate*. It may be remembered, that he had, the laſt Year, endeavoured to make himſelf a Way by Land into *Macedon*, without the Order of the Senate. And wherever he came, he left cruel Remembrances of him behind him. *Cincibilis*, King of one of the *Gallic* Nations, who inhabited a Country near the *Alpes*, on this ſide *Iſtria*, ſent his Brother to give an Account at *Rome*, of the Ravages *Caſſius* had made his Troops commit, in the Lands of the Allies of the Republick. *The* Gauls, ſaid he, *who are ſubject to the King my Father, have always kept up a faithful Correſpondence with* Rome. *Accordingly, when the* Conſul Caſſius *appeared in our Territories, we opened all the Paſſes to him. And when he came, he was indeed peaceable enough; we don't complain of it. But when your Orders came to recall him to* Rome, *we felt the Force of his Reſentments. What numberleſs Pillages, and Murders, and Conflagrations, did he cauſe in his Paſſage! And what have we done,* Conſcript Fathers, *to deſerve ſuch ſevere Treatment?* Some Envoys alſo from the Country of the *Carni*, from *Iſtria*, and from [42] *Japidia*, join'd with the Brother of *Cincibilis* in the Cauſe; made the ſame Complaints; and the Senate gave them the ſame Anſwer. *Caſſius* would have been inſtantly called to an Account for his Violences, if he had been at *Rome*. But he was gone to *Macedon*, in quality of *Legionary Tribune*, under the *Conſul Hoſtilius*. And in the mean time, the *Conſcript Fathers* comforted theſe afflicted People, with favourable Anſwers, Preſents, and paying them great Reſpect. *Cincibilis* was told, That the Republick neither had ordered, nor did approve of, the Violences of *Caſſius*; That as ſoon as he returned, the Complaints of the King ſhould be heard, and examined into; and That the Offender ſhould not eſcape unpuniſhed. And this ſeemed to be ſufficient Satisfaction. But the Senate did more. They ſent two Ambaſſadors to *Cincibilis*, to make Excuſes; and one to each of the three Nations, that had been oppreſſed. The Expences of the Ambaſſadors were borne by the Publick, and two thouſand *Aſſes* of Braſs were given to each. *Rome* alſo paid *Cincibilis*, and his Brother, diſtinguiſhing Honours. She made them Preſents of two Crowns of Gold, of five Pounds weight; of two Horſes richly equipped; of two Slaves for Grooms; and of two complete Habits for Horſemen, with Cloaks; and all their Attendants were preſented with Veſts, except their Slaves. Thus *Rome*, perhaps not ſo much out of Equity, as Policy, calmed the Minds of the People, who bordered on the Country, where ſhe was going to make War. The *Roman* Pride ſwelled, or abated, according to the Times.

§. XIX. At length, the *Conſul Hoſtilius* arrived in *Theſſaly*, took the Land Forces from under the Command of *Licinius*, and the *Prætor Hortenſius* took the Command of the Fleet which *Lucretius* put into his Hands. The old *Conſul*, and the old Admiral, ſet out for *Italy*. *Perſes* had already left *Macedon*, and was come down into *Theſſaly*, where he was preparing to continue the War, with the new Adverſary *Rome* had ſent againſt him. But by I know not what Fatality, no particular Accounts of the Exploits of this Campaign have been tranſmitted down to us. Did then the Hiſtorians chooſe to bury in Oblivion a Year, which was ſo little glorious to the *Roman* Name? *Hoſtilius* made two Attempts to enter *Macedon*. All *Plut in Æmil.*

41 The *Roman* Senate and Magiſtrates often undertook to revenge the Quarrel of oppreſſed Nations. Thoſe of the Inhabitants of *Coronæa*, which the covetous *Licinius* had ſold to the beſt Bidder, had their Liberty and Effects reſtored them. And the *Tribunes of the People* were no leſs zealous in the Defence of the Cities of the Allies, which claimed the Protection of *Rome*, againſt the Robberies of *Lucretius*. The Name of this unworthy General was become execrable; and the aſſembled *Citizens* could not hear the Account which was given of the abominable Exceſſes he committed wherever he came, without Horror.

42 *Japidia* was one of the Weſtern Countries of *Illyricum*. On one ſide, it reached from the Springs of the *Timavus*, to *Iſtria*; and on the other, it was bounded by the Rivers *Arſia* and *Tedanium*, or the *Arſa*, and the *Zermagna*. And laſtly, this Canton of *Japidia* bordered on the *Alpes*, above *Iſtria*.

Year of ROME DLXXXIII. A. Hostilius Mancinus, A. Attilius Serranus, Consuls.

his Aim was to get thither, to live upon free Quarter, at the Enemy's Expence. He first tried to force the Pass of 43 *Elymea*. But *Perses* hastened thither, fought the *Consular* Troops, and put them to flight. Then 44 *Hostilius* thought to have made himself a Way into *Macedon*, through *Thessaly*. But the intrepid *Perses* came and posted himself over against the *Consul*, and offered him Battel. And whether out of Cowardice, or an Excess of Precaution, *Hostilius* would not accept the Challenge. So that all his Campaign was spent in vain Projects, and cowardly Distrusts.

And as for the *Prætor Hortensius*, and his Fleet, he performed no Exploits, but against the Friends and Allies of the *Romans*. Being actuated by the same Spirit of Avarice as his Predecessor, he distressed the Cities of the *Roman* Party with cruel Oppressions. The Inhabitants of *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, as well as those of *Abdera* in *Thrace*, on the Coast of the *Ægean* Sea, had Reason to complain of him, as they had done of *Lucretius*. So that the *Roman* Generals seemed to have gone into the *Levant*, only to bring Disgrace on the Republick, and render her odious. *Perses* made his Advantage of the irregular Proceedings of the *Consul* and *Prætor*; took the Cities of the Nations in Alliance with his Enemies; and brought over whole Provinces to him. But after all, the *Macedonian* depended little on the Valour and Fidelity of the *Greeks*. He sought for Alliances with more brave, and more faithful Nations. The *Bastarnæ* were deemed Barbarians in *Greece*; but they had given Proofs of their Valour on the Confines of *Macedon*. Though they were at so great a Distance, they knew the Way into the Country to which they were invited; and though they had been ill used upon their first Removal, they were not a People that were easily discouraged. *Perses* therefore made them large Promises, and invited them to come to his Assistance. He had more Views than one in it. It is supposed, that he waited to send these Foreigners into *Italy*, thro' the Country of the *Scordisci*, and that of Eastern *Gauls*, in order to make a powerful Diversion there. Or if not, the Cavalry of the *Bastarnæ* would, at all Adventures, be a good Reinforcement to his Troops, and make his Army more formidable. This was a sensible Scheme. But the King's prevailing Passion, Avarice, rendered fruitless all the Measures he had taken, with so much Prudence.

Plut. Ibid. Polyb. in Legat.

§. XX. The *Macedonian* also depended on *Gentius*, the most powerful of the *Illyrican* Kings. This Prince delayed a little declaring against the *Romans*, by open Acts of Hostilities, under various Pretences. Nevertheless, *Rome* was not ignorant of the Engagements he had entered into with *Perses*. The two Kings had mutually given each other Hostages, and their League was become publick. *Gentius* was desired, above all things, to prepare as strong a Sea Armament as he could, because the Fleet of the *Romans*, though not great, was superior to that of the Confederates; and these Preparations on the side of the *Macedonians*, made the *Romans* the more vigilant. The Senate sent from *Brundusium*, a Squadron of eight Ships of War, for the Island of *Issa*. *C. Furius* one of the Lieutenant Generals of the *Roman* Armies, was already cruising there with two Ships of those Islanders, and watching the Motions of the *Illyricans*; and when his Squadron should be strengthened, he would be in a better Condition to hinder the *Illyrican* Fleet from sailing out of their Ports. Nor was this all. The *Consul Hostilius* thought it necessary to guard the Allies of *Rome*, against the Irruptions of *Gentius*, and force him to continue in his own Dominions. To this end he detached four thousand Men from his Army, under the Command of one *Appius Claudius*, a Man greedy of Booty, and more rash than brave. This was then the Fault, both of the *Roman* Officers and Soldiers; and *Hostilius*, with all his Care and Pre-

Liv. B. 43. c. 9.

caution

43 *Elymea*, the Capital of the Canton of the *Elymiotes*, stood on the Banks of the River *Haliacmon*, between *Thessaly*, *Pelagonia Tripolitis*, and *Macedon*. In order to go from thence into *Perses*'s Kingdom, it was necessary to climb over the *Cambunian* Mountains, which surrounded this City on all sides.

44 A little time before, and in the Year 583, (at least we guess so from what *Plutarch* says) *Perses* had privately equipped a Fleet, and undertook to command it himself. He sailed with it towards the Island of *Eubœa*, and fell on the *Roman* Fleet which lay at Anchor, in the *Road* of *Oreos*. The Attack was so well managed, that the *Macedonians* took from the *Romans* twenty Transports, and four *Quinqueremes*; and sunk a great Number of Ships laden with Corn.

caution to reform his Troops, had not yet been able to ſettle the ancient Diſcipline in his Army, in its full Rigour.

As ſoon as *Claudius* ſaw himſelf at the Head of a Body of *Romans*, he thought of nothing but enlarging it. He made Levies among the Allies of *Rome*, armed them as well as he could, and after he had aſſembled together and equipped about eight thouſand Men in great Haſte, he entered that part of *Macedon*, which bordered on *Illyricum*, and came and encamped at [45] *Lychnis*. Not far from thence, on the ſame Lake as *Lychnis*, there was a City called [46] *Uſcana*. It was ſubject to the King of *Macedon*, and was thought one of the Keys to his Dominions. It contained about ten thouſand Men, fit to bear Arms, and had a ſmall Garriſon of *Cretan* Mercenaries. Theſe *Cretans*, to raiſe *Claudius*'s Avarice, privately ſent him Word, that they would deliver up the City to him; gave him Hopes of finding great Riches in it upon taking it by Aſſault; and *Claudius* fell into the Snare laid for him. His Covetouſneſs blinded him. Without demanding Hoſtages of the Traitors, who engaged to deliver up the City to him, or even giving them the Oaths uſual on ſuch Occaſions, he depending on the Faith of a perfidious Nation, left *Lychnis*, and drew near to *Uſcana*. He poſted himſelf about twelve Miles from the City, which he pretended to ſurprize; and about four in the Morning, marched out of his Camp, and left only a thouſand Men to guard it. His March was irregular, and purſued without any Precaution. His Men came before the Place in ſmall Companies, and ſome of them loſt their Way, in the Darkneſs of the Night. However, at length the little Army appeared near *Uſcana*; and *Claudius* ſaw neither any Soldiers on the Ramparts, nor any Preparations for maintaining a Siege; and this Artifice increaſed his Confidence, inſomuch, that he gave no Directions for an Attack, nor indeed any Orders at all. He wholly depended on the Succeſs of his Negotiations with the *Cretans* in the Place. His Troops advanced to the very Foot of the Wall, in Confuſion, and the utmoſt Diſorder; and this was the Opportunity for which the *Uſcanians* waited. Two Gates were opened on a ſudden, and the Walls were lined with a great Number of Women and Slaves, carrying in their Hands Frying-Pans, Baſons, and Pots. The Noiſe they made with ſtriking on the Braſs Veſſels, together with their Cries, and Shouts, terrified the Troops that were not much inured to War; and this firſt Fright was ſoon followed by an entire Rout. The *Cretans* and Warriors of the City made ſo vigorous a Sally from two Quarters, that there was no Safety for *Claudius*'s Army but in flight. When diſperſed, they did their utmoſt to regain their Camp; but they were purſued, and cut in pieces; and of the eleven thouſand Men which had appeared before *Uſcana*, ſcarce two reached their Trenches. The reſt were ſlain on the Field of Battel, or made Priſoners by the Enemy; and then the *Roman* immediately quitted this fatal Camp, and returned to *Lychnis*, equally confounded at having been outwitted, and at having ſuffered himſelf to be beaten.

Year of *ROME* DLXXXIII. A. Hostilius Mancinus, A. Attilius Serranus, Conſuls.

§. XXI. So that this unfortunate Campaign gave the *Roman* Senate and People much Uneaſineſs. The *Conſul*, with all the Efforts he could make, could not penetrate into *Macedon*; and all his Exploits amounted to no more, than reeſtabliſhing Diſcipline a little among the Troops. Whilſt *Perſes* on the other hand had known how to profit by the Advantages he had been ſuffered to gain. All *Greece* began to move in his Favour. Nay, even *Eumenes* himſelf, that faithful King of *Pergamus*, and that perſonal Enemy to the *Macedonian*, was ſo far inclined to go over to him, that he, as well as the *Rhodians*, had already begun Negotiations with him. This was the Temper of the *Greeks* and *Aſiaticks*. The firſt Glare of Proſperity dazzled their Eyes. They were wholly intent on the preſent, and not regardful enough of the future, or grateful enough for what was paſt. But after all, *Rome* had not met with very conſiderable Misfortunes in *Greece*, or had any Loſſes, which were difficult to be repaired. Indeed, ſhe had not had her uſual Succeſs for theſe two Years laſt paſt; and the *Macedonians* had gained ſome *Polyb. in Legat.*

45 The Name of *Lychnis* was common to a City and Lake in *Macedon*. The City ſtood on an Hill at a little Diſtance from the Lake. Both are now called *Ochrida*, as we have elſewhere obſerved.

46 The Geographers place the City of *Uſcana*, near the *Cambuvian* Mountains, in the Country of the *Peneſtæ*. Theſe People poſſeſſed the Weſtern part of *Macedon*, to the South of the *Deuriopes*, and *Daſſaretæ*. *Uſcana* was the Capital of that Canton.

Advantages,

Year of ROME DLXXXIII.
A. Hostilius Mancinus, A. Attilius Serranus, Consuls.
Livy, B. 43. c. 11.

Advantages. Which was enough to induce those cowardly Politicians, to make some Advances towards their most declared Enemy.

ROME was informed of the Conduct of *Hostilius* and *Hortensius* in the *Levant*, and of the Ascendant *Perses* had gained over them; and the Senate instantly sent two Deputies to *Greece*. Their Orders were to inform themselves fully, of the true State of the *Roman* Armies, the Proceedings of the *Consul*, and the present Condition of the *Macedonian*; and to make a Report of what they observed to the Republick. They were likewise charged to intimate to the *Consul*, that it was proper for him to return to *Rome* immediately, to preside at the Elections of the Magistrates, which were to enter upon their Offices the *January* following. By this Step the Senate shewed how much the People at *Rome* were alarmed about the Affairs of *Macedon*. Nay, the Uneasiness was so great, that an Edict was published, requiring all the Senators, who were not employed by the Republick in Offices, to return to the City, and forbidding them to go above a Mile from it. In great Emergencies, *Rome* wanted the Advice of all the Members of the Senate; and these Orders were put in Execution. How glorious then was it for *Perses*, to make the most intrepid Republick in the World dread him, at so great a Distance! Providence seems to have taken Pleasure in raising the most wicked of Princes to a great Height, that his Fall might be the greater. Besides, the Avarice, and ill Faith of the *Roman* Officers in their Provinces, had well deserved a transient Humiliation.

§. XXII. Whilst the *Consul Hostilius* was preparing for his Departure from *Thessaly*, the Senate of *Rome*, now more numerous than ever, gave Audience to the Envoys of several foreign Nations. The first they heard were the *Athenians*. These shewed how far their Zeal for the Service of the *Roman* Republick had carried them the last Year, and said; Athens *sent all her Ships to join the Fleet commanded by the* Prætor Lucretius; *and left her own Port empty. But the* Prætor *would not accept of the Service of our Galleys. Nay, he made so ill a return for our Zeal to serve you, that he ordered us to furnish him with a hundred thousand* Modii * *of Corn*; *which we sent, though it is well known that* Attica *is a barren Country, and does not produce enough to support its own Inhabitants. We are forced to fetch our Provisions from foreign Countries. And notwithstanding this ill Usage, the* Athenians *will always be ready to obey any future Orders of the Republick.* The *Conscript Fathers* heard these Complaints, and Offers of Service, but gave no immediate Answer. Nevertheless, they reserved for *Lucretius* the Punishment he deserved. Then the *Milesians* were introduced after the *Athenian* Deputies; and they only protested, that they were absolutely at the Devotion of the Republick, and ready to pay an entire Submission to her Commands. The Envoys from *Alebanda*, a City of *Caria*, told the *Roman* People, that they had built, and consecrated a Temple To the City of Rome, whom they acknowledged to be a Goddess; That they instituted Feasts to her Honour; and That they celebrated them every Year. They also brought a Crown of Gold of fifty Pounds † weight for a Present to *Jupiter* on the *Capitol*; and three hundred Bucklers made after their Fashion, for a Present to the City, to dispose of as she pleased: And all the Favour they asked, was Leave to offer Sacrifices in the *Capitol*. *The Conscript Fathers* received them graciously; desired them to carry their three hundred Bucklers to *Hostilius*'s Army, and made them fine Presents in return. After them the Senate gave Audience to the Deputies of *Lampsacus*, a City of *Mysia*. The *Lampsaceni*, formerly subject to *Perses*, had deserted him, since the Arrival of the *Roman* Army in the *Levant*; and they now desired to be admitted into a perpetual Friendship and Alliance with the *Romans*; entreating that if *Rome* ever made Peace with *Macedon*, *Lampsacus* should always be excepted in the Treaty, and never again be subject to the Dominion of the *Macedonians*. The Senate granted their Request, and ordered the *Prætor Mænius* to draw up the Act of Confederacy 47 between *Lampsacus* and *Rome*. To which we must add, that to every one of all these Ambassadors, was given the Sum of two thousand ‡ *Asses*.

* 25000 *Bushels Engl. Arbuthnot.*

† *Worth 2400 l. Sterl. at 4 l. per Ounce.*

‡ *6 l. 9 s. 2 d. Sterl. Arbuth.*

47 According to *Livy*, the Deputies of *Lampsacus*, as a Pledge of the Friendship they desired to contract with the *Roman* People, made the Senate a Present of a Crown of Gold of eighty Pounds † weigh

‖ *3840 l. Sterl.*

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Next to the *Asiatick* Envoys, came the *African*. *Carthage* had sent to offer the Republick a Million of *Modii* of * Wheat, and †five hundred thousand of Barley: and *Masiniſſa*, on his Part, made the ſame Offer, adding to this Preſent of Corn, twelve hundred Horſes, and twelve Elephants. *Rome* received theſe Offers with Thankfulneſs; and deſired the *Carthaginians*, and the King of *Numidia*, to ſend their Preſents to *Hoſtilius*'s Army in *Macedon*. The Submiſſion of all theſe Cities in *Greece*, and *Aſia*, and the chief Powers of *Africa*, plainly ſhewed *Rome*, that her Credit was not quite loſt in the Eaſt and South. But on the other hand, the Complaints and proud Anſwers of ſome of the Deputies of the *Greeks*, demonſtrated that her Authority there was leſſened. The *Cretans* told the Senate, that they had ſent to the *Roman* General in *Macedon* as many Bow Men as the Republick had demanded; but confeſſed at the ſame time, that they had raiſed a greater Number to ſerve under *Perſes*. This was very diſpleaſing to the *Conſcript Fathers*, and they anſwered, *If* Crete *will keep up a good Correſpondence with* Rome, *let her inſtantly recall from* Macedon, *the* Cretans *which fight under the Standards of our Enemies*. But whether the *Cretans* obeyed, is uncertain.

* 25000 *Eng. Bufhels. Arbuthnot.*

† 12500 *Eng. Bufhels. Arbuthnot.*

§. XXIII. *CHALCIS* in *Eubœa* had alſo ſent a Deputation to *Rome*, the Novelty of which made it ſurprizing. The Head of the Embaſſy was an eloquent and bold Orator, named *Miction*; and he was carried into the Preſence of the *Conſcript Fathers* in a Chair; which was a new Sight. The *Romans* imputed this uncommon Boldneſs to nothing leſs than abſolute Neceſſity. However, *Miction* made his Speech to them ſitting, and pretended Lameneſs. *Tho' the Gods*, ſaid he, *have deprived me of my Strength, they have left me the free Uſe of my Tongue; and I will uſe it to lament the Misfortunes of my Country.* Chalcis *has done the* Roman Republick *important Services.* Perſes *has felt the Effects of them more ſeverely than any one elſe. Nevertheleſs, with what Barbarity was ſhe treated the laſt Year by* Demetrius; *and what Oppreſſions does ſhe now labour under from the* Prætor Hortenſius! *And yet, all theſe Calamities will never draw us off from the* Romans, *and make us join with* Perſes. *What Satisfaction then have not ſuch faithful Allies reaſon to expect? And what Compaſſion ſhould their Miſery raiſe in your Hearts? It had been much better for* Chalcis *to have ſhut her Gates againſt your two Admirals, than to have ſuffered them to enter her Port. What Ravages, what Depredations, what infamous Cruelties, have they ſuffered their Soldiers and Seamen to commit within her Walls! O, how much wiſer then were the Inhabitants of* Emathia, Amphipolis, Maronea, *and* Ænos, *than the* Chalcidians! *They ſhut their Gates againſt your* Prætors; *and have thereby preſerved their Eſtates, and the Chaſtity of their Wives and Children. But* Chalcis *has ſeen her Temples robbed and prophaned, the Ornaments of her Gods taken away, her Houſes plundered, and her Daughters diſhonoured. What Riches has* Lucretius *carried away from our Sanctuaries, to adorn his fine Houſe at* Antium! *And the ſame Rapines, the ſame Sacrilege, has been continued under his Succeſſor* Hortenſius. *This mercileſs Admiral has provided no Lodgings for his Soldiers and Rowers, neither in Winter nor Summer, but our Houſes. And I am aſhamed to ſay what infamous Things have been committed in the Sight of our domeſtick Gods, by means of this Mixture of idle and diſorderly Men, with our Wives and Daughters. Obſcene Diſcourſe is the leaſt Reproach we have to caſt upon them.*

Liv. B. 43. c. 7.

This Speech, together with the Obligation *Rome* then lay under, to cultivate the Friendſhip of her Allies in the *Levant*, made an Impreſſion on the Senate. The *Conſcript Fathers* declared to the Ambaſſadors, by the Mouth of *Quintus Mænius* the *Prætor*, That they gave entire Credit to the Complaints they made againſt the two Admirals, *Lucretius*, and *Lucius Hortenſius*; That *Rome* was not at all acceſſary to the ill Treatment the *Chalcidians* had received from her Generals; That this might appear by the End ſhe propoſed in pacifying *Greece*; That ſhe neither had, nor did, pretend to any thing more, than to ſet the People in perfect Liberty; and laſtly, That the Senate would order a Letter to be written to *Hortenſius*, requiring him to draw all his Soldiers out of *Chalcis*, and ſuffer only the Officers of his Fleet to lodge in the City. This ſhewed that *Rome* had abated much of her Pride. Such Acts of Condeſcention on her Part were not common. And even this was not all. They made Preſents to the *Chalcidian* Deputies; a Litter was provided, at the publick Expence, to carry *Miction* as far as *Brunduſium*, where he was

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to imbark; and *Lucretius* ſuffered the Puniſhment due to his Oppreſſions in the *Levant*. Two *Tribunes of the People* cited him to appear before the aſſembled *Tribes*, to take his Trial. This old *Prætor* had long been returned to *Italy*; but had not yet appeared at *Rome*. He was wholly taken up with embelliſhing a fine Country-Houſe which he had near *Antium*, with his Rapines; and was turning the little River of [48] *Loracina* thro' [49] his Gardens. He was therefore recalled to the City, and there, in full Senate, received all the Reproaches that his Extortion had deſerved. Then he was brought before the People, accuſed a ſecond time by the two *Tribunes*, and fined * one Million of *Aſſes* of Braſs. An Example which ſhould have reſtrained the Avarice of the Generals which the Republick ſent into diſtant Countries.

* 3229 *l.* 3 *s.* 4 *d. Arbuth.*

Florus, B. 2. c. 17.

§ XXIV. *SPAIN* alſo had been pillaged by the *Roman* Officers, for ſome Years laſt paſt. But the Republick had remedied this Evil there, by wiſe Regulations. And the News that was now brought from thence to *Rome* was much more agreeable, than that from *Theſſaly*. The *Prætor Junius Pennus*, had found every thing in Diſorder at his Arrival there. A Fanatick, named *Salondicus*, had put the whole *Celtiberian* Nation, and ſome others near it, into a Ferment. He had aſſociated with him another Perſon of much the ſame Character as himſelf; and joining together, they pretended to the *Celtiberians* that they were inſpired. A mad Multitude, which were already highly exaſperated againſt the *Romans*, were eaſily ſeduced. The Prophet carried in his Hand a Silver Lance, which he pretended to have received from Heaven, as the Pledge and Inſtrument of his Victories; and upon the Aſſurances the Seducer gave them, the *Celtiberians* took up Arms. A prodigious Number of Troops were already aſſembled, in a Plain where *Salondicus* was giving Orders, which were revered as the Commands of the Gods; and in this critical Juncture of Affairs, *Junius Pennus* came to take Poſſeſſion of the Government of *Hither Spain*, and of the Armies which he was to command there. The *Prætor* made it his firſt Buſineſs to pacify the *Spaniſh* Nations not yet infected with the Fanaticiſm of the *Celtiberians*, and reconcile them to him by Benefactions; and then he led his *Legions* to the Frontiers of *Celtiberia*, and came and encamped within Reach of the new Enemy, with whom Enthuſiaſm ſupplied the Place of Valour.

The *Celtiberians* had too often experienced the Superiority of the *Romans*, not to be intimidated by their Approaches; but *Salondicus* encouraged his Army. The pretended Prophet practiſed all Kinds of Deluſions, to appeaſe the Fears of his Soldiers; and, as his laſt Reſource, told them, That he would go into the *Roman* Camp, and kill the *Prætor* with his own Hands. This, he ſaid, would prove infallibly true, the Gods having revealed it to him. Accordingly, the new *Scævola* took his Brother Fanatick with him, came into the *Spaniſh* Battalions in the *Roman* Camp, and retired again without being known. He ſpake the ſame Language, wore the ſame Habit, and uſed the ſame Dreſs, as the *Spaniſh* Troops that joined with the *Romans*; and all he wanted was to get as eaſy an Acceſs to the *Prætorium*, as *Mucius Scævola* had had to *Porſenna*'s Tent. But the Guard did their Duty with great Care, about *Junius Pennus*. The Enthuſiaſt and his Companion were diſcovered, and ſtabbed in a thouſand Places. Their Heads were cut off, and given to the Captive *Celtiberians*, to be carried to their Camp, and ſhewn in all the Ranks of their Army; and it is impoſſible to expreſs the Dejection this Sight cauſed among the *Celtiberian* Troops. It was then plain that *Salondicus* had impoſed on the Credulity of the People. The Promiſes of the Prophet were vaniſhed with him. What then had they to do, but to abandon the Camp, and retire to their reſpective Cities? They came, one after another, and delivered themſelves up to the Mercy of the *Prætor*, and implored his Clemency. The Artifices, and falſe Predictions of the Seducer were their Excuſe; and ſome readily offered to ſubmit to the Puniſhment they had deſerved. But *Junius* pardoned all, and ſettled in Peace this great Country, which nothing leſs than a falſe Pretence to Inſpiration could draw off from the

[48] The little River of *Loracina* waters *Nettuno*, a maritime City of *Campagna di Roma*.

* 410 *l.* 15 *s.* 10 *s. Sterling. Arbuthnot.*

[49] The *Prætor*, ſays *Livy*, ſpent *a hundred and thirty thouſand *Aſſes* of Braſs, in turning the Courſe of this River, in order to bring it through his Gardens. To which he adds, That *Lucretius* ſaved out of the Spoils of the Cities which he had plundered, ſeveral Pictures, with which he adorned the Temple of *Æſculapius*.

Intereſts

Intereſts of *Rome*. Thus ended an Alarm, which brought *Junius* as much Honour, and the Republick more Advantage, than if the *Celtiberians* had been defeated in a pitched Battel 50.

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§. XXV. In *Italy*, the *Ligures* were more peaceable than the *Spaniards* had been. The *Conſul Attilius* was commiſſioned to keep them in their Duty; and he thought the *Conſular* Army he was to lead into that Country ſo needleſs, that he disbanded the greateſt Part of it. At the End of forty Days, he ſent back his *Legionaries* to *Rome*, and kept only the Troops of the Allies in the Field. And theſe he quartered in *Piſa*, and *Luna*, without encamping them. As for himſelf, attended by a Guard of ſome of his Cavalry, he viſited almoſt all the Cities in his Province, and ſettled Tranquillity in them. And it ſeemed naturally to have been his Right to have preſided in the *Comitia* for the Great Elections. But his Collegue was already returned to *Rome*, and he was ſuffered to preſide in *The Field of Mars*. The *Comitia* were held there, in the Month of *Auguſt*, the fifth Day before *The Calends of September*; and *Rome* then promoted to the *Conſulſhip* a ſecond time, that *Q. Marcius Philippus*, with whom *Perſes* had had a Conference, and who had deceived him with falſe Hopes of Peace; and with him *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, who had never enjoyed this Dignity before.

After this Election, *Hoſtilius* was ſent back to *Macedon*. At leaſt we ſhall ſee him in *Theſſaly* again the next Year, commanding the *Roman* Army there for ſome time, in Quality of *Pro-Conſul*. But he gained no more Advantage over *Perſes*, during the reſt of this diſhonourable Campaign, than he had done in the Beginning of it. He indeed ſtill kept up Diſcipline among the Soldiers; but all his freſh Efforts to penetrate into *Macedon* were fruitleſs. However, by this good Order which he preſerved in his Camp, he paved the Way for the Glory of his Succeſſors. And as the moſt famous Nations of the Eaſt did not deſpair of ſeeing *Rome* victorious over *Macedon* at laſt, their Attachment to the *Romans* was not leſſened by one or two Year's Inaction. This appeared by the almoſt blind Obedience which the King of *Syria* paid to the imperious Commands of the Republick; and of which we ſhall here give a compleat Account, from its firſt Source.

§. XXVI. *ANTIOCHUS*, ſurnamed *Epiphanes*, was now reviving the Project he had formed, of invading *Egypt* by the ſame Artifices which he had made uſe of to uſurp the Government of *Syria*. At *Antioch*, he had ſeized and filled the Place of his Nephew, who was detained as an Hoſtage at *Rome*; and he now again propoſed to reign in *Egypt* too; which was divided into Factions, one of which was for *Phyſcon*, and the other for *Ptolomy Philometor*, the two Sons of *Cleopatra* the Siſter of *Antiochus*,

50 *Livy*, in the Epitome of his 43d Book, gives the Leader of the *Spaniards* the Name of *Olonicus*, or rather *Elonicus*, as we read in moſt Copies. *Spain*, ſays he, *had taken up Arms againſt the* Romans; *but the Death of* Elonicus, *who was ſlain in the Beginning of the new War, reſtored Peace to the Country. Motus qui in Hiſpania ab Elonico factus ipſo interempto conſedit.* So that this Part of the Epitome promiſed a particular Account of the Origin, Riſe, Progreſs, and Concluſion of theſe new Commotions in *Spain*. And without doubt, *Livy* performed in the 43d Book, what he promiſed in the Argument of it. But, to our Misfortune, this Book has had the ſame Fate as many of the fineſt Works of the Ancients. We lament the Loſs of the moſt conſiderable Part of it, without Hopes of recovering it. We have only ſome Traces of this War, in the Remains of a mutilated Narration, the Thread of which is not carried on. Nevertheleſs, moſt Criticks have found a great Reſemblance between that, and the Account which *Florus* has given us of the Troubles *Salonicus* raiſed among the *Celtiberians*; and have therefore ſupplied the Defects of the one by the other. *Freinſhemius*, by thus uniting them, which was never done before, has in ſome meaſure revived the Relation of a Fact, which had been as it were loſt, for ſeveral Centuries, in the dark Ages of Ignorance. So that the *Elonicus* mentioned in *Livy*'s Epitome, and the *Salonicus* of *Florus*, ought for the future to be taken for the ſame Man.

But *Sigonius* has confounded this *Elonicus* with another Man of the ſame Name, whoſe Expeditions are related by *Livy*, in his 40th Book. The latter made an Irruption into *Dardania*, at the Head of thirty thouſand *Baſtarnæ*; and we have already given an Account of the ill Succeſs of his Enterprize, as related by the Ancients. This modern Commentator founds his Conjecture only on the Sameneſs of the Name. And ſince then this Reaſon would not be allowed to be of Weight in other Caſes, it cannot have any in this. *Livy* ſpeaks of two *Elonicus*'s. The firſt, according to him, was the Head of the *Baſtarnæ*, who penetrated into *Dardania*. The ſecond made an Inſurrection in *Spain*, againſt the *Romans*. Whence it is eaſy to ſee, that they have no Relation to one another, but in Name. And this poſitive Declaration is therefore a deciſive Proof againſt the Opinion of *Sigonius*, who has carried the *Spaniſh Elonicus* from *Spain* into *Dardania*, to make him the ſame Man with the Head of the *Baſtarnæ*. And becauſe the Text of the Epitome ſo notoriouſly contradicted his Conjecture, he has therefore, of his own Head, put the Words *in Paonia*, into the Text, inſtead of *in Hiſpania*, under Pretence that the Copyiſt might eaſily read *Hiſpania*, for *Paonia*; and ſo put *Spain* inſtead of *Paonia*, a Country bordering on that of the *Dardani*. Theſe are ſome of thoſe arbitrary Corrections, which cannot be too much condemned, and diſcountenanced, eſpecially where founded only on the Prejudices of the Corrector.

and

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and consequently his Nephews likewise. This ambitious Prince had already seized *Cœlo-Syria*, a Country which had been given to the King of *Egypt*, for *Cleopatra's* Portion; and all *Egypt* was now threatened by this Conqueror, who was the more formidable because he wholly depended on the *Roman* Republick, which had brought him up, and which he thought he had drawn implicitly into his Measures, by immense Presents. The common Danger therefore united the two Brothers, whose Interest got the better of their Animosities; and they jointly sent one Embassy to the King of *Syria*, and another to the *Roman* Senate, their old Protectors. The former was fruitless. The Ambassadors in vain desired to know of the *Syrian*, what were his Designs in coming into a Friend's Country, which was governed by two Princes his Nephews, who could decide their Differences themselves, without the Interposition of Strangers. *Antiochus* received these Deputies at *Rhinocolura*[51], a maritime City on the Confines of *Palestine*, but so near *Egypt*, as to be divided from it only by a little River called *The River of Egypt*; and there gave them this haughty Answer, That he would not return to *Antioch*, till he had been put in Possession of the Island of *Cyprus*, and of the Province of *Pelusium*, which was by the most Eastern Mouth of the *Nile*. He likewise demanded, That the Dominion of *Cœlo-Syria*, which he had seized, should be given up to him for ever. And this was indeed pulling off the Mask. It was plain, that his Design was not to settle his eldest Nephew upon the Throne; but to usurp himself the best Parts of a Kingdom, which he pretended to design to bring into Subjection to its rightful Sovereign. To this End, he prepared to continue his Journey on board his Fleet, and to enter the *Nile*, and march from thence towards *Alexandria*. But nevertheless, he waited for the Answer of his Nephews; and that he might not languish away his Time in Idleness, entered *Arabia*, and committed Hostilities there.

And whilst *Antiochus* was amusing himself with making Conquests upon the *Arabians*, the *Egyptian* Ambassadors were imploring the Protection of *Rome*. They were brought into the Senate, where they appeared dressed in the deepest Mourning. They carried Olive Branches in their Hands, and after they had fallen prostrate before the House, represented their Misfortunes, and made them greater than they really were. *Egypt*, said they, *which you have protected, and whose Kings have been your Wards, is upon the very Brink of Ruin.* Alexandria *is besieged*; *and to compleat our Misfortune, the Enemy that threatens us has found Favour here.* That Antiochus *of* Syria, *who was brought up within your City, as an Hostage, is the Scourge that the Gods, and his own Ambition, have brought upon us. If then* Egypt *has deserved your Compassion, as she has always been faithful to you, avert the Blow that threatens her with Destruction. Nothing is more easy for you,* Conscript Fathers, *than to fix on the Heads of our Sovereigns, your Allies, and Friends, a Crown, which an ambitious Uncle would tear from them.* Antiochus *reveres your Authority, and pays a Deference to your Orders. In short, one single Word from you, will stop this Conqueror, and put an End to our Fears. How glorious then will it be for* Rome, *for one of her Ambassadors to restore Tranquillity to* Egypt, *with one Word's speaking! And on the contrary, what a Reflection will it be on your Republick, if Queen* Cleopatra *and her two Sons should be forced to fly hither for Refuge, against an Invasion which you might with so much Ease have prevented! The Danger is imminent; and Dilatoriness in your Deliberations will make the Disease incurable.*

Both Compassion, and Policy, inclined the *Roman* Senate to favour the Suppliants. *Rome* plainly saw that it would be dangerous to suffer *Antiochus* to extend his Empire too far. Besides, it had always been a Maxim with the Republick, to keep up a continual Peace between the States of the *Levant*. And the Senate therefore, without Delay, nominated *Caius Popilius Lænas*, to go on an Embassy to the King of *Syria*, and joined two others with him. This Head of the Embassy was naturally of an imperious Temper; and the Superiority of his Republick over all the States of the World, increased his Pride. His Instructions were, to apply himself first to *Antiochus*, and then to *Ptolomy*; and to declare to both, That they must put an End to the War; and That whoever opposed the Re-esta-

51 *Rhinocolura*, or *Rhinocorura*, as *Ptolomy* and *Josephus* call it, stood, according to *Niger*, near that Part of the Coast of the *Mediterranean* where *Farmida* now stands, ninety Miles East of *Pelusium*.

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bliſhment of Peace, ſhould be deemed to have forfeited the Friendſhip and Alliance of the *Romans*. The Ambaſſadors ſet out, without Delay, ſoon arrived in *Egypt*, and found *Antiochus* on his March towards *Alexandria*. He had already landed his Troops at *Peluſium*, ſubdued the whole Province, and was advancing with a great Army towards the moſt Weſtern Mouth of the *Nile*, which lay next to *Africa*. The *Roman* Ambaſſadors came up with him at 52 *Eleuſina*, a Village only four Miles diſtant from *Alexandria*; and *Popillius* there accoſted the King with an Air of Gravity proper to gain him Reſpect. The *Roman* had long known *Antiochus*, and been his moſt intimate Friend, during his Reſidence at *Rome*. Therefore when he drew near, the King offered him his Hand; which was an uncommon Mark of Familiarity and Diſtinction from ſo great a Monarch. But *Popillius* diſdained this kind of Reception, and haughtily told *Antiochus*, that he would not join Hands with him, till he had firſt read to him the Decree of the Senate, with which he was ſent. *I ſhall judge*, ſaid he, *by your Submiſſion, or Refuſal, whether you ought to be treated as a Friend, or an Enemy. If you obey, I ſhall receive all Marks of your Friendſhip with Joy.* Theſe Words were very ſhocking to the Pride of a victorious King. However, the Ambaſſador read the Decree, which ran thus. *Let* Antiochus *lead back his Army to* Syria, *and ceaſe to make War with* Ptolomy. The Order was expreſs; and nothing could be more imperious than the Manner of declaring it. *Antiochus* was ſtruck with it; and his Concern was viſible in his Countenance. It was indeed hard for a Conqueror to be ſtopped in his Career, juſt as he was going to make a glorious Conqueſt. Nevertheleſs, the *Syrian* made only this very moderate Anſwer. *Give me Time to conſider of it, and confer with my Council about it.* But the proud Republican did not think this was ready Obedience enough for the King. With the Rod of a Vine-branch, which he held in his Hand, he made a Circle round him, in the Sand, and ſaid, in a ſeeming Paſſion, *You ſhall not go out of this Circle, till you have either accepted or refuſed the Propoſal I have made to you. I expect you will pay me the Reverence that is due to the Authority of the* Roman *Senate and People.* This filled the *Syrian* with great Terror; but he recovered his Spirits, and after he had heſitated a Moment, gave this Anſwer; which would better have become a Slave, than a Great King. *Then I muſt ſatisfy you,* Popillius. *I will do what your Republick expects from me.* Which ſaid, all the three *Roman* Ambaſſadors offered him their Hands at once; and *Popillius* gloried in his Negotiation, as if he had gained a Victory. Whilſt *Antiochus*, confounded and humbled, prepared for leaving *Egypt*, and reſolved to vent his Rage on the unfortunate City of *Jeruſalem*. He took it, as he returned, pillaged it, filled the Streets with dead Bodies, and the Temple with Profanations. A memorable Event, which the Prophet *Daniel* had foretold ſeveral Ages before. *Dan.* xi. 28, 36. And here, the Agreement between the *Roman* Hiſtorians and the Prophecy, both does Honour to the Religion we profeſs, and gives Credit to the Hiſtory we are writing. Indeed, *Polybius* and *Livy* poſtpone the Embaſſy of *Popillius* till after the entire Defeat of *Perſes*. They could not believe, that the *Roman* Republick could treat *Antiochus* with ſo much Haughtineſs, whilſt ſhe had upon her Hands a War with *Macedon*, which was at leaſt doubtful. But we, by a more certain 53 Calculation of Time than that of the Prophane Writers, have brought the Deliverance of *Egypt*, at leaſt within one Year of the ſacking of *Jeruſalem*.

THE *Roman* Ambaſſadors continued in *Egypt*, till after the Departure of *Antiochus*. *Popillius* went to the Iſland of *Cyprus*, which *Antiochus* had conquered, and whither he had brought his Army; and the *Roman* did not go from thence till the King of *Syria* had re-imbarked his Troops. At length this miſerable King, full of Wrath, but forced to diſſemble it, weighed Anchor, and went to vent his Rage on *Paleſtine*. After which, the *Roman* Ambaſſadors made it their whole Buſineſs to reconcile the two Brothers who diſputed about *Egypt*. But *Cleopatra* their Mother fomented the Diviſions between her Children; and by that means, they *Polyb. in Legat.* c. 92.

52 *Eleuſina* ſtood near the moſt Weſtern Mouth of the *Nile*, at a little Diſtance from *Canopus*.

53 In Conformity to the ſacred Text, we have placed this ſecond Expedition of *Antiochus Epiphanes* into *Egypt*, in the 143d Year of the *Greek* Empire, which anſwers to Part of the Year of *Rome* 583. We were not at Liberty, in this Inſtance, to follow the Chronology of *Polybius* and *Livy*, who place this Event in the Year 585, after the Defeat of *Perſes*, by *Paulus Æmilius*. Had we done ſo, we muſt have confounded the Order of Time and Facts, as repreſented by the Sacred Writers.

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were too much exasperated against one another, and the Dispute was too perplexed, to be immediately determined, upon the Spot. So that all that the Ambassadors could gain of them was, to remove the Cause to *Rome*, and stand to the Determination of the Senate. Thus the Republick gave Law to the East, whilst the Success of her Dispute with *Perses* was still doubtful. The *Syrians*, who had more Penetration than Bravery, laid little Stress on the slight Advantages the *Macedonian* had gained. And thus *Egypt* was preserved from the Forcigner, and *Alexandria* delivered from the Siege with which it was threatened.

Livy, B. 43. c. 15.

§. XXVI. Whilst the Republick was settling Peace in *Egypt*, she also applied herself with the greatest Diligence to continue the War in *Macedon*, with more Success than in the last Campaign; and disposed of the Governments of all the *Roman Provinces*. Besides the two *Consuls*, six *Prætors* had been chosen, in *The Field of Mars*. The Administration of the Affairs of the *Citizens* fell by Lot to the *Prætor Sulpicius Gallus*; and those of the Foreigners to *Decimius Gallus*; the Command of the Fleet, to *Marcius Figulus*; *Sicily*, to *Cornelius Lentulus*; *Sardinia*, to *Fonteius Capito*; and *Spain*, to *Claudius Marcellus*. This last Province was peaceable, since the Death of the Fanatick *Salondicus*. Nevertheless, *Rome* did not neglect to recruit the Army in *Spain*. Three thousand *Legionaries* were raised in the City, for that *Province*, with three hundred Horse; and among the Allies four thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse. Nothing now remained, but to make the *Consuls* draw Lots for their Provinces. Nevertheless, it was thought necessary to settle what Armies should be maintained there, before the Lots were drawn. *Macedon* and *Italy* were the only two Provinces that could fall to the two *Consuls*; and before they were appropriated, the Senate, to prevent Jealousies and Complaints, ordered that the Recruits for the Army in *Macedon* should not amount to more than six thousand two hundred and fifty *Legionaries*, of which two hundred and fifty were to be Horse; and six thousand auxiliary Foot, and three hundred Horse. It was also determined, That the Veterans in the *Consular* Army in *Macedon* should be disbanded; and That each *Legion* should consist of no more than six thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse. As to the Army which was to continue in *Italy*, the Recruits for it were not determined. Only it was resolved, That the *Legions* there should consist of only five thousand two hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse. But to make the future General of the Army in *Italy* amends, it was agreed, That he should have Leave to raise ten thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse, among the Allies. And as to the *Legionary Tribunes*, the People reserved to themselves the Choice of them, and did not leave it to the Caprice of the *Consuls*.

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After these Dispositions, the Precautions of the *Romans* went yet farther. The Senate ordered, That four other *Legions* should be raised in the City; and sixteen thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse, among the Allies. These were appointed to be ready to march upon the first Orders, to any Place where they should be most wanted. All these Preparations were occasioned by the Dread with which *Perses*, tho' at so great a Distance, filled the Republick; and particularly, by the sudden Incursions of the *Basternæ* and *Scordisci*, who were dreaded in the farthest Part of *Italy*. The Alliances of the *Macedonian* were formidable. Besides, the Deputies which the Senate had sent into *Thessaly*, had given them an Account of the lamentable Condition of the *Roman* Army under the *Consul Hostilius*. Want had made the Soldiers desert. The Provisions had been squandered away in Bounties to promote ambitious Views. Some cast the Blame of it upon the *Tribunes*; others on the *Consul*; and to this was imputed the Insurrections of the *Greek* Nations, and their Inclinations to revolt. The People were also divided in Opinion, about the Repulse the *Tribune Claudius* had received before *Uscana*. Some represented it as a Defeat of Consequence, others only as a slight Disadvantage. And upon the whole, it was agreed, that *Hostilius* had made *Rome* lose the Glory of the Campaign, and thereby swelled the Mind of the *Macedonian* with Vanity.

These publick Fears were likewise increased by the pretended Prodigies which then struck the *Romans* more than in After-Ages. It was reported, That a shining Meteor had been seen at *Anagnia*; and That a Cow there had spoken some Words articulately. She was kept at the Expence of the City. It was rumoured, That at *Minturnæ* miraculous Flames had been seen burning in the Sky; That it had rained Stones at *Reate*; and That the Statue of *Apollo* at *Cumæ* had wept for three

Days, and three Nights. The Guardians of the two Temples of *Fortune* declared, That they had ſeen an hairy Snake in one of them; and That in the Court of the other a Palm-Tree, had ſtarted up out of the Ground on a ſudden. And the Senate ſeemed to give Credit to theſe Prodigies. But they rejected two others, which were atteſted only by private Perſons. One *Marcius Figulus* depoſed, That a Palm-tree had ſprung up in his Court; and an Inhabitant of *Fregellæ*, named *Atreus*, That a Javelin which he had lately bought for his Son, had taken Fire of itſelf, and had appeared all in a Flame for two Hours, without being conſumed. It is ſurprizing that ſo wiſe a Senate as that of *Rome*, ſhould give Credit to ſo many Fables. But in this great Body, the Superſtition of ſome, and the Policy of others, made them give a Sanction to falſe Reports, which the People had raſhly believed. It had often proved dangerous to reſiſt the Tide of popular Credulity. The *Decemviri* were therefore ordered to conſult the *Sybilline* Books, concerning the Means of giving a good Iſſue to theſe divine Admonitions; and they agreed, That the *Conſuls* ſhould offer on the Altars forty Victims of the largeſt Size; That all the Temples ſhould be opened; That the People ſhould viſit them wearing Crowns; and That every Magiſtrate ſhould offer up one Victim.

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§. XXVIII. The *Conſuls* had not yet drawn Lots for their Provinces; nevertheleſs, it was neceſſary to haſten the Recruits for the Army in *Macedon*. And the *Roman* Youth who were obliged to ſerve the Republick, by ſome unaccountable Obſtinacy, would not hearken to the *Conſuls*, who invited them to inliſt themſelves. There were ſo few at the Aſſemblies for the Levies, that the two Collegues were obliged to complain of it to the Senate. But the Accuſation of the *Conſuls* recoiled on themſelves. Two *Prætors*, one named *C. Sulpicius*, to whom the *Prætorſhip* of the City had fallen; and the other, named *M. Claudius*, who was to go and command in *Spain*, roſe up, and ſpoke thus. *If the Youth are ſo backward to obey the Orders of the* Conſuls, *they may thank themſelves. Being ambitious, they are courting the People; and for fear of incurring the Diſpleaſure of the Multitude, they dare not threaten the refractory, and force them to take the Military Oaths. A ſtrange Weakneſs! Let us* Prætors *then be charged with the Care of the Levies; and the Senate ſhall ſee what even inferior Magiſtrates can do, by exerting their Authority, to force the People to obey them.* Prætors *will do the Buſineſs more effectually than* Conſuls. The Diſcourſe of *Sulpicius* and *Claudius* was applauded; and, to the Confuſion of the Heads of the Republick, the Senate transferred the Commiſſion of raiſing Levies from the *Conſuls* to them; thereby to puniſh the timorous Ambition of thoſe cowardly Magiſtrates.

In order to perform their Promiſes the more effectually, *Sulpicius* and *Claudius* haſtened the Election of the *Cenſors*. The Candidates for this eminent Poſt were ſix of the moſt conſiderable Men in the Republick; and the Choice fell on two Perſons of known Severity, approved Probity, and whoſe Union gave the People Hopes of a peaceful Adminiſtration. The Names of theſe new *Cenſors* were *C. Claudius Pulcher*, and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*. In the firſt *Comitia* that they aſſembled, they propoſed to the People a Law for regulating the Enrolments, fixing the Age of thoſe who ſhould be forced to enter into the Service, and preventing the too frequent Exemptions from it. It ran thus. *Whoever is not of the Age of forty ſix Years, ſhall appear to be incorporated in the* Legions. *And they who have been ſpared, as long as they ſhall continue to be under that Age, ſhall appear before the* Conſuls *every time that they raiſe new* Legions, *or Recruits.* The *Cenſors* alſo deſired, That a Clauſe to this Effect might be added to the Oath taken by all that were inliſted, and be made a Part of it. Nor was this all. By a ſecond Law, the ſame *Cenſors* got it enacted, *That all the Soldiers, who ſince the* Conſulate *of* Ælius *and* Popillius, (that is, for theſe three laſt Years compleat,) *were returned from* Macedon *into* Italy, *ſhould firſt be enrolled, at the Place of their Abode, and then return to their Duty; That all Children who were under the Power of their Fathers, or Grandfathers, ſhould give in their Names; and laſtly, That Enquiry be made into the Exemptions of all thoſe who were of Age to ſerve.* Liv. B. 43. c. 14.

The Publication of theſe two Laws in the City, had ſo good an Effect on the *Country-Tribes* and the *Colonies*, that there was immediately a vaſt Concourſe of Youth, fit to bear Arms, at *Rome*. Their Number was ſo great, that they were burdenſome to the City, and had like to have cauſed a Famine there. So that the Levies

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Levies were diſpatched with all Haſte. In the Space of eleven Days after the Publication of the Edict, Men enough were raiſed for the Recruits for the Armies in *Spain* and *Macedon*, and to make four *Legions*, to be ready to march wherever the Senate ſhould direct. So that the *Roman Legions* and Auxiliaries were all compleated; and the two *Prætors*, *C. Sulpicius*, and *M. Claudius*, had the Glory to have executed what the *Conſuls* durſt not attempt. And now, nothing delayed the Departure of *Q. Marcius Philippus* for the Army in *Macedon*, which had fallen to him by Lot. His Collegue *Servilius* had but a barren Campaign to make in *Italy*. The Appointment of *Marcius* was much approved. This General was indeed ſixty, and Age had made him unweildy. But nevertheleſs, the People had a Dependence on his Valour, Experience, the Remains of his Vivacity, and even on his Name of *Philip*, which the *Macedonian* could not but reſpect. However, we will for the preſent leave this *Conſul* at *Brunduſium*, to embark with his Recruits, and the young *Roman* Lords that attended him. We ſhall ſoon deſcribe his Expeditions all together, without dividing them; but will firſt continue a little at *Rome*, and obſerve the Conduct of the *Cenſors*, who acted important Parts.

§. XXIX. The firſt Buſineſs of *Claudius Pulcher*, and *Sempronius Gracchus*, was to draw up a Liſt of the Senators; and they gave the Preſidentſhip of this auguſt Body to *Æmilius Lepidus*, who was ſtill *Pontifex Maximus*. They alſo ſtruck ſeven of the old Senators out of the Liſt; and the *Roman Knights* were more ſeverely treated. Many of the Members of this illuſtrious Body were degraded. It is well known that the Farmers General appointed for raiſing the publick Money, were generally *Knights*. Theſe Offices were ſold to the beſt Bidders; and the *Cenſors* preſided at theſe Sales. But *Claudius* and *Sempronius* made a Law, forbidding all thoſe who during the laſt *Luſtrum*, in the *Cenſorſhip* of their Predeceſſors, had been employed in raiſing the publick Money, to be in any manner concerned with it again, either as Partners with the new Farmers, or otherwiſe. This was a conſiderable Blemiſh on many of the *Roman Knights*, and a Diminution of the Profits which they received from their Farms; ſo that they hated the *Cenſors*; and ſuch of them as were diſappointed of their Hopes, and diſgraced, ſought for an Opportunity of Revenge; which they found in an Event that was really in itſelf a trifling Matter. But the Injured would not let it ſlip, and Paſſion turned it into an Affair of Importance.

A *Citizen* of *Rome*, whoſe Name the Hiſtorians have not thought it worth while to tranſmit to us, had built an Houſe on a Piece of Ground belonging to the Republick. The *Cenſors* ordered this Houſe to be demoliſhed, fined the *Citizen*, and obliged him to give Security for the Payment of his Fine: and among all the ten *Tribunes of the People*, *Rutilius* only proteſted againſt this Decree. The *Citizen* was his Client; and the *Tribune* was piqued at the little Regard the *Cenſors* had ſhewn to his Oppoſition. However, this was yet only a Spark; but the excluded *Publicans* made uſe of it to raiſe a Flame. They greatly incenſed *Rutilius*, by magnifying the Affront he had received; and by repreſenting to him, That the Contempt of the *Cenſors* was more injurious to his Character, as *Tribune*, than to his Perſon. In ſhort, they exaſperated him to ſuch a Degree, that at laſt he would no longer hearken to Reaſon, or keep any Meaſures. It is well known, that at *Rome*, the *Tribunes of the People* were deemed ſacred Perſons. To make an Attempt againſt their Perſons or Juriſdiction, was a capital Crime; and Baniſhment was the leaſt Puniſhment which they had a Right to demand might be inflicted on the Guilty. *Rutilius* therefore reſolved to accuſe the *Cenſors* as Criminals, for having lately oppoſed his Will. But before he attacked their Perſons, he firſt tried to make the People diſannul the Sales that had been made of the publick Farms. To this End, he preſented his Requeſt to the *Comitia*. The *Cenſors* oppoſed it; and their Oppoſition was made a Crime. *Claudius* 54 and *Sempronius* were cited to appear

Val. Max. B. 6. c. 5.
Livy, B. 43. c. 16.
Cicer. de Republ. apud Gellium l. 6. c. 16.

54 The *Cenſors* themſelves, and *Caius Claudius* in particular, were, according to *Livy*, ſo far from declining the Judgment of the *Comitia*, that they engaged the *Prætor* of *Rome* to appoint an Aſſembly of the People *by Centuries*, that they might be judged there without Appeal. They were therefore cited to appear on *The eighth* and *ſeventh of the Calends of October*. And immediately the *Cenſors* ſuſpended acting in their Office, till ſuch time as they ſhould be acquitted by a definitive Sentence. They came into the Court of the Temple of *Liberty*, where they uſed to hold their Sittings; and by their Orders, the publick Regiſters were ſealed up, the Archives in which the *Cenſors* Acts were kept ſhut up, and the inferior Officers under theſe Magiſtrates diſcharged

before the assembled *Centuries*, as guilty of Rebellion, against the inviolable Authority of the *Tribunes*; so that it was now become an Affair of great Importance. The two Offices, which, all things considered, were the most powerful of any in the Republick, were entered into a Competition. But the Faction of the *Tribunes* was infinitely the strongest. The People naturally inclined to favour those, who defended them against the Oppressions of the Nobility. And as to the *Censors*, though they had been unanimous in their Opposition, *Caius Claudius* was much more hated by the Multitude, than his Collegue *Sempronius*. The former was of a Family, that had always declared against the Commons: The latter was of *Plebeian* Extraction, and a Man of Honour. *Scipio Africanus*, and his Brother *Asiaticus*, had experienced the Constancy of *Sempronius*, in the height of Persecution; and he had married the Sister of those two great Men. So that the People made a great Difference between the Accused. *Claudius* spoke first in Defence of his Person, Office, and Rights; and as soon as he had done, the People went into the Voting-place, to give their Suffrages. The first Class, that is, that of the *Roman Knights*, *Claudius*'s Enemies, began to vote him guilty. Eight of the twelve *Centuries* of the *Roman Knights*, gave their Votes against the *Patrician Censor*. And then *Sempronius Gracchus* could contain himself no longer. Being supported by the most noble [55] *Citizens* of *Rome*, who declared in his Favour, he made a great Clamour, and spoke both for his Collegue and himself. The People in vain gave him to understand by their Gestures, and Words, that they would not [56] meddle with him, but be content with condemning *Claudius*. The *Plebeian Censor* protested, That he would either follow *Claudius* into Banishment, or *Claudius* should be acquitted with him. *The Fault*, said he, *is equal on both sides, and so ought the Punishment too.* Then the Assembly were struck with this Act of Generosity; and as enraged as they were against *Claudius*, they shewed him Favour, out of Regard to *Sempronius*. Nay, the Constancy of this faithful Collegue made an Impression on *Rutilius* himself. He desisted from his Pursuit, and the Proceedings dropped. Such an Effect has the Unanimity of two cordial Friends in supporting their mutual Rights, on the most prejudiced Minds.

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§. XXX. BUT though the Proceedings of the *Censors* had hitherto deserved the Approbation of the Publick, the two Collegues lost much of their Reputation by their Severity to the *Roman Knights*, and to the *Tribune Rutilius*. *Claudius* and *Sempronius* were now wholly bent on Revenge; and in their Reviews of the *Roman* Cavalry, they treated them without Mercy. The *Censors* took from a great Number of the *Knights*, the Horses the Republick kept for them; and even reduced them below the Condition of private *Citizens*. And as for the *Tribune Rutilius*, he was treated with yet greater Cruelty. He was not only degraded from the Rank of a *Knight*, and deprived of the Right of giving his Suffrage in his *Tribe*, but he was also forced to work in the publick Work-houses. A fine Lesson for Men in low Life, who, when raised to great Dignities for a time, abuse their Power, to the Prejudice of the most venerable Persons! Yet after all, a little more Moderation, and Restraint of their too warm Resentments, would have done *Claudius* and *Sempronius* more Honour, than such excessive Revenge. But it is the true Religion only, that can form Men to perfect Virtues.

IN other things, the *Censors* laboured to promote the publick Good with Zeal. They examined the Furloes and Dispensations from Service, which the Generals had too easily granted. All those who had been disbanded, or excused from serving on false Allegations, or frivolous Pretences, were forced to take the military Oath again, and return to their *Legion*. And as for the *Freedmen*, *Sempronius* was for depriving all of the Right of Suffrage, who did not possess Lands to the Value of at least thirty thousand *Sesterces* *, and had not Sons of at least five Years of Age. But *Claudius* remonstrated to his Collegue, that it belonged only

Auth. de Vir. Ill. * 242 l. 3 s. 9 d. *Sterl. Arbuth.*

55 The *Censor Gracchus* was supported by the chief Nobility in *Rome*. In order to incline the People to favour *Caius Claudius*, says *Livy*, the most considerable of the *Citizens* laid aside their Rings, changed their Garments, and in the Posture of Supplicants, and in a negligent Dress, ran thro' all the Ranks, and claimed the Protection of the assembled *Centuries*, against the Proceedings of *Publius Rutilius*, the *Tribune of the People*.

56 Nevertheless we are told by *Livy*, that by order of the *Tribunes*, the Estate of *Tiberius Gracchus* had been confiscated for the use of the *Roman* Divinities. See what we have said, *Vol.* I. concerning the Usage and Form of such Consecrations.

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to the aſſembled People, to exclude any *Citizen* from giving his Vote, and therefore the *Cenſors* took a middle Way. They commanded all the *Freedmen* in the four 57 *City-Tribes* to incorporate themſelves in one of thoſe *Tribes* only; where they ſhould be mixed with a ſufficient Number of honeſt Citizens, to be able to out-vote them. *The Eſquiline Tribe* was increaſed with all theſe vile Fellows, who were forced to become Members of it: And this Regulation of *Claudius* and *Sempronius* was, in the Opinion of one of the ableſt Stateſmen *Rome* ever had, an Act of Policy, which ſaved the Republick from approaching Ruin. Theſe low Fellows were always creating Diſturbances in the Aſſemblies, and promoting the Cabals of the Factious.

Nevertheless, the Severity of the *Cenſors* created them other Enemies, beſides the *Roman Knights*. A *Tribune of the People*, named *C. Tremellius*, was very ambitious of getting a Seat in the Senate; and *Claudius* and *Sempronius* having left his Name out of the Liſt, he firſt earneſtly demanded to be admitted among *The Fathers*, and afterwards ſhewed his Reſentment openly. He alone oppoſed an Edict of the *Cenſors*, which prolonged the Payment of a Tribute, which *Rome*, for ſome Years paſt, had conſtantly demanded, for repairing the publick Buildings; and it was decreed, that the *Quæſtors* ſhould only pay the *Cenſors* half this Tribute for new Works. However, *Sempronius* employed the part he received, in buying the Houſe in which *Scipio Africanus* had formerly lived, and erecting in that Place one of thoſe Palaces which were called *Baſilicæ*; That is, a ſort of large Hall, vaulted, and covered in, where the Senate aſſembled, Juſtice was adminiſtred, and the Tradeſmen often had their Shops. And this Edifice ever after bore the Name 58 of *Sempronius*, who had built it 59.

§. XXXI. But if there was one turbulent and reſtleſs Man among the *Tribunes of the People*; there was on the other hand at leaſt one more, who made it his whole Buſineſs to provide for the Welfare of private Families, and remedy the Abuſes which had been introduced in relation to *Wills*. Nothing was more common, eſpecially among the Rich, than for Men to give exceſſive Legacies to Women, and leave them by *Will* all the whole Eſtate of a wealthy Family. One of the Laws of *The Twelve Tables* empowered all *Citizens* to appoint whomſoever they pleaſed to be their Heirs, without Regard to Sex, or Relation; and this Law had had its Inconveniencies. Debauchery was increaſed by it, and it became the more eaſy to ſeduce a Sex, who are not always deaf to their Intereſt. But it happened, that one of the *Tribunes of the People*, named 60 *Quintus Voconius*, had made judicious Reflections on the Abuſes introduced by the Liberty of making *Wills* in favour of Women, which was often done, out of Love, or Caprice. It was no uncommon thing to ſee Women, who were by Legacies grown much richer than their Husbands, perhaps ſome few, who had eſcaped the Vigilance of the Magiſtrates. And theſe were probably they, whom the rigid *Cenſor* called back to the *City-Tribes*. Nevertheleſs he would admit none into the three firſt *City Tribes*, but ſuch as had Sons of at leaſt five Years of Age, and had each the Value of thirty thouſand *Seſterces* in Land.

57 The Author of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men* expreſly ſays, That theſe *Freedmen*, who were now all united in *The Eſquiline Tribe* only, were before diſperſed about in the *Country-Tribes*. To which he adds, That the *Cenſor Gracchus* diſtributed them in the four *City-Tribes*. But the Teſtimony of this Writer, whatever it is, is expreſly contradicted by all the old *Roman* Hiſtorians. 1. *Livy*, and the moſt famous Authors agree, that this Reformation had been made long before the time of *Gracchus*, in the Year of *Rome* 449, as we have obſerved in the ſecond Volume, when we ſpeak of the *Cenſorſhip* of *Q. Fabius Rullianus Maximus*. At that time, they who from Slaves had been made free, were excluded out of the *Country-Tribes*, into which they had intruded themſelves, to the great Uneaſineſs of the Nobility; and were incorporated in the four *City-Tribes*. 2*dly*, *Cicero* indeed, in his firſt Book *de Oratore* ſays, That *Tiberius Gracchus* tranſplanted into the *City-Tribes* thoſe *Freedmen*, who, in contempt of the Laws, had incorporated themſelves in the other *Tribes*. But we cannot from thence infer, that all the *Freedmen*, which were added to *The Eſquiline Tribe*, had been taken out of the *Country-Tribes* by the *Cenſor*'s Order. The greateſt Number of theſe vile Fellows had, according to ſome old Regulations, no Right of Suffrage, but in one of the four *Tribes* at *Rome*; except perhaps ſome few, who had eſcaped the Vigilance of the Magiſtrates. And theſe were probably they, whom the rigid *Cenſor* called back to the *City-Tribes*. Nevertheleſs he would admit none into the three firſt *City Tribes*, but ſuch as had Sons of at leaſt five Years of Age, and had each the Value of thirty thouſand *Seſterces* in Land.

58 The *Baſilica Sempronia* ſtood in that part of the *Forum*, which joined the Streets *Tuſcus* and *Velabrum*. This was the moſt frequented part of *Rome*. The common Neceſſaries of Life were ſold there, as Wool, Fiſh, Cattel, &c. And the Buyers and Sellers, who came thither from all Parts, found it very convenient to have this *Baſilica* to walk in, and tranſact their Buſineſs.

59 The *Cenſors* performed the Ceremony of a *Luſtrum* in this Year 584, according to *Livy*, in his *Epitome of Book* 45; and they reckoned up four hundred eleven thouſand eight hundred and ten *Citizens* fit to bear Arms.

60 The *Voconian* was a very conſiderable *Plebeian* Family. It was divided into three Branches. The firſt was that of the *Saxa's*; the ſecond that of the *Vitulus's*, ſome Traces of which we find in the *Conſular* Medals; and the third that of the *Naſo's*. *Voconius Naſo*, who was *Cicero*'s Collegue in the *Prætorſhip*, was deſcended from the laſt.

insulting them, and behaving themselves in their Families, in a manner not to be borne: And the *Tribune Voconius* found out a Remedy, for the Arrogance and Corruption of a Sex, which it is dangerous to suffer to assume too much Superiority. He drew up a new Law, which he at last got passed in the *Comitia*; and it were to be wished, that the very Words of it had been transmitted to us. This would have saved the *Civilians* many painful Enquiries, and bold Conjectures. But they are lost, and all that we can with most Certainty collect concerning the *Voconian* [61] Law, in the ancient Writers, may be reduced to these three chief Articles. 1. Every *Citizen*, who had Estate enough to be ranked in one of the Classes of the *Roman Census*, was forbidden to make any Woman whatsoever universal Legatee, even an only Daughter not excepted. So that no Women could inherit. *2dly*, A Daughter's Portion, after the Death of her Father, was to be proportioned to his Estate, or to be *pro rata* of what he had left, according to the Estimation of prudent Men; and generally speaking, the Daughter was allowed only one fourth of her Father's Estate. May we not therefore suppose, that a Testator was at Liberty to leave a fourth part of his Estate to any other Woman, besides his Daughter? And *3dly*, By the *Voconian* Law it was enacted, That all the Legacies of the Testator should not exceed one half of his Estate. The Legislator was afraid, that Heirs would too often renounce the Succession to Estates, on Account of the small Value, to which the Inheritances were reduced.

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Cicero de finibus, B. 2 & Verrina 1ª. Gell. Noct. Attic. L. 20. c. 10; & D. Aug. de Civit. Dei L. 3. Pædian in Var. 1. Cic. Verrina 3ª.

But this Alteration, of one of the Laws of *The Twelve Tables*, was not made without some Difficulty. *Cato* was forced to employ all his Eloquence and Interest to bring the People to consent to it. This zealous [62] Republican, who was then sixty five Years of Age, spoke with as much Force and Vivacity against the Law which allowed Women to inherit, as he had formerly done against their Luxury. *What strange Disorders are these*, cried he! *A Woman brings a large Portion into a Family by Marriage, and her Fortune becomes entirely the Property of her Husband. But all on a sudden his Wife grows rich by Inheritances, or Legacies; and becoming sole Mistress of the Estates that are devised to her, or which she inherits, this enables her to give Law in her House, and to lend her Husband Money. And then the poor Man must submit to the Authority of his Wife. If she is ever so little offended, she demands her Debt with more Haughtiness, than the most merciless Creditor: And sometimes to insult her Husband the more, she sends a favourite Slave, whom she keeps as her own Property, to demand Payment. What then becomes of the Subordination which is necessary in Families! What becomes of mutual Concord!* However, the Reasons of *Voconius*, and the Declarations of *Cato*, made an Impression on the People, and the *Voconian* Law was passed. It became of Force from that time, and continued in force as long as the Republick lasted. *Augustus* [63] first began to invalidate it. But notwithstanding all the Precaution that

Ll. in Catone.

Ex Oratione Catonis ipsius apud Gellium, L. 17

61 *Cicero*, in his Book *Of Old Age*, fixes the passing of the *Voconian* Law, to the Year of *Rome* 584, in the *Consulship* of *Quintus Marcius Philippus*, and *Cneius Servilius Cæpio*: The Events of which *Consular* Year are part of the Subject-matter of *Livy*'s forty third Book. It is therefore surprising, that this Law should be mentioned in the Epitome, or Summary of his forty first Book; And it unfortunately happens, that this Book is not transmitted entire to us. Some part of it has not been able to escape the Wrecks of Time; so that we cannot possibly judge whether what related to the *Voconian* Law was contained in it, or not. And the same may be said of the forty third Book, which has met with the same Fate as the forty first. But be that as it will, this testamentary Law had been preceded by another, which the Ancients father upon a *Tribune of the People*, named *Caius Furius*: And for this Reason it was called the *Furian* Law. According to *Ulpian*, *Pomponius*, and *Justinian*, it forbad any *Roman Citizen* to leave, by Legacy, above the Value of a thousand *Asses* to any one Person; and at the same time, it condemned the Legatee, to pay four times the Sum which was given him above what the Law stipulated. So that the *Voconian* Law ought to be looked on as a Supplement to this, which probably was grown out of Force, in the time of *Voconius Saxa*, the *Tribune of the People*. These two Laws destroyed that Law of *The Twelve Tables*, which we have mentioned *Vol.* 1. *p.* 448. *Note* 50. in these Words; PATER FAMILIAS UTI LEGASSIT SUPER PECUNIÆ TUTELÆVE SUÆ REI, ITA JUS ESTO. By vertue of the latter, the Father of a Family had a Right to give his Estate to whomsoever he pleased, even exclusive of his own Children. But by the new Regulations the *Romans* thought fit to restrain the Injustice of some Fathers, who took Advantage of this old Custom, and deprived their Children or Heirs of their Estates, and gave them to Strangers. This Abuse gave rise to the *Furian* and *Voconian* Laws. But they did not absolutely remedy one Disorder which had been introduced. A Testator was still at Liberty to leave as many Legacies as he pleased. So that the Heir often received but a small part of the Estate.

62 This Speech had been inserted by *Cato*, in his Book *De Origin.*; and was in being in *Livy*'s time. We have some broken Fragments of it in *Aulus Gellius*.

63 *Dio Cassius* tells us, *B.* 56. that *Augustus* lessened the Force of the *Voconian* Law, in favour of his Wife *Livia*, to whom he resolved to devise, by Will,

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that could be taken to get it obſerved, the Women found Means to evade in a great Meaſure the Execution of it. They introduced the Cuſtom of appointing Truſtees; and the latter often put them in Poſſeſſion of the largeſt Eſtates of Inheritance. Indeed, St. *Auſtin* did not think the *Voconian* an equitable Law, eſpecially in reſpect to that Clauſe, which would not ſuffer a Father to make his only Daughter his ſole Legatee. But what Law has not ſome Inconveniencies? At that time, the Diſeaſe was a deſperate one, and required a deſperate Remedy.

§. XXXII. And as *Rome* was employed in making Laws, ſhe alſo entertained the People with *Games*. Thoſe which were repreſented in the *Circus* this Year, were the fineſt that had been ſeen there. There was one thing new in them. The *Romans* were not only entertained with Chariot-Races as uſual. The *Curule Ædiles*, *Cornelius Scipio Naſica*, and *Cornelius Lentulus*, now firſt brought ſtrange Beaſts into the *Arena*, not only to ſhew them to the People, but likewiſe to give them the Pleaſure of ſeeing thoſe Beaſts fight with armed Men. It was a ſort of Hunting, which was very agreeable to the Spectators. There were let looſe in the *Circus* ſixty three Lions, forty Bears, and a great Number of Elephants. So that it may well be imagined, that theſe were bloody Battels; but the *Romans* delighted in Bloodſhed. They thereby kept up that martial Spirit in their Republick, which made her ſuperior to all the Nations in the World.

Livy, B. 44. c. 15.

Cicero in Catone & Bruto. Ilicum in Chronicon. A. Gell. &c.

However, theſe Rejoicings were damped by the Death of a Man, who had ſcarce any other Merit in the Republick, but that of Probity, and a Love of Letters. *Rome* then joined to her Love of Heroiſm, an Eſteem for thoſe Perſons, who could ſing the Praiſes of Heroes. *Ennius*, a Native of *Rudiæ*, a little City in the Territory of *Tarentum*, had written the Wars of his Time in Verſe. By the Sublimity of his Genius, and his polite Behaviour, he had made himſelf agreeable to the *Scipio's*, whoſe Exploits he had recorded for the Benefit of future Ages. *M. Fulvius*, who took him with him, when he went to put an end to the War in *Ætolia*, was almoſt as much pleaſed with the hiſtorical Poem *Ennius* had made on that Subject, as with his own Victory. And in proof of his Gratitude for it, this Great General conſecrated part of the Spoils of the Vanquiſhed to the *Muſes*, which had inſpired *Ennius*. But the Great *Scipio* was an Hero, who better deſerved to be celebrated in Story, than *Fulvius*; and the *Roman* Poet made him the Subject of his fineſt heroic Poems. He painted him in ſo lively Colours, that the Ancients admired them, even when the *Latin* Tongue was altered, and much refined and improved. And it is not therefore ſurpriſing, that the *Scipio's* ſhould have erected a marble Statue of *Ennius*, in the Burial-place of their Family, in *The Appian Way*. The *Romans* gloried in diſtinguiſhing Men of great Genius, as well as thoſe who had ſignalized themſelves in War. *Ennius* died at *Rome* of the Gout in his Stomach, at ſeventy Years of Age; and the Poverty which he profeſſed, even to his Grave, was no Reflection on the Republick, or his illuſtrious Friends. The *Romans* affected it. The *Dictators* and *Conſuls* themſelves preferred the Inconveniencies of Poverty, to the Splendor of Riches. And it is not at all ſurprizing, that a Man of Letters ſhould be as much a Philoſopher, in this Particular, as the Governors of the Republick, and Generals of Armies. As for Glory, he loved it like a Poet, and a *Roman*. He was ſo ſure his Fame would ſurvive him, that he deſired no Tears might be ſhed at his Funeral, or any Funeral Honours be paid him. *Though my Body ſhall die*, ſaid he, *my Name will live in my Works, and be tranſmitted with Advantage to lateſt Poſterity.*

Livy, B. 43. c. 15.

§. XXXIII. Thus were the *Romans* in the City buſy about Matters of ſmall Importance, whilſt their *Conſuls* had Thoughts of taking the Field. *Servilius*, to whoſe Lot *Italy* had fallen, expected indeed to have nothing to do in his Campaign; and the Senators themſelves were pleaſed to ſhew him, how little Streſs they laid on the Expeditions he was going upon. Though the *Conſul* deſired to chooſe the Soldiers which he was to have for his Army, out of all the Troops; the *Conſcript Fathers* referred him to the *Prætors*, *Sulpicius*, and *Claudius*, for them to give him any two *Legions* they pleaſed. He therefore reſented the

Will, the greateſt part of his Eſtate. But that Hiſtorian ſpeaks very ambiguouſly of the *Voconian* Law. Inſomuch that what he ſays has given the *Civilians* occaſion to put different Interpretations upon it. And that we may not confound the regular Order of Events, we will reſerve the Diſcuſſion of this Paſſage, till we come to the Hiſtory of *Auguſtus*'s Reign.

Preference which the Senate gave to the *Prætors* before a *Conſul*; and inſtantly left the Aſſembly. But nevertheleſs, he had Meanneſs of Spirit enough to appear before the Tribunal of the *Prætors*, and offer them his Petition; and *Sulpicius* and *Claudius* had the Civility to let him chooſe his Soldiers. But they likewiſe had the ill-natured Pleaſure to ſee a *Conſul* humbled in their Preſence. After this *Servilius* ſet out, and went to *Liguria*. As for his Collegue *Q. Marcius*, his Commiſſion made him more reſpected, but it was not deemed ſuperior to his Merit. *Rome* thought him a proper Perſon to cope with *Perſes*, repair the Faults of his Predeceſſors, and diſcharge his Commiſſion with Dignity. All neceſſary Precautions were therefore taken to make his Army complete, and to recruit the Crews of the Fleet, which was to act as he ſhould direct, and to be commanded by another *Marcius*, ſurnamed *Figulus*. In *Rome* itſelf, a thouſand Rowers were raiſed, all *Roman Citizens* but *Freed-men*: and the *Prætor* of *Sicily* had Orders to raiſe for the Fleet of the Republick in *Macedon* a thouſand more, to ſerve on Board the *Roman* Gallies, and to be ſent to the Admiral *Marcius*, wherever he was riding at Anchor.

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All theſe Preparations encouraged the *Conſul*, to do his utmoſt to anſwer the Cares and Expectations of his Republick. He ſailed from *Brunduſium*, as we have obſerved, on board the Fleet commanded by the *Prætor*, the Admiral, and in two Days appeared off *Corcyra*. On the third, he entered the Port of [64] *Actium* in *Acarnania*, and there landed his Troops, to march them by Land to *Ambracia*. From thence the Fleet made a longer Voyage, as far as to *Theſſaly*. From the Promontory of [65] *Leucas*, it ſailed to *The Gulph of Corinth*, and came to an Anchor in the Port of [66] *Creüſa*, in *Bœotia*. There the Admiral left his Ship, and came aſhore, to go by Land to *Chalcis*, where a good Number of the *Roman* Gallies his Predeceſſor had commanded, were waiting for the Arrival of the new *Prætor*, to receive his Orders. So that all Preparations were made by Sea and Land, to begin a new Campaign with the King of *Macedon*. His Dominions had not yet been touched. Hitherto *Theſſaly* only had been the Seat of the War. The *Roman* Generals had not yet broken through the Barriers, which Nature, and the induſtrious *Perſes*, had put in the Way of their Armies. They had ſeveral times endeavoured to break into *Macedon*, but in vain; and the Paſſes into this Kingdom were now become more difficult, ſince the new Precautions the King had taken, during the Winter. The Account we are going to give of them, will do Honour to *Perſes*; but ſooner, or later, turn to the Glory of the *Romans*. The greater the King of *Macedon* appears to be, the greater will be the Glory the Republick will gain by overcoming him.

Livy, B. 44. c. 1.

During this Interval of Inaction, when the Armies on both ſides generally refreſh themſelves in good Quarters, till the Spring returns, *Perſes* did not give himſelf one Moment's reſt. He made very deep and judicious Reflections, both on the Means of guarding his Kingdom of *Macedon*, and on the Paſſes through which he might enter into *Italy*. Barely to continue on the defenſive, was not enough to content the King. He reſolved to penetrate by the Way of *Illyricum*, into the Heart of the Republick his Enemy, and carry the War thither. He ſtill depended on the *Baſtarnæ*, whoſe Aſſiſtance he ſollicited; and the Advantages he had gained the laſt Campaign, doubled his martial Ardour. An ancient Author obſerves, That he thought himſelf not inferior to *Alexander the Great*. And indeed, there was ſomething heroical in his Expeditions. He ſaid, that the *Romans* could not well penetrate into the Heart of his Dominions any way, but on the ſide of *Illyricum*; and in order to ſhut up the Avenues of his Kingdom on this ſide, where it was weakeſt, and moſt expoſed, he had two things to do. In the firſt Place, he was to bring all the petty Sovereigns of *Illyricum* into his Intereſt. And Secondly, it was neceſſary that he ſhould make himſelf Maſter of the *Illyrican* Cities, which were neareſt to his Frontiers. This would both open a Way to *Italy*, and at the ſame time be a ſtrong Barrier againſt the Efforts of the *Roman* Armies; and this was the Work he undertook, during this time of Repoſe and Inaction.

Livy, B. 43. c. 18.

Zonar. B. 9.

[64] *Actium* was the Name of a City and Promontory now called *Capo Figalo*.

[65] We have already deſcribed the Iſland, City, and Promontory, of *Leucas*.

[66] The City and Port of *Creüſa* ſtood on the Coaſt of *The Gulph of Corinth*, twenty Miles South of *Theſpiæ*, and thirty Miles Weſt of *Megara*.

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§. XXXIV. Notwithstanding the Winter-Froſts, which were very ſevere in *Macedon*, eſpecially at the Foot of the Mountains which ſurrounded it, *Perſes* marched towards *Illyricum*, with a Detachment of ten thouſand *Phalangites*, two thouſand light-armed Foot, and five hundred Horſe. His *Rendezvous* was at [67] *Stubera*, in the Country of the *Deuriopes*, between the Rivers [68] *Axius*, and [69] *Erigonus*. There the King laid up great Stores of Proviſions, and diſtributed enough among his Army to ſubſiſt it for ſeveral Days. In ſhort, *Stubera* was his Magazine of Arms, and the Center of his Expeditions, during the Winter. Though the *Conſular* Army wintered in *Theſſaly*, yet the *Romans* had a Body of Troops, on the Confines of *Illyricum*, and *Macedon*. *C. Lælius*, one of the Lieutenant Generals of the *Roman* Army, commanded it; and one *Appius Claudius*, at the Head of a flying-Camp, guarded the Country, and was always ready to march wherever he was wanted. The laſt Year, this Officer, who was more brave than prudent, had neglected to take *Uſcana*, which was at length, I know not by what Accident, fallen into the Hands of the *Romans*; and this Place was now the chief Object of *Perſes*'s Deſires. He was very uneaſy to ſee that this Key to his Dominions was taken from him; and he turned his Arms againſt it, notwithſtanding the Rigours of the Seaſon. He appeared before it with a great Number of Machines, proper for carrying on a Siege; and before he began his Attacks, tried to gain it by Treaty. But the Garriſon of *Uſcana* was too faithful, and too numerous, to deliver up the City without Reſiſtance. Beſides the *Roman* Soldiers who were commanded by good Officers, it conſiſted of ſome brave *Illyrican* Youth, who were well affected to the Republick. It was therefore neceſſary to uſe Force; and the King ordered a general Aſſault. His *Macedonians* were inceſſantly labouring to ſet Fire to the Gates, and climb over the Walls. Their Ladders were raiſed againſt the *Courtine*, Day and Night; and yet the Efforts of the Beſiegers did not leſſen the Conſtancy of the Beſieged. The latter depended on the exceſſive Coldneſs of the Weather, which daily increaſed, and would not ſuffer Troops to continue long expoſed to the Severity of the Seaſon. Beſides, they flattered themſelves, That the *Conſular* Army would ſoon begin to move; and That the King would be obliged to leave *Uſcana*, to haſten into *Theſſaly*. But theſe Hopes ſoon vaniſhed. Dilatorineſs was no part of *Perſes*'s Character. He multiplied his Attacks, ſet Miners at Work, and brought forward his wooden Towers, which were higher than the higheſt part of the Ramparts; and then it appeared that the Garriſon and the Aſſailants were not equally matched. Beſides, the City was inveſted in a Seaſon, when it could not have been expected; and therefore it was ſo ill ſtored with Proviſions and Ammunitions, that it already began to want both. What then could it do but capitulate? Accordingly two *Roman* Officers went out of *Uſcana*, to treat with the King; and *Perſes* readily gave the *Romans* leave to march out of the Place with their Arms and Baggage. Nothing in Appearance could be more favourable than this; but no Promiſe was ever leſs faithfully executed. The *Roman* Troops were no ſooner got without the Gates, but they were diſarmed and ſeized; and as for the reſt of the Garriſon, conſiſting partly of *Illyricans*, and partly of *Uſcanians*, who had made a Compoſition for themſelves, and delivered up the City, they underwent a more ſevere Fate than that of the *Romans*. They were ſhut up in ſeveral Priſons round about *Stubera*; whilſt the reſt of the Inhabitants were reduced to Slavery, and ſold to the beſt Bidder. A baſe Proceeding of a faithleſs King! But *Perſes* had no Honour, or Regard to the Laws of Nations, or Fidelity, in the Obſervance of Treaties.

However, the taking of *Uſcana* was only the Prelude to the great Deſign the King had formed. His main Buſineſs was to fix *Gentius*, the wavering King of *Illyricum*, in his Intereſt. This Prince, after ſhewing much Levity, and Inconſtancy, was ſtill wavering between the *Macedonian* Party, and the *Roman*; and *Perſes* thought to have determined him to take up Arms in his Favour, by drawing near

67 *Stubera* (which is called *Stymbara*, by *Strabo*; and *Stobera*, by *Suidas*) ſtood in the Country of the *Deuriopes*, a People who lived near the Mountains of *Candavia*, between *Illyricum*, and *Macedonia Propria*.

68 The River *Axius* in *Macedon*, riſes in Mount *Scardus*, and diſcharges itſelf into *The Thermaic Gulph*. *Sophian* gives it the Name of *Vardari*, or *Vardare*; *Zonaras*, that of *Bardarius*. See what we have ſaid of it elſewhere.

69 The *Erigonus*, of which we have already ſpoken, riſes in the Mountains of *Illyricum*, and after ſeveral little Rivers have enlarged it, falls into the *Axius*, below *Edeſſa*.

to his Dominions, and working upon his Fears. With this View, he set out again from *Stubera*, and came and laid Siege to *Oæneum* [70], a City very near the Frontiers of *Illyricum*. This was a necessary Post to open him a Way into the Country of the [71] *Labeates*. But he was informed, that unless he made himself Master of *Draudacum* [72], which was a populous City, the taking of *Oæneum* would be of little use to him. He therefore hastened thither, and *Draudacum*, and all the Castles in the Country submitted to him. The *Roman* Garrisons in these Places, to the Number of fifteen hundred Men, were forced to submit to the Yoke of the Conqueror. *Oæneum* indeed detained the King of *Macedon* longer. The Place was strong, the Garrison numerous, and the Walls of the City were washed on one side, with the River [73] *Artatus*, and covered on the other by an high Mountain. It was therefore necessary to besiege it in form. The principal Attack was carried on by the Help of a *Cavalier*, which the King had built as high as the Rampart. But this Work was often interrupted by the Sallies of the Besieged; and in these Battels much Blood was spilt on both sides. Till at length the *Cavalier* was carried up high enough, for the Besiegers to fight on a Level with those on the Ramparts, and long enough to reach to the *Courtine*; and the King sent up to the Top of this Eminence, a chosen Battalion, which he honoured with the Name of *Victorious*. There these brave Men fought with the Besieged, as it were on even Ground. At the same time scaling Ladders were raised against all parts of the Walls; and whilst the Assault kept the Garrison in play elsewhere, the *Victorious Cohort* leaped on the Rampart, and seized it. And then the Slaughter the *Macedonians* made in the City, when they had taken it by Assault, is not to be expressed. Neither young Children, nor Women, were spared. All were sold, and the Money arising from thence, and the Spoils of the City were given to the Soldiers for their Reward.

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§. XXXV. THEN *Perses* marched back his Troops to *Stubera*, and there rested them for some Days, after the Fatigues of a laborious Siege, undertaken in a very bad Season. But the King was not idle during his short Stay at *Stubera*: He made a good Use of it. He sent an Embassy to *Illyricum*. *Pleuratus*, one of the petty Kings of the Country, who had been driven out of his Dominions, and retired into *Macedon*, was at the Head of it. With him was joined a *Macedonian*, named *Adæus*; and these Ambassadors had Orders to let *Gentius* know, how formidable *Perses* had made himself to the *Romans*, during the last Campaign. They were to inform him, *That* Thrace *had declared for the* Macedonian; *That* [74] Cotis, *the King of the* Odrysians, *was going to send his Troops to his Assistance*; *That the* Dardani *were subdued*; *That* Perses *had no longer any Reason to fear a Diversion from this restless People*: *That* [75] Cephalus, *one of the Kings of* Epirus, *had just shaken off the* Roman *Yoke, and joined his Army with those of the* Macedonian; *That in* Europe, *all* Greece *inclined to favour him*; *That in* Asia, *the King of* Pergamus, *and the Provinces subject to the* Rhodians, *only waited for an Opportunity to renounce the Treaties, which enslaved them to imperious* Rome; *and lastly, That the* Macedonian's *Allies increased, in Proportion to the Ascendant he had gained by his Conduct, and his Conquests*. *Perses* did not doubt, but this bare Narrative would strike *Gentius*, and bring him to a settled Determination; and in full Confidence of this, he sent away his Ambassadors.

PLEURATUS, and *Adæus* his Collegue, began their Journey, passed through the Defiles of Mount [76] *Scordus*, and came into *Illyricum*, through a Country which *Perses* had laid waste, in order to make his Kingdom inaccessible *Livy, B. 43. ex Polyb.*

70 The City of *Oæneum* bordered on *Stymphalia*, and the Country of the *Atintanes*. It stood in the Canton of *Penestia*. According to *Briet*, it is now called *Sabioncello*, or *Ciderisso*.

71 The *Labeates* were a People of *Dalmatia*, who lived near *Scutari*, as we shall observe hereafter.

72 We know nothing more of the Fort of *Draudacum*, than that it was near *Oæneum*.

73 We cannot guess where the River *Artatus*, which *Livy* mentions rose, or what was its course. *Ligorius* in his Map of *Greece*, does not distinguish it from the *Drinius*, or *Drino*, which rises in Mount *Scardus*, and falls into the *Save*.

74 *Polybius*, *B.* 27. of his *Extracts* represents *Cotis*, as a polite, prudent, and reserved Prince, who had nothing of the Barbarity of the ancient *Thracians* which were subject to him.

75 *Cephalus*, who was falsely accused by young *Charops*, says *Livy*, of having favoured *Perses*'s Party, had just declared against the *Romans*, to avoid the Fate of those who had been falsely accused before the Senate of *Rome*, and imprisoned, notwithstanding their Innocence.

76 Mount *Scardus*, or *Scordus*, divides *Macedon* from *Upper Mæsia*. It is the Mountain which *Barlet* calls *Marinai*.

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to the *Dardani*. The King of *Illyricum* was then reſiding at 77 *Liſſos*, a City in his Dominions, almoſt at the Mouth of the 78 *Drilo*, and pretty near *Macedon*. The Ambaſſadors, who were much fatigued, were ſoon admitted to an Audience by the young King: But though their Speeches intimidated, they did not determine him. *Gentius* proteſted, That his Heart was entirely with the King of *Macedon*; and That he deſired nothing ſo much, as to aſſiſt his Neighbour, and join with him in ſupporting the Cauſe of Monarchy, againſt an ambitious Republick, and in avenging the Liberty of all the Eaſt. *But after all,* ſaid he, *my Finances are ſo much exhauſted, that I cannot poſſibly equip Fleets, or raiſe Troops. Let* Perſes *but ſupply my Wants; and as ſoon as he has remitted me ſufficient Sums of Money, he ſhall ſee me as zealous for the common Cauſe, as himſelf. I will then join with him in his Labours; and perhaps ſhall not be uſeleſs to the many Nations, who groan under the Yoke of the Weſtern People.*

Polyb. n. 76.

WITH this Anſwer *Adæus* returned with all Speed to *Stubera*; and there found the King of *Macedon* buſy in ſelling the Priſoners he had taken in War. Avarice was his predominant Paſſion; and he ſhuddered at the bare mention of the Propoſal of the *Illyrican*. He would fain have had all the Kings and Nations in the *Levant* to have taken up Arms in his Defence, purely out of Regard to the publick Good; and as he loved nothing ſo well as Money, he pretended not to underſtand the *Illyrican*'s Propoſal. He was reſolved not to ſend *Gentius* any of the Sums he expected; and immediately ſent back *Adæus*, and an Officer of his Guard, named *Glaucias*, in whom he could confide, with Orders to conquer *Gentius*'s Irreſolution by Words, rather than Remittances; which was a very difficult Undertaking. And whilſt they were endeavouring to gain over the *Illyrican*, *Perſes* himſelf returned once more to the Territory of the 79 *Peneſtæ*, ravaged thoſe Countries which held out for the Republick, took the City of 80 *Ancyra*, ordered it to be ſacked; and after he had reinforced the Garriſons of *Uſcana*, and *Oæneum*, came back again to *Stubera*. There he received a ſecond Anſwer from the King of *Illyricum*, to this Effect. *I am very deſirous of ſending you Succours, but want Money. Aſſiſt me then with your Riches, and I will aſſiſt you with my Men and Ships.* But the covetous *Macedonian* could not prevail on himſelf to diſburſe even ſmall Sums, though to gain over to him, the moſt powerful of all the Kings that could open him a Way into *Italy*, and the moſt able to oppoſe the Deſigns of the Republick. So that *Perſes* barely ſollicited him a third time, without granting his Requeſt, or ſupplying his Wants. He acted like a great Man in every thing elſe; but ruined all his Affairs, and made his Conqueſts uſeleſs to him, by his moſt ſordid Avarice. Generally ſpeaking, this baſe Paſſion contributed more to ruin him, than the Arms of the *Romans*. Had he known how to have expended, I don't ſay with Profuſeneſs, but with OEconomy, a ſmall part of the Treaſures his Father and he had heaped up: There was not a King in *Epirus*, *Thrace*, or *Illyricum*, or a Republick or free City in *European*, or *Aſiatick Greece*, which would not have joined with him. A prophane Author is therefore of Opinion, that Heaven judicially blinded this wicked Prince. The Love of Money was a ſort of Infatuation, which the Gods inflicted upon him, to puniſh him for his Crimes, and to deliver Mankind from ſo great a Scourge. His Covetouſneſs ſo blinded him, that he did not ſee wherein his true Intereſt conſiſted; and he thereby failed of that Succeſs, which he would have abuſed.

Polyb. in Legat. n. 77.

Liv. B. 43. c. 21.

§. XXXVI. HE ſpent the reſt of the Winter in an Expedition, which he thought of more Importance, than his Incurſions and Conqueſts in *Illyricum*. Having

77 *Liſſos* was anciently a City of *Illyricum*, ſituated on the Confines of *Macedon*, a little above the Mouth of the *Drilo*, which falls into the *Adriatick* Sea. This City is thought to be the ſame as *Aleſſio*, which now belongs to *Albania*.

78 The *Drilo*, now the *Drin*, is a very different River of *Illyricum*, from the *Drinius*, of which we have ſpoken above. There are two Rivers of that Name; one riſes in Mount *Scardus*, and is vulgarly called *Drino Bianco*, or *White Drin*; and the other is now called *Black Drin*. The latter runs out of the Lake *Lychnis* in *Macedon*, and continues its Courſe towards *Dalmatia*, where it joins the *White Drin*. And there this River divides itſelf into two Branches, and has two Mouths below the City of *Liſſos*, into the *Adriatick* Sea.

79 The *Peneſtæ* lived near *Illyricum*. The Country bordered upon *Pelagonia* to the North, and the Territory of the *Deuriopes*, to the South.

80 As far as we can judge by *Livy*'s Story, of *Perſes*'s March, the City of *Ancyra* here ſpoken of muſt have ſtood near the *Cambunian* Mountains, on the Banks of the *Panyaſus*, or *Genuſus*, near the *Deuriopes*, and *Peneſtæ*; and this is the Situation *Sanſon* gives it in his Map.

Hopes of gaining over *Ætolia* to his Party, he took his Rout towards *Epirus*; and his first Stay was at *Elimea*, a City of his own, near the Frontiers of the *Epirots*. After his Departure *L. Cælius*, and *Appius Claudius*, who durſt not ſtir out of their Quarters, whilſt the *Macedonians* kept the Field, were very deſirous of recovering the Poſts the Republick had juſt loſt in *Illyricum*; and *Cælius* endeavoured to retake *Uſcana*. But the Garriſon was too ſtrong for him. The *Romans* got only Blows there, and were very fortunate to be able to regain *Lychnis*. From thence *Cælius* ſent a Detachment to take Hoſtages of the Cities, that yet retained ſome Regard for the Republick; which he thought a very neceſſary Precaution, at a time when the Reſolution of *Perſes* made the Ballance ready to turn on his ſide: Whilſt *Claudius*, on the other hand, endeavoured to wipe off the Shame of his Defeat, in his Expedition againſt the City of *Uſcana*, the laſt Year; entered *Epirus*; and would have taken [81] *Phanote* by Force. But he found there a brave *Macedonian*, named *Clevas*, a Man of Reputation, who defended it with a ſtrong Garriſon. In the mean time the *Macedonian* Army purſued its March; and the King made all poſſible haſte to *Stratos*, on the Banks of the *Achelous*. This City belonged to *Ætolia*; and *Archidamus* the *Ætolian*, who had been diſobliged by the *Roman* Party, offered to deliver up this Key of *Ætolia* to the King of *Macedon*. The indefatigable *Perſes* therefore haſtened thither with a Detachment of ten thouſand Foot, and three hundred Horſe; but the Roads were ſo very bad, that he could not carry his Army entire, upon his new Enterprize. What Difficulties had he to ſurmount, before he could arrive at [82] *Stratos!* However, after three Days march, he came to the Foot of the *Pindus*, which he was obliged to paſs over, and found the Weather extremely ſevere. The Soldiers encamped on Heaps of Snow, and found it ſo inconvenient a Poſt, that they ſoon left it. From *Pindus* they had very bad Roads, and hard Froſts to ſtruggle with; and it is not to be deſcribed, how much the Troops, and eſpecially the Beaſts loaded with the Baggage, had to ſuffer. Nevertheleſs, after two Days Fatigue more, the little Army arrived near a Temple dedicated to *Jupiter the Victorious*, where it encamped; and then another Difficulty occurred. The River [83] *Arachtus* was ſo ſwelled with the melting of the Snow, that it was not poſſible to ford it; and any other General would have waited till the Waters had ſunk. But *Perſes* immediately made a Bridge over that part which had overflowed. And after all, theſe many Labours, and this great Expedition, were not rewarded with a proportionable Succeſs.

ARCHIDAMUS had drawn *Perſes* into *Ætolia* by his Promiſes. As ſoon therefore as the King had paſſed the *Arachtus*, this *Ætolian* came to meet him, and was his Guide, to conduct him to *Stratos*. The ſame Day the *Macedonian* entered *Ætolia*, and in two Days more arrived on the Banks of the *Achelous*. Upon *Archidamus*'s Word, he expected to have had the City of *Stratos* immediately ſurrendered to him, and to have ſeen a general Inſurrection in *Ætolia* in his Favour. But how different was his Reception, and how great his Diſappointment! Whilſt *Archidamus* was out of *Stratos*, on the Road to the Frontiers to receive the *Macedonian*, the Inhabitants had brought *C. Popillius*, the *Roman*, thither, from *Ambracia*. This Lieutenant General was entered into the City with a Body of *Legionaries*, had made himſelf Maſter of it, and appeared reſolved to keep it for his Republick. At the ſame time one *Dinarchus* an *Ætolian*, delivered up to the *Roman* Party a flying-Camp, which he had brought to *Stratos*, by order of *Archidamus*. The Change which had happened in the City had turned *Dinarchus*. *Perſes* therefore, who found himſelf anticipated, and *Archidamus*, who thought himſelf betrayed, reſolved to beſiege *Stratos* together. Whilſt *Popillius* on the other hand prepared to ſuſtain a Siege, though the Place was divided into ſeveral Factions; ordered the Keys to be brought him; and confined *Dinarchus*, and the Citizens of *Stratos* in the Citadel, under Pretence of defending it. And by theſe Diſpoſitions, the *Romans* diſcouraged *Perſes*. Nevertheleſs, the King drew

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81 *Sigonius* confounds the Port of *Phanote*, in *Epirus*, with a City of the ſame Name in *Phocis*. The Place we ſpeak of ſtood near *Theſprotia*, and *Chaonia*.

82 The City of *Stratos* ſtood near the River *Achelous*, in the Neighbourhood of *Ætolia*. It depended on *Acarnania*.

83 The River *Arachtus*, now the *Spagmagmuriſi*, according to *Niger*, after it has paſſed through a part of *Epirus*, falls into *The Gulph of Ambracia*, or *Larta*, as it is now called.

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up his Troops on an Hill pretty near the Place, as it were to inveſt it. But his *Macedonians* were ſoon obliged, by the Darts and Arrows of the Troops in *Stratos*, to draw farther off. The King retired beyond the [84] *Petitarus*, being not yet determined either to undertake the Siege, or drop the Deſign. Whereas, *Archidamus* burned with Ardour to conquer the Place. But the King on the contrary hearkened to the Advice of his *Macedonians*, and concluded, that he himſelf would be ſooner ſtarved, than the Beſieged, in a Country which he could not depend on, and near a *Conſular* Army. He therefore retreated in good Order; took Refuge in *Aperantia*, a little Region of *Epirus*, which ſubmitted to him; left *Archidamus* there to govern it; and returned to *Macedon*. Upon his Approach *Claudius* raiſed the Siege of *Phanote*; and his Departure had more the Air of a Flight, than a Retreat. So that *Clevas* purſued him with a thouſand of his *Legionaries*, and took two hundred of his Men Priſoners. The ſame *Roman* alſo loſt a thouſand more of his Soldiers in a Rencounter, and was forced to leave *Illyricum*, ſend Home his Troops to their own Countries, and return to *Rome*.

§. XXXVII. The Superiority *Perſes* gained over *Hoſtilius*, whilſt he was commanding the Armies of the Republick in the *Levant*, had made the *Greeks* almoſt forget the Conqueſts of *Flamininus*, and the Valour of the *Scipio's*. Nothing was talked of among them, but the Exploits of the *Macedonian*; his bold Marches over Ice, and through impaſſable Countries. They thought *Macedon* inacceſſible, and admired the Conduct of a General, who, without running the Riſque of loſing an Inch of his own Dominions, turned the War wholly againſt the Allies of his Enemies. Every Campaign took from the *Romans* ſome one or other of the Nations, which had been moſt attached to them. Indeed, the Republick had really loſt more Ground in the Affections of the *Greeks*, through the Robberies and Extortions of the *Prætor*, and other *Roman* Officers, than *Perſes* had gained by his Arms in the Cities and Provinces he had conquered. The *Greeks* hated both *Rome* and *Perſes*. But lately, they had often been compelled by Neceſſity to join with the ſtrongeſt Side. The People at *Rome* therefore now felt the Conſequences of the Tyranny, which the Commanders of the *Roman* Armies and Fleets had exerciſed in *Greece*, over the moſt faithful Cities and Nations. And therefore the Senate ſent two Commiſſioners thither, to publiſh in all the Countries of the *Roman* Confederacy a Proclamation, prohibiting the Generals of the Troops of the Republick to demand any thing of the Nations, without an expreſs Order of the Senate; and forbidding the Allies to ſubmit to any Exactions, or even Demands of the *Conſuls*, *Prætors*, *Lieutenant Generals*, or *Roman Tribunes*, unleſs they were authorized by a Decree of *The Fathers*. The Diet of *Achaia* aſſembled at *Argi*, received the Edict of the *Romans* with Acclamations. But in *Ætolia* the People did not ſeem diſpoſed to hearken to any Ordinances from *Rome*. On the contrary, all things threatened a ſpeedy Revolt. The Commiſſioners therefore demanded Hoſtages there; and they were refuſed them. From thence they went into *Acarnania*. The *Acarnanes* called an Aſſembly of the chief of the People, in the little City of [85] *Thyrium*, to receive the *Romans*; and there they diſcovered the different Inclinations that divided that People. Some were for putting *Roman* Garriſons in all the Cities in the Country. Whilſt others oppoſed it, out of Fear, as they pretended, of bringing under this Pretence the Enemy's Arms upon a peaceable Country, whoſe Confederacy with *Rome* did not oblige them to carry their Fidelity ſo far, as utterly to ruin themſelves by it. This Oppoſition prevailed, and the Commiſſioners ſeemed content with it. At leaſt, they ſaw, by the Attempts they made in ſeveral Places how much *Rome* had loſt of that ſovereign Authority, which ſhe exerciſed in the *Levant*, before the time of *Perſes*: And ſhe had now no means of regaining her former Aſcendant in *Greece*, but by humbling the *Macedonian*, and reducing him ſo low, as not to be able to contend any longer with her. The Impreſſion he had made on the Minds of the *Greeks*, and the Superiority he had gained over

84 What *Livy* ſays of the *Petitarus*, gives us Reaſon to believe with *Ortelius*, that this River was near *Ætolia*.

85 We know nothing more of the little City of *Thyrium*, than that it belonged either to *Epirus*, or *Acarnania*.

the two last *Conſuls* in *Greece*, had cooled the Affections of many People, and brought them at leaſt to an unſettled State.

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ALL the Hopes of the *Romans* were now upon *Marcius*, who was lately arrived in *Theſſaly*. The new General was come without Delay to take upon him the Command of the *Conſular* Army, in the room of *Hoſtilius*. This *Pro-Conſul*, who was too dilatory, and more prudent than enterpriſing, had acquired no other Glory there, but that of having formed his Troops to ſtrict Diſcipline, and prudently managed the Allies of *Rome*. However no Country, at leaſt in a national Body, had openly declared for the *Macedonians* in his time. The Predeceſſor received his Succeſſor with all the Dignity that became the Republick they repreſented. Before *Hoſtilius* delivered up the *Faſces* into the Hands of *Marcius*, he reviewed his Troops, and ordered that the Men, Horſes, and Arms, ſhould be put into a good Condition, and go and meet the General who was to ſucceed him. Then, after common Civilities, and reciprocal Congratulations, *Marcius* took upon him the Command; and *Hoſtilius* returned to *Rome*. The firſt thing the *Conſul* did, was to harangue his Troops. *The Enemy we are going to fight*, ſaid he, *is the Curſe both of Gods and Men. Can one who murdered his Brother, and in effect aſſaſſinated his Father, eſcape the Vengeance of Heaven? The Surname of* Philip, *which I bear naturally, obliges me to avenge the Cauſe of the King, from whom I had it. His Shade calls upon me for Juſtice, with reſpect to the Troubles which were given him by an unnatural Son, and the Throne which the latter uſurped by a Crime. How many* Furies *are there continually hovering round him, to puniſh him for the many Perſons he has ſecretly poiſoned; the many cruel Aſſaſſinations, and the many Sacrileges, which he has committed? His Attempt on the Perſon of* Eumenes, *his Unfaithfulneſs in breaking his Treaties with* Rome, *and the unjuſt ſacking of ſo many Cities, are Tranſgreſſions, the Conſequences of which he cannot avoid. Happy then ſhall we be, if I, and You, ſhould be able to execute the Wrath of the Gods!* Rome *has by her Piety, often deſerved to be employed as the Inſtrument of Heaven, in puniſhing the Guilty; and who knows whether the Gods have not, for that very Reaſon, made us ſo formidable in the World? Compare then the* Roman *Forces with the* Macedonian; *and remember* Philip *and* Antiochus *had many Advantages over us, which* Perſes *never had; notwithſtanding which, the Eaſtern Nations have ſeen both defeated, and the Terrors of it are not yet worn out. May then a more wicked King than they meet with the ſame Fate, ſince he better deſerves it!*

THIS warm Harangue inſpired the *Legions* with Valour. They deſired nothing but to be led to the Enemy; and *Marcius* had already determined, in ſpight of all Difficulties, to march his Army into *Macedon*. *Perſes* had already ſufficiently amuſed the *Roman* Generals in foreign Countries, and preſerved his own Dominions. It was therefore neceſſary to put him upon the defenſive at Home, and make his Subjects bear all the Weight of the War. The only remaining Queſtion was, what Rout the *Roman* Army ſhould take, and through what Paſſes they ſhould open themſelves a Way, croſs inacceſſible Mountains and Hills, which a ſmall Body of Men could eaſily defend. The Admiral *C. Marcius* was recalled from *Chalcis*, to be preſent at the Conſultation. The *Roman* Camp was then near *Pharſalus*; and was to ſet out from thence for *Macedon*; and the Officers were divided in Opinion. Some were for marching over the *Cambunian* Mountains (which are a part of the *Candavian* to the Eaſt) the ſame Way that *Hoſtilius* had endeavoured to penetrate into *Macedon* the laſt Year. Others were for marching directly to *Pythium* [86] in *Pelagonia*, more on this ſide of *Pharſalus*. And laſtly, Others propoſed to go the ſhorteſt Way; to keep along by the Coaſt of the Marſh of [87] *Aſcuris*, and enter *Macedon* by the Confines of *Pieria*, a Province of *Macedon* near *Tempe*. So that in this firſt Council nothing was reſolved on. Only the Army decamped, and the coming to any Reſolution was poſtponed, till they ſhould draw nearer to the Enemy's Lands. The *Conſul* paſſed the *Peneus*, entered

86 *Pythium*, or *Pytheum*, was a City of *Pelagonia Tripolitis*.

87 The Silence of the ancient Geographers, both as to the Marſh, or Lake of *Aſcuris*, and the Fortreſs that was near it, makes us believe, that there was nothing remarkable in either. This Lake lay between *Illyricum* and *Macedon*, towards the *Cambunian* Mountains. *Ortelius* inclines to believe, that it was the ſame as the Lake *Lychnis*. But this is a mere Conjecture, offered without any Proof.

Peræbia,

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Peræbia, paſſed on from thence to *Pelaſgiotis*, and there coaſting along the Mountains, arrived at length between [88] *Dolyche*, and *Azorus*.

§. XXXVIII. IN the mean while, this unſettled March ſtill kept *Perſes* in ſuſpence. He had haſtened to his Frontiers, and made great Preparations to defend them; and as he knew not which way *Marcius* had reſolved to paſs, had poſted his Troops at all the Avenues. Ten thouſand light-armed Men, under the Command of *Aſclepiodorus*, were out to guard the Tops of the *Cambunian* Mountains. *Hippias* was poſted with twelve thouſand *Macedonians*, at the Extremity of the Marſh of *Aſcuris*, and there defended a Fort called *Lapathus*: and the *Phalangites* were cantoned round *Dium*. But at the ſame time his Care and Reſtleſsneſs kept *Perſes* continually upon the Wing from Place to Place. Sometimes he haſtened to the ſide of *Heracleum* [89]; then hurried towards *Phila*; and as ſoon again turned towards *Dium*, without giving himſelf any reſt. At length the *Conſul*, after he had marched more to the Weſt, determined to enter *Macedon*, near *Oſſolephum*, about the ſame Place where *Philip* had been beaten thirty one Years before, by the *Conſul Sulpicius Galba*. Nevertheleſs, *Marcius* did not venture to paſs this Way, without firſt taking proper Precautions. He ſent his Son, and another Officer, with a Detachment of four thouſand Men, to ſeize ſome important Poſts; and the reſt of the Army followed the Detachment, but very ſlowly. No Roads were ever more difficult. If we were to give Credit to the Deſcriptions of ſome declamatory Hiſtorians, we ſhould ſay with them, that the *Romans* climbed up Rocks which were ſo high, that the Birds could not fly up to the Tops of them. And this at leaſt is certain, that the Detachment of the *Conſular* Army, though conſiſting of moſt active Soldiers, could not march more than fifteen Miles in two Days. They were much fatigued, and encamped at the Foot of a Tower called *Eudieru* [90], doubtleſs, from the great Number of Rivulets that watered the Country. The next Day they were forced to leave this fine Country, and continue their Rout through Roads as ſteep as the former: So that they marched only ſeven Miles that Day. However, the Detachment came at length within a proper Diſtance of the Enemy, and ſeized an Eminence, on which they encamped. Then the Son of the *Conſul* immediately ſent an Expreſs to his Father to be his Guide, and to haſten his March. The Courier found the main Army advanced no farther than the Banks of the Marſh of *Aſcuris*. The Waters in the Vallies, and the Steepneſs of the Mountains, ſeem to have been the Cauſes of the ſlow Progreſs of the *Roman* Troops. And to theſe Difficulties we may add the *Conſul*'s own Uneaſineſs, on account of his Son's March. He was under great Apprehenſions for the little Army he had ſent before him, but was much comforted with the News he received from it. Then, with a Courage not to be ſubdued by any Fatigues, he marched on in all haſte, and joined his Son. The young Warrior had already choſen the Place for the whole Camp. All the Army poſted itſelf on the ſide of an Hill, and pitched their Tents in Rows above one another, like the Seats of an Amphitheatre. From this Eminence the *Romans* not only ſaw the *Macedonian* Camp, which was ſcarce more than a Mile from them, but alſo the vaſt Plains round *Dium*, and *Phila*, and the Sea itſelf, which bounded the Proſpect. It was indeed a moſt agreeable View; but never was Place leſs proper for the Subſiſtence of an Army, for any length of time. Was it then out of Ignorance, or Complaiſance to his Son, that the *Conſul* halted there? He had not yet croſſed all the Mountains that ſurrounded *Macedon*.

Liv. B. 44. c. 2.

Liv. B. 44. c. 3.

THEN the *Romans*, though poſted in this delicious Country, and notwithſtanding their Fatigues, demanded of the General that he would lead them to the Enemy, without Delay. But *Marcius*, though very well pleaſed with their Ardour, did not give Way to their Impatience. He ordered them to reſt one Day, and was obeyed.

88 *Azorus* and *Dolyche*, ſtood in *Pelagonia Tripolitis*, towards the Confines of *Theſſaly*. It was from the Territories of theſe two Cities, and that of *Pythium*, that *Pelagonia* was called *Tripolitis*.

89 The City of *Heracleum* belonged to *Pieria*, a Province of *Macedon*. It ſtood almoſt at the Foot of Mount *Olympus*, at the Entrance into *The Thermaic Gulph*.

90 The Name of *Eudieru* was taken from the *Greek* Word Δυρὸς, which alludes to the many Rivulets and Springs which watered the neighbouring Plains.

THE next Morning, by break of Day, the *Conſul* appeared in the Plain, drew up his *Legions* in Battalia, and left only a ſmall Body of Troops on the Hill to guard it. The Enemy *Marcius* had before him was not *Perſes* himſelf. The King in great Uneaſineſs was moving about his Frontiers, attended by a flying Camp, and giving Orders wherever he came, to prevent the *Romans* paſſing into his Dominions. The General that ſupplied his Place in the *Macedonian* Camp was *Hippias*, an experienced Officer, of an eſtabliſhed Reputation. He was but lately come to guard this Paſs; and as ſoon as he ſaw the *Roman* Camp, he prepared his Soldiers for an Engagement, and marched to meet the *Legionaries* when they began to move. His Army did not conſiſt of *Phalangites*; he had ſcarce any but light-armed Soldiers under his Command; and therefore the *Conſul* at firſt ſent againſt him only ſome light Troops, armed with Slings and Darts, who fought at a Diſtance, with little or no Order. So that this firſt Day's Engagement was, properly ſpeaking, only a Skirmiſh, in which few Men were killed. Nevertheleſs, the Troops on both ſides were animated by this firſt Attempt, and both deſired to come to a pitched Battel. But they wanted Ground for it. The Valley was not ſpacious enough for forming two Armies. Beſides, the Hill which the *Romans* had ſeized, grew narrower and narrower all the Way down it, and was ſcarce broad enough at Bottom for poſting two or three *Manipuli*. So that the reſt of the *Legionaries* could only be Spectators of the Battel, without having any part in it. This ſecond Day therefore ended as the firſt had done, in ſome Skirmiſhes between the light-armed Troops. Thoſe of the *Romans* marched down the Hill on both ſides, came within Bow-ſhot of the Enemy, and retired as ſoon as they had thrown their Darts. Whence it is eaſy to ſee, that a Battel of this ſort could not either be bloody, or deciſive. Nevertheleſs it laſted till Night.

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§. XXXIX. ON the fifth Day after he arrived on the Hill, the *Conſul* became ſenſible of the Difficulty of continuing in a Poſt ſurrounded with Mountains, and at too great a Diſtance from the Sea, to be eaſily ſupplied with Proviſions from thence. But what could he do? An Army hindered him from going down into the flat Country, and getting entirely free of this Labyrinth of Rocks, with which he was ſurrounded; and he could not return back without Diſhonour, and Danger: and the only Expedient he had left, was not a very ſafe one; which was to march along the Chain of Mountains on which he was, and climb from one Rock to another. A terrible Situation for the *Roman* Army, if the Enemy had known how to have made their Advantage of it! But the *Conſul* by his Boldneſs, Conſtancy, and Intrepidity, extricated himſelf out of this bad Situation. He marched to the Eaſtwards, ſometimes climbing up very ſteep Rocks, and ſometimes going down into frightful Bogs. If then he had had the old *Macedonians*, which *Alexander*, and his Father *Philip* commanded, to deal with, what would have become of the *Roman* Army? *Perſes* was ſeized with a kind of Infatuation. He never once appeared in Perſon at the Head of his Army, to ſtop that of the *Romans*; neither did he ſend *Hippias* any Troops to enlarge or recruit his Army, during all the little Battels he fought to harraſs the *Conſul* in his March. And yet he was but twelve Miles from the Place where theſe Skirmiſhes were fought. In ſhort, *Perſes* had ſpent all his Fire in running from Poſt to Poſt, where he had fixed Bodies of Men. He made it his whole Buſineſs to place Troops in all the narrow Paſſes of the Mountains, and in all the Defiles. Whilſt on the other hand it was ſurpriſing to ſee the *Roman* General in his Battles, acting both the part of a General and a Soldier at the ſame time. Notwithſtanding his Age, he bore the Fatigues of the moſt laborious March, which we have mentioned in Story; and notwithſtanding his Bulk, climbed over the higheſt Rocks. His martial Ardour gave him Activity, and made Amends for his Fatneſs; and *Marcius* employed both his Head and Hands in this perillous State. In order to deceive the Enemy, he left *Popillius*, one of his Lieutenant Generals, in his firſt Camp, with Orders to continue there till *Hippias* had decamped, to purſue the *Roman* Army; and at the ſame time the *Roman* General took one very neceſſary Precaution. Before he would engage in ſuch difficult Roads, he ſent before him *Attalus* the *Pergamian*, and *Miſagenes* the *Numidian*, each with the Body of Auxiliaries he commanded, and with Orders to beat down and level the Roads as much as poſſible. This advance-Guard was followed by the Beaſts of Burden, Waggons, and Elephants; and the

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Conſul with his *Legions* brought up the Rear. In theſe rough Ways, the greateſt Danger was not in climbing up, but in getting down the Mountains. Some Horſes and Elephants tumbled down the Precipices. The latter with their Cries affrighted the Beaſts of Burden; and both one and the other threw their Guides and Riders, and gave them terrible Falls upon the Points of the Rocks. It was therefore neceſſary to find out ſome Expedient to prevent theſe Diſaſters; and in order to get down the Precipices, the *Romans* built Bridges of Boards one below another, upon Poſts like Piles, and covered them with Earth. When an Elephant was come almoſt to the end of the firſt Bridge, the Piles of it were cut, and the Beaſt ſuffered to fall or ſlide down to the ſecond Bridge; and ſo on from one Bridge to another, till he was come down to the Valley. Thus theſe heavy Animals were conveyed from Bridge to Bridge, and from Declivity to Declivity, till at length they were brought into the Plains, where the Roads were more paſſable. So that it is not at all ſurpriſing, that the *Roman* Army could not march above ſeven Miles a Day, in ſuch difficult Ways. *Marcius* himſelf confeſſed, that *Perſes* might have cut all his Army in pieces with an Handful of Men. But by the good Fortune, Boldneſs, Conſtancy, and Induſtry, of her General, the Republick ſaved her *Legions*.

Livy. *ibid.*

After all theſe Fatigues, the Danger was not yet paſt. The Night was cloſed when the *Conſular* Army arrived in a Valley, ſurrounded on all ſides with high Mountains; and during the Darkneſs, it was not poſſible to examine narrowly the neighbouring Places. However, they were not diſturbed all Night; and the next Day they were in freſh Concern about the Place where they were then obliged to encamp. It was a deep Valley, where the Enemy might have deſtroyed them only with Stones; and yet they were obliged to tarry there, to wait for *Popillius*, and his Troop. Nevertheleſs, as ſurpriſing as it is, *Perſes* loſt all theſe Opportunities of making theſe Barriers to his Dominions fatal to the *Romans*. The only Obſtructions they met with in their March, were the Difficulties of the Roads; and at length the *Conſular* Troops all join'd, and *Marcius*'s Army was complete. He had indeed many Hills yet to paſs, and Mountains to climb over; but the Fatigue was now become more ſupportable by Habit, and the Fears of his Troops leſſened. They began to jeſt on *Perſes* for his Inaction, and thought on paſt Dangers with Pleaſure. In this Temper they came from the Mountains through a narrow Paſs called [91] *Callipeuce*, in the Language of the Country, and drew near to the Sea, from whence they hoped to receive Proviſions and Ammunitions. Their Fleet had Orders not to go far from the Shore, but to coaſt round *Macedon*, to be ready to aſſiſt them in time; and then the *Conſular* Army was divided into two Camps. The greateſt part of the Infantry were poſted, on the Eminencies between *Heraclea* and [92] *Lebethrum*; whilſt the reſt, with the Horſe, encamped in a Valley. They were now in *Macedon*; but nevertheleſs were near enough to that maritime Province of *Theſſaly*, which was called *Magneſia*.

§. XL. This Situation of the Enemy might well terrify *Perſes*, who had made but feint Efforts to oppoſe them. He was in a Bath when he received this News; and it aſtoniſhed him. He was in great Anxiety at it, and ſuffered Expreſſions to drop from him, which were unworthy of his Dignity, or Courage. *Then I am conquered*, ſaid he, *without having given Battel.* And the Diſorder of his Mind appeared yet more plainly, in his Reſtleſneſs and Irreſolution. He was perpetually ſhifting his Place and Poſture, and often changing his Deſigns. All his Paſſions were afloat; but the prevailing one got the Aſcendant. His Avarice, or the Love of his Treaſures, firſt engroſſed all his Concern. His firſt Care was to prevent their being ſeized. To this end he recalled to him from their Poſts in the Mountains, two of his moſt faithful Officers; and gave them ſuch Orders, as ſhewed the Baſeneſs of his Soul, and the Meanneſs of his Sentiments. The firſt of theſe Confidants was *Nicias*, a Man of Genius, but ready to execute any of his Maſter's Orders, how inconſiderate ſoever. The Name of the ſecond was *Andronicus*, a Man of a better Underſtanding, and capable of diſtinguiſhing a raſh Command, given

91 The Paſs of *Callipeuce* was probably ſo called, from the great Quantity of *Pines* which grew in that Neighbourhood.

92 *Lebethrum*, or *Libithrum*, was a City of *Magneſia*. It ſtood near *Macedon*, at a little Diſtance from Mount *Helicon*, and the City of *Coronea*. Near it was the Fountain of *Libethra*, conſecrated to *The Muſes*.

without Reflection, from a Design deliberately formed, after mature Consideration. *Perses* ordered the former to hasten to *Pella*, seize all the Gold and Silver he found there in his Coffers, and throw it into the Sea. And he commanded the second to go to *Thessalonica*, and burn all the *Macedonian* Ships he found in that Port. Whilst the King himself, in a sudden Fit of Despair, carried on board his Fleet, all the Statues of valuable Metal which he had at *Dium*; abandoned that important Post; and fled for Refuge to *Pydna*. By such imprudent Resolutions did *Perses* unguard his Posts, leave open the Avenues of his Kingdom, and give it up to the Mercy of the *Consul*. So that these bad Steps of the *Macedonian* gave an Air of Prudence to the Temerity of *Marcius*; and the Success (the chief Rule by which the Generality of Mankind judge of the Goodness or Badness of things) justified it.

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THUS the *Roman* Army had at length penetrated into *Macedon*; and now the Difficulty was, how to subsist there, or get out of it again. All the Avenues to this mountainous Country were shut up; and the *Romans* had therefore only one of these three Things to choose. The first was to turn about directly, and enter again the same Passes, where they had once had the good Fortune to escape. The second was to enter *Thessaly*, by *The Valley of Tempe*; and the third was to break into the inner parts of *Macedon*, live there at the Enemy's Expence, and make Conquests. The first of these Schemes the *Legions* could not by any means approve of. They had already undergone such Fatigues in their Passage, as it seemed to be beyond the Strength of Man to bear. Besides, it was probable that *Perses* would not suffer them to return with as little Loss and Danger as they came. And as to attempting to pass *The Valley of Tempe*, that seemed still less practicable. How could a whole Army be carried through a Road, which, for five Miles together, was but just broad enough for a loaded Mule to pass? And this Path was overlooked on the right by Mount *Olympus*, and was bounded to the left by the River *Peneus*, which fell down a steep Precipice, with a terrible Noise. So that to the right, a handful of Troops might destroy all the *Legionaries*, and kill them with Darts thrown down from the Ridge of the Mountains; and to the left, Men, Horses, and Elephants ran the Hazard of falling from the Top of a Rock, (which was too high for the Men to look down the Precipice without Giddiness) into a deep rapid River, which turned their Heads with the very Noise of its Fall. Nothing therefore remained but to continue in *Macedon*, to get Provisions with the Points of their Swords, and march over the Bellies of those Troops of the Country, which opposed the Progress of the *Roman* Army. This then was the *Consul*'s Resolution; but he extended his Foresight to future Contingencies. His Troops might after all be distressed for a Subsistence, in a dry Country, which abounded more with Metals, than Corn; and he therefore judged it necessary, at all Events, to secure the Pass of *The Valley of Tempe*, as difficult as it was. This would still be a Resource against a Famine, and the other Misfortunes of War; and he sent Orders to *Sp. Lucretius*, who commanded a Body of Troops at *Larissa*, in *Thessaly*, to lay aside all other Expeditions, and come and seize all the Posts, which the *Macedonian* Army had not yet seized. Indeed *Perses* had guarded the narrow Way, which led from *Macedon* to *Thessaly*, between the *Peneus* and Mount *Olympus*, in four Places; and was Master of *Gonni*, at the Entrance into this Pass; of 93 *Gonnocondylon*, which was on the Road; of *Lapathus* 94, or *Characa*, near the Banks of the *Peneus*; and of that part of the Pass where it was so narrow, that two Men could scarce walk a breast in it. But nevertheless, *Lucretius* obeyed the *Consul*'s Orders, and came to prepare the Way for the return of the Army, in case of Accidents. *Liv. B.* 44. *c.* 6.

§. XLI. IN the mean time, *Marcius* was preparing to leave the Sea-Shore, in order to enter farther into *Macedon*, towards the West. What then was become of this formidable *Perses*, who had behaved himself so heroically in the Winter? He seems to have disappeared at the Approach of *Marcius*; and the Name of his Father *Philip*, which the *Roman* bore, seems to have struck such Terror into him, that he durst

93 *Sigonius* guesses, that the Name of *Gonnocondylon* was given to this Place from its Neighbourhood to *Gonni*, which was situated on the Banks of the *Peneus*, and to the Fortress of *Condylon*, which *Livy* mentions *B.* 44.

94 *Livy* places the Fortress of *Lapathus* in the Neighbourhood of *The Valley of Tempe*, near Mount *Characa*.

not

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not undertake any thing in his Preſence. He might, without Difficulty, have hindered the *Conſul* from advancing farther into his Dominions. The Paſſage out of *Pieria*, where the *Roman* Army was encamped, was hemmed in on one Side by Mount *Olympus*, and the Mouth of the River [95] *Baphyrus*, which overflowed, and thereby made impaſſable Marſhes. Beſides, the City of *Heraclea*, and a Temple dedicated to *Jupiter*, which might eaſily have been fortified, commanded the Plain. And on the other Side, the Way out of his Province was ſo very narrow, that if the *Macedonians* had dug a Ditch, erected a Rampart, or only built a Wall there, they had made it utterly impaſſable. Nor were any Materials wanting for ſuch kind of Works. There were Woods and Stones on the Spot, in great Abundance. But *Perſes* did not know his own Advantages. Fear had blinded him. He continued immoveable at *Pydna*; and did not take the Field, or ſo much as oppoſe the Enemy, in all their March.

The *Roman* General, with all the Confidence that the Dejection of the King could give him, took the direct Road for *Dium*, one of the chief Cities of *Macedon*; and *Popillius* marched before, to examine the Roads, and level them. In two Days, the Army arrived at *Dium*; and there being a Temple of *Jupiter* (which doubtleſs gave the City its Name) built in that Neighbourhood, the *Conſul*, for fear of prophaning it, pitched his Camp at ſome Diſtance from it. Then, to his great Surprize, he found the Gates of the City open, and entered it without Oppoſition. But the Place was ſo well fortified, and he found ſo many fine Statues, and other valuable Monuments in it, that he thought it could not be abandoned without ſome Deſign. And therefore, for fear of a Surprize, he kept upon his Guard; continued there one Day, to ſearch all the Avenues to it; and after he had made all ſafe, left it. The *Quæſtors* of the Army thought they had Proviſions enough for continuing their March; and the Army encamped the firſt Day, on the Banks of the *Mitys*, a River which waters the Province of *Pieria* in *Macedon*, and diſcharges itſelf into *The Thermaic Gulph*. The next Day, the *Conſular* Army appeared before [96] *Agaſſa*; and the General only demanded Hoſtages of it. Then in one Day more he came to the Banks of the *Aſcordus*; and the *Roman* Army filled all the Country with Terror. Inſomuch that the whole Province would have ſubmitted to the *Conſul*, if he could have found Proviſions enough in the Places which he ran thro' in this victorious Manner. But, to his great Misfortune, the farther he went from *Theſſaly*, the leſs Subſiſtence he found for his Troops; and this obliged him to return to *Dium*. Nevertheleſs, he had ſome glimmering Hopes of being ſoon eaſed of the Diſtreſs to which he was reduced for want of Proviſions. He ſaw his Fleet out at Sea; and this gave him Joy for ſome time. But he was ſoon informed, that his Tranſport-Ships were got no further than *Magneſia*. And then how deſperate was his Caſe! what Reſolutions could he take! He was ready to periſh, without drawing his Sword; and at a time when the Enemy durſt not appear before him. However, in the midſt of his Anxiety, a Courier came to him from *Sp. Lucretius*, with Advice, That this Lieutenant-General had ſeized all the Paſſes that led to *The Valley of Tempe*, and had found vaſt Quantities of Proviſions in the Places which he had ſeized; and this unexpected good Fortune left no room for Deliberation. The *Conſul*, without waiting for the Arrival of his Barks, which the Winds retarded, immediately haſtened to the Place whither the preſent great Diſtreſs drove him; tho' he was ſenſible theſe Steps would much leſſen the Opinion the World had entertained, both of his Ability and Valour. Some ſaid he fled to avoid the Battel *Perſes* was preparing to give him: Others, that his Reflections on the Viciſſitude of human Affairs had leſſened his Courage. But theſe Diſcourſes did not make him change his Reſolution. He left his Conqueſts in *Macedon*, and returned to the Frontiers of *Theſſaly*.

§. XLII. Upon which, *Perſes* affected to ſeem very uneaſy to ſee his Prey eſcape him; and he ſometimes reproached *Hippias* with it, and ſometimes *Aſclepiodorus*. *It is by your Means*, ſaid he to them, *that the raſh* Conſul *and his Army have eſcaped the Deſtruction I was preparing for them. It is you who have opened the Paſſages*

95 See what we have elſewhere ſaid of the River *Baphyrus*, which *Ptolomy* calls *Pharibus*. It is now the *Faribo*. It riſes in Mount *Olympus*, and falls into *The Thermaic Gulph*.

96 *Agaſſa* ſtood on the Banks of the *Mitys*.

for his Return, and robbed me of ſo much Glory! Whereas in Reality the King was rejoiced to ſee *Macedon* delivered from ſo troubleſome a Gueſt as the *Roman Conſul.* As ſoon as the Enemy had abandoned *Dium*, he returned thither; repaired the Ravages the *Romans* had committed, rebuilt the Walls they had demoliſhed, and ſtrengthened it with new Fortifications. From thence he went and encamped on the Banks of the *Enipeus*, which in the Summer is but a ſmall Rivulet, tho' in the Winter it rolls down Mount *Olympus* with a very great Noiſe, and becomes a mighty Torrent. However, *Perſes* thought it would be a good Barrier between him and the Enemy; and here he reſolved to continue the reſt of the Campaign. In the mean time the *Conſul*, tho' he had drawn near to *Theſſaly* to get Proviſions, was not actually gone out of *Macedon*; nor had he laid aſide the Deſign of continuing the War there. From *Phila*, where he tarried ſome time to refreſh his *Legions*, he ſent *Popillius* with two thouſand Men, to lay Siege to *Heraclea.* This City ſtood on a Rock which overlooked the Sea, at the Place where the *Baphyrus* diſcharges itſelf into it. *Popillius* firſt ſummoned the chief Men in the Place to ſurrender it. But *Perſes* was too near at hand, for the Demands of the *Roman* to be complied with. The Inhabitants could ſee from their Walls the Fires that were made in the King's Camp, on the Banks of the *Enipeus*; and it was therefore neceſſary to beſiege the City both by Sea and Land. The *Roman* Fleet was within Reach; and Machines were placed to clear the Ramparts. But the great Difficulty was, how to get to the Foot of the Wall, which was built on a Rock, very ſteep on all Sides; and this a Company of young *Romans*, who remembered an Exerciſe which had been uſed in *The Ciceriſian Games*, were inclined to attempt. In theſe Times, when Valour was yet eſteemed at *Rome* as the greateſt of all Excellencies, the Fineneſs of the *Games* was not thought to depend on the great Number of ſtrange Beaſts which had been ſhewn the People. The moſt agreeable Sights to the Spectators were certain military Exerciſes, in which the young Men ſhewed their Skill and Addreſs. After the Chariot and Horſe Races, which ſcarce laſted above an Hour, the brave Warriors brought into the *Arena* ſix hundred young Children, who divided themſelves into ſeveral Squadrons. Theſe Children, after many Evolutions, which they made together in a Body, divided themſelves, and fought a mock Battel, which could only give Pleaſure, without Pain, to the Spectators; and the Shew ended in a Sight which was ſtill more entertaining. The Children made a *Tortoiſe:* Some holding their Bucklers over their Heads, others over their Backs, they made ſeveral Stages with their Bodies; and upon theſe living Floors, Battels were fought without Bloodſhed. But this Way of fighting, which was only Matter of Diverſion in the *Circus*, was now actually put in Practice before *Heraclea.* The Soldiers, by forming *Tortoiſes*, climbed up to the Top of the Rock, and made a Lodgment there; and then, by the ſame Method, ſcaled the Wall. There were only two Things in which the real *Tortoiſe* differed from the ſham-one in the *Games.* Firſt, the true one was broader, and deep enough for two Companies to climb up that Way to the Height of the Parapet. And ſecondly, the Soldiers who flanked this *Tortoiſe*, did not cover their Heads only, but all their Bodies, with their Bucklers, to guard againſt the Darts which were thrown down upon them from the Ramparts. As for the Beams, and heavy Weights, or Stones, which were thrown down on the *Tortoiſe*, they ſlid down it, as down the Roof of an Houſe. And when the two Companies were got up to the Rampart, they ſoon cleared it; and leaping down into the City, Sword in hand, ſeized it.

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THUS the *Conſul* become Maſter of *Heraclea*, and came and encamped near it; and in theſe new Entrenchments, his only Points in view ſeemed to be, to drive the King from his Poſt, march to *Dium*, and penetrate farther into *Macedon.* Whereas his chief Deſign was to make the Roads good from *Theſſaly* to *Macedon*; thereby to facilitate the Conveyance of Proviſions from one Country to the other. This was a neceſſary Precaution, to enable him to take up his Winter-Quarters in *Macedon*; and he ſpared no Pains to compleat this great Work. He erected Magazines for Corn all along the Road, and fortified them; and built Houſes for the convenient Lodging of thoſe that guarded the Convoys. A Work ſufficient of itſelf to have gained him immortal Honour, if he had done nothing elſe all the Campaign! He thereby opened his Succeſſors an eaſy Entrance into a Kingdom which had hitherto been deemed inacceſſible; and not only prepared

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the Way for the Conqueſt of it, but made that Conqueſt certain to the *Roman* Armies.

As for *Perſes*, he had hitherto been afraid to engage with the *Conſul*. *Marcius*'s Preſence had made a very different Impreſſion on him, from what the Sight of his Predeceſſors had done. But now, when he ſaw the *Roman* continue in a kind of Inaction in his Camp round *Heraclea*, the King recovered his Spirits, and conquered a little his Dejection. He repented of the Orders he had given, to throw all his Treaſures at *Pella* into the Sea; and to burn his Ships which were in the Port of *Theſſalonica*. But one of the Officers to whom he had given theſe Orders, had been but too exact in his Obedience; whilſt the other had wiſely delayed putting in Execution a mad Project which was dictated by Fear, in a Fit of Deſpair. *Nicias* had actually thrown into the Sea all the Gold and Silver which *Philip* and *Perſes* had ſo frugally heaped up. However, the King had ſtill one Remedy left. He got ſome Divers, and they fiſhed up his Treaſures out of the Sea. And *Andronicus* had not the Mortification to have ſet Fire to the Fleet. It was entire, when the Counter-Orders arrived. Nevertheleſs, how incredible ſoever it may appear, both *Nicias* and *Andronicus* were puniſhed; one for his ready Obedience, the other for his wiſe Delays in obeying his Orders. The King had them both privately aſſaſſinated; and alſo the Divers who had got his Riches out of the Sea. He was ſo much aſhamed of the Orders he had given, and the Dread he had been under of the *Conſul*, that he wanted to aboliſh all Footſteps of it, and therefore removed all thoſe who were Witneſſes of it, out of ſight. An Aſſaſſination accompanied with the greateſt Injuſtice, whereby *Perſes* filled up the Meaſure of his Iniquities; and we ſhall ſoon ſee them draw down upon him the Vengeance of Heaven!

§. XLIII. The *Conſular* Army was now wholly employed in making good Roads for the marching of Troops, and Conveyance of Corn, from *Theſſaly* to *Macedon*; whilſt the *Roman* Fleet, commanded by *Marcius Figulus*, ſet ſail to go on ſeveral Expeditions on the Coaſts. From *Heraclea*, it came to *Theſſalonica*; and there the Admiral made a Deſcent, laid waſte a great Part of the Country, and threatened the City with a Siege. But the *Theſſalonicans* brought ſo many *Balliſtæ* on their Ramparts, and threw ſuch Multitudes of Darts with them, that not only the Soldiers aſhore, but the Ships likewiſe, ſuffered much by them. It was therefore neceſſary to remove farther off from thence; and *Figulus* came and appeared with his Galleys before [97] *Ænia*. Its Territory was fruitful; and the *Roman* Soldiers found a plentiful Harveſt there. From thence they came to [98] *Antigonea*, and there made a Deſcent. But the *Antigoneans* made a Sally, and killed about five hundred *Romans*, and took as many Priſoners, upon the firſt Onſet. Then being eager to purſue the Enemy to their Ships, the *Macedonians* loſt about two hundred Men, in a ſecond Battel, and had about the ſame Number taken. After this ſlight Repulſe, the *Roman* Fleet came to an Anchor, before [99] *Pallene*. This was a rich and populous Coaſt; and the *Romans* made a Deſcent there likewiſe. And whilſt they were buſy in pillaging, the *Pergamian* Fleet, conſiſting of twenty Ships of War, commanded by *Eumenes* in Perſon; and a Squadron of five *Bythinian* Ships, ſent by *Pruſias*, came and joined the *Prætor Figulus*. *Eumenes* had given the *Roman* ſome Grounds to ſuſpect him; and he now wanted to efface their Suſpicions, or cover his Game. But be that as it will, this Reinforcement of twenty five Ships emboldened the *Prætor* to attempt the taking of [100] *Caſſandria*. The Siege was memorable; and the Ancients have taken Care to give us a very particular Account of it. *Caſſandrea*, or *Caſſandria*, was a maritime City of *Macedon*, which was at firſt called *Potidea*, and afterwards took the Name of *Caſſandria*; either from *Caſſandrea* the Daughter of *Priam*; or more probably, from *Caſſander*, the Son of *Antipater*, and King of *Macedon*. It ſtood in *The Iſthmus of Pallene*, or, if you will, on that Neck of Land which divides *The Toronaic*, from *The Thermaic Gulph*. It was advantageouſly ſituated for the *Romans*. They could not have

97 *Ænia* was a City of *Macedon*, near *Theſſalonica*. It is now called *Moncaſtro*.

98 We have already ſpoken of the Origin and Situation of *Antigonea*, a maritime City of *Macedon*, near *The Toronaic Gulph*.

99 *Pallene* is the Name of a Peninſula and City in *Macedon*, between the *Toronaic* and *Thermaic* Gulphs. See the preceding Volumes.

100 See what we have ſaid of the City of *Caſſandria*, Vol. 3.

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a more convenient Entrance into *Macedon*, than thro' the *Paraxian* Province, to which *Caſſandrea* was a Key. The Generals in the *Roman* Fleet divided the Attack between them. The *Prætor Figulus* erected his Batteries on the Side of the Peninſula which the two Gulphs make; and, to hinder any Communication between *Macedon* and the Place, he filled all the Road with *Caltrops*, and other Inſtruments to embarraſs Soldiers in their March. *Eumenes*, with his *Pergamians*, and the *Bythinians*, attacked the City on the oppoſite Side. On that Side where the *Romans* were, nothing ſtopped them ſo much as a wide and deep Ditch, which *Perſes* had very lately dug there, to cover the City. It was neceſſary to fill it up; but none of the Earth that had been dug out of it could be found. At length, the *Prætor* was ſhewn, that the *Macedonian* had made uſe of this Earth in raiſing a Bulwark which ſtood on an Arch, ſupported only by two Walls, which were not very firm, and only one Brick thick. This ſerved the City inſtead of a Wall; but was not ſo ſtrong as the old one. The *Roman* General firſt made a Breach in the outer Wall of the Arch, deſigning ſoon to make another in the ſecond, to enter the City that Way. Nor was this all. Before he began this Attack, which was to be almoſt under-ground, *Eumenes* ordered another to be made in the Place oppoſite to the Bulwark, and thereby made a conſiderable Diverſion for thoſe who defended the Place. The Garriſon which *Perſes* had put in *Caſſandrea*, conſiſted partly of the *Thracians* called *Agrianes*, from the River *Agrianus*, which watered the Province; and partly of *Illyricans*, of the Country of *Peneſtia*. The former were eight hundred in Number; the latter two thouſand: and theſe were thought the Flower of the *Macedonian* Troops. With the young *Caſſandrians*, they made a little Army of about four thouſand Men. A conſiderable Force; and ſufficient, behind Walls, to reſiſt a *Prætorian* Army.

As ſoon as a Breach was made in the ſecond Wall, the Pioneers who had made it might have entered the City without Reſiſtance, and taken it, if they had been armed. But the Beſiegers were forced to bring regular Troops to enter thro' this Paſſage, and to carry them over a *Glacis* between the City and the Ditch. Before the *Romans* came there, they gave a great Shout for a Signal, and to encourage the *Aſiaticks*, who were engaged in the Aſſault on the oppoſite Side of the City; and this Noiſe at firſt ſurprized the Garriſon. However, they afterwards underſtood That the Enemy had made a Breach on the Side of the Bulwark, but That no *Roman* had yet entered within the City-Wall. The Commanders of the *Agrianes* and *Illyricans* were two able Officers. The Name of the one was *Pyto*, and that of the other *Philip*; and they preſently perceived that this Breach might be made as uſeful to the Beſieged, as the Beſiegers. *The main Point*, ſaid they, *is, who ſhall ſeize it firſt. If we do it, it will ſerve us for a Poſtern, to make a Sally on the Enemy.* Which ſaid, they ran thither with Part of their Troops, and made a Sally in good Order on the *Romans*. They were yet forming themſelves on the *Glacis*, and waiting till the reſt of their *Manipuli* had croſſed it. But as ſoon as the Beſieged appeared, who had anticipated the *Romans*, the latter were repulſed, thrown into the Ditch, and there cruſhed in pieces, under the Ruins of the Bulwark. Six hundred *Legionaries* periſhed in this Action; and not one returned to the Camp without ſome Wound.

Nor were the Troops of *Eumenes* more fortunate in their Aſſault than thoſe of the *Prætor* at the Breach. So that the Attacks were abated on both Sides; and the Beſiegers had no more Thoughts of taking the Place by Force. They only took Care to inveſt it ſo well, as to cut off all Proviſions from it, in order thereby to reduce it by Famine. And the Deſign had ſucceeded, if the Danger of *Caſſandria* had not rouzed *Perſes*. But he ſent from *Theſſalonica* ten Barks laden with Men and Proviſions. Theſe keeping cloſe to the Shore, eſcaped the *Roman* Fleet, which lay at Anchor farther out at Sea, and entered the Port. And this Reinforcement put the City out of Danger. So that the *Prætor* and King of *Pergamus* had nothing to do but to abandon their Enterprize. Both Fleets ſet ſail, and appeared before 101 *Torona*, the City which gives its Name to *The Toronaic Gulph*. But this Place was too well fortified to be taken. They therefore turned towards *Deme-*

101 *Torona*, which gives its Name to *The Toronaic Gulph*, was a City of the *Paraxian* Province, which belonged to *Macedon*. *Nardus* and *Pinet* put it in the ſame Place where *Caſtel Rampo* now ſtands.

trias.

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trias. Tho' this City belonged to *Theſſaly*, the Kings of *Macedon* had long been in Poſſeſſion of it; and thought it one of the chief Cities of their Kingdom. Its Port was a Refuge for their Fleets; and they had erected their Arſenals and Magazines there. When the *Roman* Fleet appeared before it, ſo numerous a Garriſon lined the Ramparts, that the Enemy were forced to paſs by it; but they did not lay aſide their Deſign It was neceſſary to make Preparations, before they undertook ſo important a Conqueſt.

§. XLIV. The *Conſular* Fleet and Army united together in making proper Diſpoſitions for this Enterprize. The *Roman* Admiral brought his Ships before [102] *Iolcos*; and the *Conſul* ſent away *Popillius*, with a ſmall Body of *Legionaries*, to lay Siege to *Melibæa* [103]. *Iolcos*, a maritime City of *Theſſaly*, lay near *Demetrias*, to the Eaſt; and *Melibæa*, which ſtood on Mount *Oſſa*, covered it more to the South; and therefore the *Romans* kept both theſe Places in Awe. The Garriſon of *Melibæa* was alarmed at the Sight of the *Roman* Troops; but their firſt Terror vaniſhed, when they perceived that they were only a Detachment, come rather to attempt to ſurprize the Place, than beſiege it in Form. Nevertheleſs, *Popillius* inveſted it; and made all proper Diſpoſitions for an Aſſault. But *Perſes*, upon the News, that *Iolcos* on one Side, and *Melibæa* on the other, were threatened, and that the Deſign was upon *Demetrias*; detached *Euphranor*, with two thouſand *Macedonians*, to drive away *Popillius* from *Melibæa*, and with Orders to go to *Demetrias*, thro' By-roads, before the Fleet was gone from *Iolcos*, and had made a Deſcent on the Coaſt. And the *Macedonian* Officer put his Orders in Execution with Succeſs. He firſt forced *Popillius* to leave *Melibæa*, and then turned towards *Demetrias*, and led his Troops thither. And now, the Deſcents of the Fleet were no longer to be feared. The numerous Garriſon of *Demetrias* was ſtrong enough to preſerve the Fields from being plundered, and the City from the Siege with which it was threatend. The Ships of *Eumenes* and *Figulus* in vain ſurrounded it by Sea, to terrify it; and the King and *Prætor* ſaw, by the Appearance of the *Demetrians*, that their Deſign was impracticable.

Thus ended a Campaign which but little weakened *Perſes*; and had brought but little Glory to the *Conſul Marcius*. And thereby the King of *Pergamus*, who already wavered towards the *Macedonian*, was determined to renounce the *Roman* Party. Some Hiſtorians pretend, that he refuſed to put to Sea with his Fleet the whole Campaign; or to join that of the *Prætor*, who had often deſired him to do it, by Letters. To which they add, That *Eumenes* ſerved only by Land, and left the *Conſul*'s Army, highly diſpleaſed with the Proceedings of the *Roman* General. *Marcius*, ſay they, had refuſed to let that Prince's Soldiers lodge in the ſame Camp with the *Romans*. But be that as it will, this at leaſt is certain, that *Eumenes* ceaſed to be a faithful Friend to the Republick, and an irreconcileable Enemy to *Perſes*. If he ſaw the *Conſul* again before his Departure, it was a Viſit of pure Ceremony. He complimented *Marcius* on having penetrated into *Macedon*; but refuſed to leave a Body of *Gauls*, that is, *Galatians*, which he had brought from *Aſia*, in the Service of the *Romans*. But *Attalus* did not imitate his Brother. At the ſame time that *Eumenes* was falling off from *Rome*, the Prince his Brother was entering into the ſtricteſt Engagements with her. He was a better Politician than the King and we ſhall ſee him do good Service to the Republick, and cultivate the Friendſhip of the *Romans*, who were better able to reward his Fidelity, than the *Macedonian*.

Valer. Ant. apud Liv.

Polyb. in Legat. N. 77.

Thus the King of *Pergamus* in effect renounced his Alliance with *Rome*; where as *Achaia* was earneſt to ſtrengthen her Confederacy with the Republick. While *Marcius* was making War in *Macedon*, *Archon*, then *Prætor* of *Achaia*, aſſembled the *Achaian* Diet; and in order abſolutely to deſtroy the Reports which were ſpread, That *Achaia* inclined to favour the *Macedonian*, he got the Aſſemblies to paſs a Decree, That if *Rome* would accept of their Services, they would ſend all their Forces to the Aſſiſtance of the *Romans*, and join them to the *Legionaries*, Auxiliaries. They alſo ordered an Embaſſy to be ſent to *Marcius*, to make him this Offer; and *Polybius* the Hiſtorian was choſen to be the Head of the Deputatio

102 *Iolcos* was formerly a City of *Magneſia*, on the Coaſt of the *Ægean* Sea, at the Foot of Mount *Pelion*, and near *Demetrias*. It is now only a Village, which the Natives of the Country call *Jaco*.

103 *Melibæa* belonged alſo to *Magneſia*. It ſto on this ſide the River *Peneus*, near the Lake *Beb* at the Foot of Mount *Oſſa*.

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Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS, CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO, Conſuls.
Liv. ibid.

This famous *Achæan* was alſo inſtructed by his Republick, to enquire of the *Conſul* whether he would conſent, That *Achaia* ſhould lend *Appius Claudius* the Soldiers he deſired, and ſend them into *Epirus*, there to make War under that General. When *Polybius* arrived, he was received in a handſome Manner by the *Conſul*. The Good-will of a great Nation, at a time when ſo many others were wavering in their Fidelity, could not but be acceptable to him. He remembered with Pleaſure, the entire Deference *Achaia* had ſhewn from the Beginning of the War, for the Orders of the Senate, and *Roman* Generals. But nevertheleſs, as the Campaign was going to be ended, *Marcius* did not want foreign Succours; and as to the five thouſand Men *Claudius* demanded, the *Conſul* was not of Opinion that *Achaia* ſhould ſend them. Was not then *Marcius* jealous of *Claudius?* Or was he willing to ſave the *Achæans* the Trouble and Expence of ſo long a March? Whatever was his Motive, *Polybius* readily complied with the Inclinations of the *Conſul*; and when he was returned home, got *Claudius*'s Envoy diſmiſſed with this Anſwer, That *Rome* had publiſhed an Edict in *Greece*, forbidding the *Greeks* to comply with the Deſires of the *Roman* Generals, unleſs backed with an expreſs Order of the Senate. By this Step, *Polybius* both made his Court to the *Conſul*, and conſulted the Intereſt of his Country at the ſame time. The Expences ſhe muſt have been at to have juſtified *Claudius*, would have amounted at leaſt to *an hundred and twenty *Talents* [104].

* 23250 *l. Sterl. Arbuth. Zonaras, B.* 9.

§. XLV. AND now, tho' the War between the *Romans* and *Perſes* was come to no Iſſue, and the latter had ſcarce begun the Conqueſt of *Macedon*; nevertheleſs, the *Macedonian* already diſcovered, by I know not what Foreſight or Penetration, that after all, it was ſafeſt for him to ſue for Peace. Perhaps he was conſcious that his Avarice, which was indeed the true Cauſe of all his Misfortunes, would be his Ruin; and he now choſe rather to beg a Peace in a ſhameful Manner, and ſave his Riches, than carry on a glorious War, by diſtributing ſome of his Treaſures among uſeful Allies. He employed the King of *Bythinia* and the *Rhodians*, as Mediators. The Affair was tranſacted with the Senate of *Rome*, to which the Republick of *Rhodes* and King *Pruſias* had ſent their Ambaſſadors; and the Proceedings of the two Ambaſſadors were as different, as the Opinions of the People of the *Levant*, concerning the Succeſs of the War. Some yet laid Wagers on *Perſes*'s Side; and others on that of the *Romans*. And hence it was that the *Rhodians* gave themſelves haughty Airs at *Rome*; whilſt *Pruſias* proceeded by way of Intreaty with her. The People of *Rhodes* were fully perſuaded that the People of *Rome* repented of having undertaken the War in the Eaſt; but *Pruſias* was convinced that they would finiſh it with Glory. The Ambaſſador of the latter therefore addreſſed himſelf to the Republick, with the ſame Submiſſion as when ſhe was moſt predominant in *Greece* and *Aſia*. *Rome*, ſaid he, *cannot but know with what Zeal the King of* Bithynia *declared for her againſt* Perſes; *and with what Care he carried on her Deſigns. The Fidelity he has ſhewn to you is inviolable. It will laſt as long as his Life. But nevertheleſs,* Pruſias *could not hear the Lamentations of the King of* Macedon *without Compaſſion.* Perſes *has deſired the King our Maſter to intercede with the* Roman *Senate; which is acknowledging his Repentance, and his Weakneſs. And it is as much to our Honour to be choſen Interceſſors with you; as it is to yours, to ſee an Enemy make the firſt Advances towards a Peace. And if you ſhall find it for your Intereſt to grant our Supplications, it will be a great Satisfaction to us to have contributed ſomething towards the Tranquillity of the Eaſt, and the Happineſs of* Macedon. This Speech was favourably received, but the only Effect it had, was, that it ſunk the Eſteem the Senators had for *Pruſias*, to nothing.

Liv. B. 44. *c.* 14.

But the Deputies of *Rhodes* ſpake a very different Language. *If* Rome, ſaid they, *was formerly victorious in the* Levant, *to what did ſhe owe her Succeſs, but to our Arms and Fleets? The Humiliation of* Antiochus *was as much owing to our Efforts, as yours. As for* Macedon, *it was then at Peace with us; and our entering into Engagements with* Perſes, *could be therefore no juſt Offence to you. But we at laſt broke with this Prince, merely out of Complaiſance to* Rome. *We followed your Standards, to the Prejudice of our Ally; contrary to our own Inclinations, and with-*

[104] That is, to the Sum of one hundred and ſixty thouſand *French Livres*, according to our Computation, in the preceding Volumes.

Year of ROME DLXXXIV. C. Marcius Philippus, Cn. Servilius Cæpio, Conſuls.

out any Provocation from him. Had he done any thing, whereby he had given us juſt Cauſe to abandon him? We have indeed been very juſtly puniſhed for ſeparating from him. How many Misfortunes have we ſuffered for the three Years that you have made War with him! Our Navigation is loſt, and our Iſland often wants Neceſſaries. We can no longer run over with Eaſe the Coaſts of Aſia, *and raiſe our Impoſts in the tributary Cities there. The* Rhodian *Republick therefore, fatigued with your Hoſtilities, which all recoil upon her, thought herſelf obliged to intreat the* Macedonian *to make Peace with* Rome; *and ſhe ſent Ambaſſadors to him, to require it of him. And now ſhe ſends others to the Senate, to warn them to put an End to the War with* Perſes; *which if you do not accept, we ſhall think of proper Means to bring the Obſtinate to Reaſon.*

What an Impreſſion ſuch a Diſcourſe muſt make on the Minds of *The Fathers*, is eaſy to judge. Some Hiſtorians indeed ſay, that the Senate heard it without Emotion; and that they gave no Anſwer to it, otherwiſe than by inſtantly declaring the *Carians* and *Lycians* abſolutely free from Subjection to any People. *Rome* had formerly ſubjected them to the *Rhodian* Republick; and by this Stroke freed them from her Dominion. And this Decree, ſay they, was like a Thunder-bolt to the intrepid Chief of the Embaſſy, who was ſo ſtruck with it that he fell into a Swoon. But others aſſure us, that the *Conſcript Fathers* made the *Rhodians* this Reply. *Before the War, we ſuſpected that there was a Correſpondence kept up between* Rhodes *and* Macedon; *and now they have thrown off the Mask. What! Dare the* Rhodians *to ſet themſelves up for the Peace-makers of the World? Shall* Rome *receive Law from theſe Gods of the Earth? Shall we take up Arms, or lay them down, as they direct? Shall we ratify our Treaties on their Altars? They threaten us indeed; and ſay, they will think of Means to force us to give up* Macedon. *But have they well conſidered of what they ſay? The Time approaches when the Conqueſt of* Perſes *will leave us at full Liberty to reward or puniſh the good or ill Offices we have received during the War; and then* Rhodes *ſhall ſmart for this.* Theſe Words ſurprized the Ambaſſador. Nevertheleſs, the Republick ſent him the uſual Preſent of two thouſand **Aſſes* of Braſs. But the proud *Rhodian* refuſed to accept of them.

* 6 *l.* 9 *s.* 2 *d. Arbuthnot.*

§. XLVI. At the ſame time, the Senate received Advices from *Marcius*, that the *Roman* Army had penetrated croſs the Mountains that ſurround *Macedon*; That they were reſolved to Winter in that Kingdom; That they had erected Magazines of Corn for that purpoſe; and laſtly, That in order to fill them, they had borrowed of the *Epirots* † twenty thouſand *Modii* of Wheat, and ten thouſand of Barley. The *Conſul* alſo deſired, That the *Epirots* might be paid what they lent the Republick; and That the Senate would ſend to *Macedon* Cloaths for the Soldiers; and at leaſt two hundred *Numidian* Horſes. All which was accordingly done, by a Decree of the Senate. Six thouſand *Togæ*, and thirty thouſand *Tunicks* were ſent to the Army, to be diſtributed as the General pleaſed. And Satisfaction was made the *Epirots* for what they had advanced. What then remained, but for the *Conſcript Fathers* to reward a *Macedonian* of great Birth, who had on all Occaſions ſignalized his Zeal for the *Roman* Party? His Name was *Oneſimus*. He had Acceſs to the Court of the Kings of *Macedon*, and was in all their Councils; and was continually intreating *Perſes* to read over often the Treaty between *Rome* and *Macedon*. *The late King your Father*, ſaid he to him, *uſed to order it to be repeated to him twice a Day; and this made him backward to declare againſt ſo formidable a Republick.* Till at length *Oneſimus*, by boaſting of *Rome*, made himſelf ſuſpected by a Prince, who hated him, tho' he eſteemed him; and the brave Courtier ſeeing his Diſgrace was nigh, choſe rather to avoid the ill Effects of it by Flight, than ſtand the Shock of it. He fled to the *Conſul*'s Army for Refuge, and did him important Services; and then he came to *Rome*, where he met with a grateful Return for them. All the time he was in the City, his Lodgings were provided, and Expences borne, by the Publick. And laſtly, there were given him, by a Decree, two hundred Acres of Land in Fee, in the Plains of *Tarentum*, and a Houſe in that City. By ſuch Liberalities as theſe did the *Romans* buy themſelves Friends in all the Courts in the Eaſt; and therein purſued a very different Conduct from that of *Perſes*. They expended the publick Treaſure, without Profuſeneſs; and at the ſame time, without ſordid Thrift; and this prudent OEconomy contributed as much as their Valour, towards their gaining the Victories we are yet to relate.

† 5000 *Eng.* Buſh. *Arbuth.*

A MAP of MACEDON

37 38 39 40 41 42 43

Roman Miles of 5000 feet each
10 20 30 40 50

Stadia of 125 paces each
100 200 300 400

DALMATIA
Salluntum
Birziminum
Lake Labeatis
Clausula R.
Cirhenum
Chinna
Thermidava
Labeatæ
Scodra
Dalle or Lel.
Barbana R.
Epicaria
Liminæum
Acro Lissus
Lissus
Albanopolis
Dinda
Albani
Caverna
Dumgl
Lane R.
Sphetde
Parthini
Icarum
Iori
Epidamnus
Dyrrachium
Parthos
Eribæa
DASSARETIA
Scampis
Eva
Lychni
ILLYRICA
Taulantii
Pamyssus R.
Candavia
Lake Dephnidus
Eordetæ
Stephanopolis
Aous R.
Apollonia
Eordæa
Dryla
Stephane
Aulon
Amantia
Orestis
Orestæ
Acroceraunian M.
Antigonia
Amantini
Hecatompedum
Phanotes
Phanice
Beaca
Celydnus R.
CHAONIA
Palæste
Chimera
Syllones
Elæa
Ceraunian Mountains
SEA
Ottanus I.
Malthace I.
Pandosia
Buthrotum
Nicæa
Ion R.
EPIRUS
Mcandria
Gomphi
Thronium
Pelasgiotis
Azorus
Mount Pindus
Dodone
Pythium
Tripolitis
Elimioti
Gyrtone
Pheræ
Eginium
Tempe
Ossa
Pelion
Olympus
Larissa
Cornus
Metropolis
Gonnus
Ilium
Arnissa
Pella
Edessa or Ægeas
Lyncestæ
Lyncus
Stubera
Heraclea
Bryanium
Great Melitorus
Lelle
Bodena
Ægeæ
Dausara
Æstræum
Æstræi
Deborus
Scirtione
Antipatris
Bruscida
Physcus R.
Idomene
Gordynia
Alorus
Mygdonia
Alindoia
Bœrus
Carabia
Palæstus
Apollonia
Pluterius
Sindus
Bottiæa
Chalestra
Cissus
Mellissurgis
Thessalonica
Thermæ Afterwards
Ampaxitis
Anthemus
Bolbe
Amphipolis
Arethusa
Strymon R.
Argilus
Bormiscus
The Strymonian Gulph
Stagira
Acanthus
Thasus I.
Tirida
Abdera
Dersæi
Ulpia Topiris
Neapolis
Philippi Col.
Edonis
Pysiotis
Drabiscus
Strymon
Orsa
Grabus
Berte
Calliterea
Euporia
Bisaltia
Arcolus
Mt. Bertiscus
Crestonia
Chidorus R.
Terpillus
Sintica
Heraclea
Sintica
Parcecopolis
Tranupara
Europus on the Axius
Axius R.
Xylopolis
Stobi
Antigonia
Perseis
Deuriopas
of Pæonia
Pelagonia
part of Pæonia
Pelagonia
Andariotis
Deborus
Stonæ
Physcus
Bruscida
Scirtione
Antipatris
Æstræi
Æstræum
Alorus
Eordæa
Edessa or Ægeæ
Dausara
Lelle
Bodena
Pæonia
Bylazora
Astibus
Tristolus
Parastrymonii
Scotusa
Odomantic
Bisalta
Gazorus
Syro-Peonia
Pergamum
Pierii
Phagræ
Nicopolis on the Nessus
Philippi Col.
Edonis
Pysiotis
Neapolis
Prasias
Ulpia Topiris
Dersæi
Abdera
Tirida
Thasus I.
Strymon R.
Argilus
Bormiscus
The Strymonian Gulph
Stagira
Acanthus
Amphipolis
Arethusa
Anthemus
Bolbe
Ampaxitis
Thessalonica
Thermæ Afterwards
Cissus
Mellissurgis
Bottiæa
Chalestra
Eleum
Pella
Spartolus
Arnæus R.
Lyncestæ
Lyncus
Stubera
Ematia of Macedon
Scydrice
Elymea
Europus
Byrsæ
Tyrissa
Beroea
Acerdus or Arcadus
Grenum
Methone
Myrza
Ægea
Abiacmon R.
Pieria
Petra
Pydna
Gulph of Thermæ
Hatem
Dium
Tisæa
Eginium
Baye
Cassandria Col.
Phlegra
Pallene
Torone
Sermylia
Olophyxus
Singus
Sithonia
Mecyberne
Gulph
Cape Acroathon
Drepanopolis
Nymphæum Promontorium
Ampelus Prom.
Aparethos I.
Ægean Sea
Mount Athos
Acro-Athos
Thyssus
Leonæ
Dion
Apollonia
Assa
Chaleis
Istiria
Meryllus
Paraxia
Chalcidica
Antigonia
Gigonus
Lipaxus
Olynthus
Torone
Mecyberne
Sermylia
Olophyxus
Singus
Sithonia
Gulph
Cape Acroathon
Drepanopolis
Nymphæum Promontorium
Ampelus Prom.
Aparethos I.
Ægean Sea
Mount Pangæi
Pangæi
Doberæ
Syro-Peonia
Pergamum
Pierii
Nicopolis on the Nessus
Gazorus
Odomantic
Bisaltia

A MAP of THRACE.

41 42 43 44 45 46

Roman Miles 5000 paces each
5 10 15 30 45 60 75
Stadia of 105 paces each
50 100 200 300 400 500 600

UPPER MOESIA
LOWER MOESIA
THRACIA
EUXINE SEA
ÆGÆAN SEA
PROPONTIS
PÆONIA
MACEDON
SINTICA
PARAXIA
BISALTIA
ODOMANTICA
EDONIS
BESSICA
CELETICA
USCIDESIATICA
ASTICA

Triballis
Doriones
Ostaphos
Ternobum
Nicopolis of y Hæmus
Melte
Sostre
SARDICA
Helis
Lixus
Bessapara
Zyrme
Egira
Sumole
Parembolis
Phillippopolis
Opizus
Aussus
Great Celetœ
Beroea
Little Celetœ
Mount Rhodope
Odrysians
Thaurasians
Bessians
Pierians
Medians
Petra
Pergamum
Phagres
Mount Pangeus
Syro Peonians
Doberœ
Pangeans
Parforeins
Leeins
Parstrymonians
Gazorus
Scotusa
Parœcopolis
Heraclea Sintica
Berga
Philipi Colony
Nicopolis on the Nestus
Nestus R.
Strymon R.
Lake Prasias
Nesopolis
Ulpia Topiris
Scapteseyle
Amphipolis
Abdera
Derseans
Jamphorina
Briantica
Lake Bistonis
Dium
Lake of Limara
Limara
Dyme
Tempyra
Milotitum
Traja nopolis
Zerne
Petians
Dorisci
Cyconians
Absynthians
Samothracians
Maronea
Thasus
The Strymonian Gulph
Pierian Gulph
Mesembria
Zona
Absynthus Afterwards Enos
Hebrus R.
The Gulph of Melas
Cardia
Lysimachia
Berga
Panormus
The Thracian Chersonesus
Callipolis
Ægos
Egos R.
Sestos
Lampsacus
Parium
Isle of Cyzicum
Proconnesus Isle and City
Chalcitis I.
Samos I.
Imbros I. Isle and City
Lemnos I.
Cape or City of Sigæum
Alopeconnes
Madytes
Abydos
Arisba
Adrastia
Cyzicus
Lectum
Cape Nymphæum
Aereathos Promontory
Cape Amplias
Ephestia
Mount Athos
Cleones
Acro-Athos
Chalcis
Apollonia
Istria
Antigonea
Thessalonica
Therme Afterwards
Axius R.
Haliacmon R.
Crusseus
Gulph of Therme
Strymonic Gulph
Thracian Bosphorus
Heraclea
Perinthus Afterwards
Selimbria
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Athyras R.
Melas or Melanes R.
Lake of Dercetum
Dercetum Colony
Apollonia
Thera
Chersonesus
Peronticum Sea
Scylla
Philopolis
Phylia or Phrygia
Agathopolis
Andrapa
Thynias
Salmydessus
Thraces
Melinophagi
Thracians of the Mountains
Cyaneæ Isles
Delta of Thrace
Cenophrurium
Bergulæ
Dnisipara
Turulum
Bithyans Melandeptœ
Bisanthe
Arzus
Apros Colony
Tonzos
Cabyla
Byzia
Cenicians
Agrianes
Carpodecmum
Nicete
Burdiple
Olympias Afterwards Hadrianpolis
Agrianes R.
Contestadus R.
Thoarus R.
Nice
Burtudizum
Histiodizum
Platinopolis
Dydimatichos
Mount Hæmus
Odessus
Erite
Soatrix
Temple of Jupiter Mesembria
Cape of Mount Hæmus
Anchiale
Panysus R.
Mount Hæmus
Sardica
Orbelus
Orbelia
Elea
Dentheletœ
Graveians
Ulpia Pautalia
Garesius
Trallians
Usudama
Sarazane
Pontus R.
Hebrus R.
Tonzus R.
Oruzize
Zela
Lake of Dercetum
Dercetum Colony
Apollonia
Thera
Chersonesus
Peronticum Sea
Scylla
Philopolis
Phylia or Phrygia
Agathopolis
Andrapa
Thynias
Salmydessus
Thraces
Melinophagi
Thracians of the Mountains
Cyaneæ Isles
Delta of Thrace
Cenophrurium
Bergulæ
Dnisipara
Turulum
Bithyans Melandeptœ
Bisanthe
Arzus
Apros Colony
Tonzos
Cabyla
Byzia
Cenicians
Agrianes
Carpodecmum
Nicete
Burdiple
Olympias Afterwards Hadrianpolis
Agrianes R.
Contestadus R.
Thoarus R.
Nice
Burtudizum
Histiodizum
Platinopolis
Dydimatichos
Mount Hæmus
Odessus
Erite
Soatrix
Temple of Jupiter Mesembria
Cape of Mount Hæmus
Anchiale
Panysus R.
Mount Hæmus
Sardica
Orbelus
Orbelia
Elea
Dentheletœ
Graveians
Ulpia Pautalia
Garesius
Trallians
Usudama
Sarazane
Pontus R.
Hebrus R.
Tonzus R.
Oruzize
Zela

A MAP of ILLYRICUM.

Roman Miles of 5000 Feet each.
10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

PANNONIA
DACIA
SAVIA
LIBURNIA
DALMATIA
MŒSIA
UPPER MŒSIA
DARDANIA
MACEDON
THE ADRIATICK or UPPER SEA
Gulph of Liburnia
The Flanatick Gulph
Gulph of Illyricum
Gulph of Apollonia.
Isles of Diomede
Scardona Isle
Abyrtidis Island
Carni
Emona
Noviodunum
Quadrata
Prætorium
Nauportum
Municipium
Torgiste
Ningum
Mount Albius
Clopis R.
Volsera
Metulum
Japydes
Romula
Bibium
Varcians
Flanona
Tarsatica
Arupinum
Vengum
Pola Colony
Parentium Colony
Alvone
Senia
Mount
Lopsica
Arucia
Curcum
Tediastum
Stlupi
Oriopala
Varvaria
Liburnians
Bumum
Mount Ardius
Salvia
Vardeians or Ardians
Vegia
Assisa
Petvis
Argyruntum
Blandona
Aleta
Enona
Jadera Col.
Arausa
Equum Col.
Scardona
Prætorium
Andetrium
Tragurium
Salona Col.
Titius R.
Boa I.
Issa I. and City
Pharos I.
Pharos
Brattia
Pegnum
Ratiancum
Narona Colony
Illyricans
Dallunum
Tributium
Onæum
Nutria
Epidaurus Colony
Corcyra the Black I.
Mehta I.
Ascrivium
Ancona Col.
Potentia Col.
Fermum Colony
Truentum R.
Asculum
Adria Colony
Pinna Col.
Ostia Aterni
Cape Garganum
Mount Garganus
Sipontum Colony.
Aufidus R.
Arpi
Canna
Canusium
Tarentum
Egnatia
Beri
Cluinium
Bulua
Dodea
Rhizon
Ænate
Ditiones
Deriopes
Altius
Leusaba
Sarnada
Bulsinium
Adra
Ceraunii
Saloniana
Daorisian
Petra
Old Bistua
New Bistua
Pyreians
Delminium
Nedinum
Mount Belbius
Tilurus R.
Drin R.
Lissus
Dindarid
Epidamnus
Dyrrachium Colony
Parthus
Albanopolis
Parthini
Illyricans
Taulantii
Apollonia
The Lake Lychnis
Lychnis
Acrolissus
Epicaria
Ulpianum
Scodra Colony
Drin or Drilo R.
Barbana R.
Labeates
Chinna
Clausula R.
Medeon
Enderoduni
Allata
Birziminium
Lissinium
Andarba
Saluntum
Siculotes
Barbana R.
Orizandus R.
Drin R.
Scordisci
Scardus
Mount Scardus
Sipanuntum
Enderum
Scupi
Axius R.
Europa on the Axius
Stoba
Mount Orbelus
Pelagonia
Lychnis
Nicea
Heraclea
Eriganus R.
Axius R.
Pompeios
Naissus
Timaci
Horrea on the Margus
Pincum
Idimum
Municipium
Viminacium Colony
Tricornium
Margus R.
Danube R.
Singidunum
Margus
Lederata
Taurunum
Budalia
Milaus
Cucci
Cusum
Tibiscum
Tibiscus R.
Cornacum
Teutoburgium
Mursa Colony
Antianes
Inucerum
Vanares
Mennenanes
Percentinum
Servitium
Urbate
Cirtisa
Cibalis
Ulmos
Sirmium Colony
Saldis
Mount Aurens
Save R.
Drave R.
Danube R.
Nestus R.
Argentaria
Melcomeni
Sidrona
Mount Orbelus
Mount Scardus
Mount Hemus
Mount Rhodope
Hemus
Mount
Stoba

THE

Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK XLV.

§. I. ROME blamed her Generals for the Superiority, or Equality, which they had ſuffered the King of *Macedon* to gain in the laſt three Years. In the Senate, in the Aſſemblies of the People, and in private Converſation, every *Citizen* murmured at it. As they were all obliged to bear Arms, and as moſt of them had already been many Years in the Service, they thought they had a Right to condemn the Conduct of the late Generals, without Pity. Theſe Speculators, who were ſafe at home, ſettled all the Marches for the Armies in the *Levant*. They determined the Times and Places where Battels ought to have been given, according to their own Notions of Things, or their Humour. They, in Imagination, paſt over to *Macedon*, fancied the Conqueſt of it muſt be eaſy, and reproached *Licinius* and *Hoſtilius* with Want of Bravery, or Activity. *Marcius* himſelf did not eſcape Reproaches. But the Multitude imputed his Inactivity to his Bulk. In ſhort, every one conſulted only his own Ardour to conquer *Perſes*, and was impatient that it was not yet done.

Year of ROME DLXXXIV. C. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS, CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO, *Conſuls.*

SUCH were the Diſpoſitions of the Minds of the People, when the Time came for electing new *Conſuls*. *Servilius Cæpio* was the only *Conſul* that was left in *Italy*; and he was recalled from the Place where he had made the Campaign, without acquiring any Glory, becauſe he had no Enemies to fight with. The Attention of *Rome* was wholly fixed on the enſuing Election. *Hannibal*, ſaid the People, *found a Conqueror at laſt, in the Elder* Scipio; Antiochus, *in the Younger, and* Philip, *in* Flamininus. *Can* Perſes *then, with only the Remains of his Father's Army, hold out long againſt all the Forces of a Republick, that has been victorious in* Africa, Europe, *and* Aſia? *Let us find out a Man who will recover the Glory which the three* Conſuls *have ſuffered us to loſe! Let us not have any Regard to the Intrigues of the Candidates for the* Conſulate, *or chuſe any Man out of Favour! If we longer delay to ſubdue* Perſes, *we ſhall run the Hazard of cauſing the Republick to loſe the Superiority ſhe has gained, in the Eaſt, and South.* This was reaſoning juſtly; and in the next *Comitia*, the People acted with that Impartiality which they ought always to have ſhewn in the *Campus Martius*. After much Conſideration, they thought it neceſſary to bring again upon the Stage, a Man who had been forgotten for thirteen Years; was of an advanced Age, being near ſixty; and was wholly employed in the Care of his Family, and the Education of his Children. This Hero was *Paulus Æmilius*. The *Romans* reſolved at laſt to draw him out of the Obſcurity in which they had obſtinately buried him, all the fineſt Part of his Life. After his firſt *Conſulſhip*, which was famous for one of the moſt glorious Victories the Republick had ever gained over the *Ligures*, they had ill rewarded him for his Services, and had kept him out of that firſt Dignity, which he had ſtood for, more than once, without Succeſs. This is the Fate of the greateſt Men, in Republican States. The common People do them Juſtice in their Hearts; but their Affections are ſo divided and loſt among the Multitude of the Candidates, and their Inclinations are ſo much thwarted by the moſt Ambitious, that they often produce no Effect. The Eſteem which the People entertained for *Paulus Æmilius*, did not revive till the Wants of the Publick made it neceſſary. He was indeed a Great Man, and it is highly proper that we ſhould give a juſt Repreſentation of his Conduct, Life, and Character, before his Glory raiſed him, tho' a little late in Life, even above Jealouſy itſelf.

§. II. *PAULUS*

Year of ROME DLXXXIV.
Q. Marcius Philippus, Cn. Servilius Cæpio, Conſuls.
Plut. Life of *Paulus.*

§. II. *PAULUS ÆMILIUS* was born of a *Patrician* Family. The Genealogiſts make him to have deſcended from one [1] *Mamercus*, the Son of *Pythagoras*, who was ſurnamed [2] *Æmilius*, for the Sweetneſs of his Eloquence, and the Eaſe and Politeneſs with which he ſpoke his Mother-Tongue. But be that as it will, this at leaſt is certain, That the *Æmilian* Family, for ſeveral Generations together, produced Men of known Probity, and conſtant Succeſs. The Father of the Hero we celebrate was the firſt of that Family who ſunk under the Calamities which befel the Republick. He was *Conſul* at the Battel of *Cannæ*, and periſhed there; more thro' the Fault of an unworthy Collegue, than for any Want of Ability in the Art of War. This unfortunate Father left but two Children; a Daughter named *Æmilia*, who was married to *Scipio Africanus*; and a Son, who ſurpaſſed his Anceſtors, both in Glory, and Succeſs. This was the *Paulus Æmilius* whoſe Exploits we are going to relate. He did not devote the firſt Years of his Life, as the young Nobility of his Time did, to making Declamations; which were more proper to gain him the Applauſe of the Multitude, than to make him uſeful in Arms. He was no Flatterer of the People, would not ſervilely make Court to them, and make his Way to great Employments by careſſing ſome, embracing others, and cringing to all. He loved Virtue, and cultivated nothing elſe. Not that he wanted the neceſſary Talents for ſhining as an Orator. But he preferred Juſtice and Valour before them. A Love of Duty was his Cardinal Virtue. This he ſhewed in all the Offices to which the Republick promoted him. When he was [3] *Ædile*, he filled the City with Plenty; managed the Expences of the publick *Games*, without Thrift, or Profuſeneſs; and kept the Temples and publick Buildings in decent Repair. When *Augur*, he ſtudied the Principles of the Art of Divination, corrected the Abuſes of it, made new Regulations in it, and raiſed it out of the Contempt into which it was fallen. He re-eſtabliſhed the *Augurate* upon the Foot on which it ſtood at its firſt Inſtitution; and that not ſo much out of Superſtition, as from a [4] Senſe of his Duty. When *Prætor* in *Spain*, and put at the Head of an Army for the firſt time, he learnt by ſlight Diſadvantages, how to conquer ever after. He profited even by his Loſſes; and ſoon found Means to repair them an hundred fold. When *Conſul* the firſt time, he, with an Army of eight thouſand *Romans*, defeated forty thouſand *Ligures*, pacified their Province, and after he had forced them to deliver up their Ships, reſtored Tranquillity to the Coaſts of *Italy* and *Spain*, which had been ravaged by the Pyrates.

After his firſt *Conſulſhip*, he retired; but did not perfectly enjoy the Sweets of a private Life. A virtuous, but diſagreeable Woman, was a more inſupportable Burden to him, than the Fatigues of War, or the Weight of publick Affairs. He had two Sons, and two Daughters by her. The former ſeemed to promiſe Heroiſm; but even theſe lovely Children could not leſſen the Father's Diſlike to [5] *Papyria* their Mother. Tho' a *Conſul*'s Daughter, he was determined to divorce her;

1 *Plutarch* here carries up the Origin of the *Æmilian* Family to *Mamercus*, the Son of *Pythagoras* the Philoſopher; tho' this Hiſtorian himſelf had already ſaid, in his *Life of Numa*, that the *Æmilii* were deſcended in a right Line from another *Mamercus*, a Son of the ſecond King of *Rome*, who took his Name from one of the Sons of *Pythagoras*. So that ſo manifeſt a Contradiction gives us a juſt Prejudice againſt the Faithfulneſs of the ancient *Roman* Genealogiſts. Beſides, this Deſcent ſeems to be as chimerical, as the Opinion of thoſe who had ſuppoſed, without Proof, that *Numa Pompilius* was Contemporary with that Philoſopher. Whereas there were at leaſt an hundred and thirty ſix Years between them. See what we have ſaid on this Subject, *Vol.* 1. According to ſome others whom *Feſtus* mentions, *Aſcanius* had two Sons, one named *Iulus*, the other *Æmilius*: from whom, ſay they, the *Æmilii* deſcended. This has been the Folly of Men in all Ages. They have ever been fond of great Names, and laying Claims to Nobility, at leaſt upon very uncertain Foundations.

2 The *Romans* took their Name *Æmilius* from the *Greek* Term ἰμαλὸς; and gave it the ſame Signification.

3 *Plutarch* affirms, that *Paulus Æmilius* obtained the *Ædileſhip*, preferably to twelve Competitors, who were famous for their high Birth, Men of great Merit, and were all raiſed to the higheſt Employments in the *Roman* Republick.

4 According to *Plutarch*, *Paulus Æmilius*'s Maxim was, That the leaſt Failure of a Magiſtrate in Point of Duty, was of dangerous Conſequence. *Hence*, ſaid he, *the Subverſion of States. Great Revolutions are ſeldom begun by great Crimes. The Way is firſt paved for them by the Indolence of Magiſtrates. The Conſequence of their Negligence is Impunity, and a Contempt of the Laws. Whereas the Vigilance and Steddineſs of a Magiſtrate is the ſureſt Fence againſt the Progreſs of Impiety, and the Enterprizes of Profligates.* And upon the ſame Principle, he was, when a General, very exact in keeping up military Diſcipline.

5 *Papiria*, the Wife of *Æmilius Paulus*, was the Daughter of *Caius Papirius Maſo*: who was raiſed to the *Conſulate*, in the Year of *Rome* 522; and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the Victory he gained over the *Corſicans*.

but before he did ſo, diſcovered his Deſign to his Friends. Theſe asked, *Whence can theſe Quarrels and Diſcontents proceed?* Papyria *is handſome, prudent, and you have had Children by her, which are both your Hopes and ours.* Which Reproaches he only anſwered by ſhewing them his Feet. *Theſe Shoes*, ſaid he, *are new, and well made, and yet I muſt change them. No Body feels where they pinch me, but myſelf.* Whether this was then a new Way of ſpeaking, or not, *Æmilius* thereby diſcovered to his Friends the true Cauſe of the Separation. In the married State, the Perſons that are in Appearance moſt happy, are often found to be of very incompatible Tempers, which deſtroys all their Harmony and Peace. They appear happy Abroad, but are very miſerable at Home. Little Faults, and continual Reproaches raiſed ſuch a Sowerneſs in their Minds, and ſuch a Diſlike to one another, as makes it impoſſible for them to live together, with any Contentment, or Satisfaction. Year of ROME DLXXXIV. C. Marcius Philippus, Cn. Servilius Cæpio, Conſuls

But if *Paulus Æmilius* was unhappy on one Hand in a termagant Wife, he was no leſs happy on the other, in his Children. He educated them with Care, had the beſt Maſters brought from *Greece*, to poliſh their Minds with Science, and to form them to all bodily Exerciſes. He himſelf inſpected the Leſſons that were given them, and his Preſence made them the more eager to learn. Before he gave them a Mother-in-Law, he transferred his two Sons, by Adoption, into other Families, and married his two Daughters. The eldeſt of his Sons was adopted into the Family of that [6] *Fabius Maximus*, who had been five times *Conſul*; and the youngeſt into the *Cornelian* Family. The weak Son of *Scipio Africanus* adopted him; and from being his [7] Couſin-German, he became his Father. From that time, young *Æmilius* bore the Name of *Scipio*, and will ſoon make himſelf known by the Appellation of *Scipio Æmilianus*, or which is more for his Honour, by that of *The Second Africanus*. As for his Daughters, *Æmilius* married them into the two Families, which were in the higheſt Reputation for Virtue, of any in *Rome*. *Cato* the *Cenſor* choſe one for his Son; and the other was married to *Ælius Tubero*. So that the firſt was gone into a wealthy Family, where an affected Severity of Manners was a Cloak for Avarice, and Ambition. The ſecond readily conformed herſelf to that Frugality, and Auſterity of Life, which was practiſed by the [8] *Tubero's*, whoſe Virtue ſupplied the Place of Riches, and whoſe Love of Philoſophy ſeemed to be hereditary.

§. III. Such was this *Paulus Æmilius*, on whom *Rome* caſt her Eyes, to raiſe him a ſecond time to the *Conſulate*. He was now enjoying the Delights of a private Life, with a ſecond Wife, who was very complaiſant to him, and by whom he had two Sons. The Diſlike he ſeemed to have for publick Affairs, and the Hurry of Arms was the only Obſtacle that was apprehended to his Promotion. How could the People prevail on a Man, who was exaſperated with the Refuſal he had more than once met with, and who had now been long ſettled in an honourable Retreat? However, the *Romans* thought they had found out the Means effectually to induce him to appear again among the Candidates for the *Conſulate*. They employed his Sons, Sons-in-law, and their Families, to entreat, pray, and ſollicit him, to ſuffer his Name to be put in the Liſt. His Houſe was continually beſet by his Relations and Friends. Nay, the People courted him to be *Conſul*, with as much Earneſtneſs, as the Ambitious uſed to court great Employments. The *Citizens* ſurrounded his Door every Morning, and by their Shouts, ſhewed their Impatience to ſee him at the Helm of Government, and the Head of their Armies. He therefore could not but comply with ſuch earneſt Sollicitations. The Love of his Country prevailed over his well-grounded Reſentments.

6 *Plutarch* here follows the Opinion of thoſe, who pretended that the eldeſt Son of *Paulus Æmilius* was adopted by the Son of that *Fabius Maximus*, who had the Surname of *Cunctator*, or *The Temporizer*. But others have thought that this Adoption was made by the Grandſon of the Great *Fabius*. However, *Æmilius*'s Son laid aſide the Name of his Family, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Times, to aſſume that of his adoptive Father. The Name of *Æmilianus* which he retained, ſhewed the Family from which he ſprung. He had a Son named *Quintus Fabius*, an Orator, who was famous for his Eloquence.

7 *Scipio Africanus* had married *Æmilia*, the Siſter of *Paulus Æmilius*, and conſequently their Children were Couſin-Germans.

8 According to *Plutarch*, and *Valerius Maximus*, the *Ælius-Tubero's* were ſixteen in Number, and had only one ſmall Houſe in the City among them. They cultivated a very ſmall Eſtate in the Neighbourhood of *Veii*; there lived in common; and were contented with the little it produced for their Support. The Auſterity of Life, which *Ælius Tubero* profeſſed, was followed by his Son *Quintus Ælius Tubero*, which he had by the Daughter of *Paulus Æmilius*. This Son was one of the moſt famous Stoicks of his Age.

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L. Æmilius Paulus, C. Licinius Crassus, Conſuls.

As ſoon as he had conſented to be elected, *Rome* thought the Victory certain, and looked on *Perſes* as infallibly defeated. When *Æmilius* went to *The Field of Mars*, the People imagined they ſaw him going up the *Capitol* with the Train and Glory of a triumphant Victor. They were probably unanimous in his Election; and the Collegue they gave him was one *Licinius Craſſus*, a Man of Probity, who made it Matter of Duty, to give up all the Prerogatives of the *Conſulate* to the eldeſt. It was determined, without drawing Lots, That *Paulus Æmilius* ſhould make the Campaign in *Macedon*. This was agreeable to the Inclinations of the People, who had not drawn him out of his Retreat, but to ſet him againſt a Rival, who had been too long dreaded, whoſe Forces increaſed every Day, and who would indeed have been more formidable, if his Avarice had not prevented it. Under any other General, *Rome* could not depend on the Reduction of *Macedon*. So that *Paulus Æmilius* left the *Comitia*, amidſt the Acclamations of a Crowd of *Citizens*, who were zealous to attend him. The firſt Perſon he met when he came into his Houſe, was his Daughter *Tertia*. By her Name, and Age, it is eaſy to judge, that ſhe was his *third* Daughter, and the eldeſt of thoſe that were left at Home. This Child drew near to her Father, in great Grief of Heart, and to his Surprize, liſping ſaid, *Perſes is dead*. This was the Name of a Dog, which was a great Favourite with little *Tertia*: And the new *Conſul* ſeemed to think there was ſomething prophetical in the Occurrence. *I accept the Augury*, replied the Father to the Child; *May the Gods fulfill the Prediction you have brought me!* But in reality, the wiſe Magiſtrate, though an *Augur* himſelf, looked on the Child's Words as a mere Accident, which did not preſage any thing of Conſequence.

Plut. Life of *Paulus*. *Cicero de Divin.*

THEN *Paulus Æmilius* made it his whole Buſineſs to make Preparations for the War; and loſt not a Moment's time, either in domeſtick or civil Affairs. The firſt Office belonging to his new Dignity was to harangue the People, according to cuſtom, and thank them for his Promotion. But how little did his Diſcourſe reſemble thoſe of his Predeceſſors! There was no Meanneſs, no baſe Flattery, in it. He remembered, That his Election was not Matter of Favour; and That the *Romans* were more obliged to him for complying with their Sollicitations, than he to them, for honouring him with their Suffrages. So that he uſed no Ceremony; but ſpoke more like a Man in Authority, than an humble Client, affected with a deep Senſe of the Favours of his Protectors. *In my firſt* Conſulſhip, ſaid he to the Commons aſſembled, *I returned you Thanks for the Honour to which you had raiſed me. You then advanced me to the high Station which I deſired. But now you have forced me from the Tranquillity I enjoyed amidſt my Houſhold-Gods. You wanted a General, and forced me to accept the Office. Wherein then am I obliged? Am I indebted to you for my Poſt, or you to me for having accepted it? By your Proceedings I judge, that your Confidence in me proceeds from ſome little Eſteem for my paſt Services; and if then you have Value enough for me, to think me worthy to lead your Armies, don't defame me, when I am abſent. Hitherto your Generals have been but too often loaded with Calumny. You who ſit quietly in the Port, would fain govern the Ship, which is ſtruggling with a Storm. You have often charged your Generals with Cowardice, or Inſufficiency, without knowing either the Time or Place, proper for giving Battel. Ought I then to expect better Treatment? Nay, even Orders have been ſent from hence to* Macedon, *which were unſeaſonable. Our Commanders have been governed by People at a Diſtance; and not left at Liberty to exerciſe their Valour and Prudence as they judged proper. But I deſire you would give me leave to take Advantage of Events, and act with Liberty. Otherwiſe you will diſcourage me. I don't pretend to ſo much Philoſophy, as the Great* Fabius, *who was not affected with your Murmurings. Nor ſhall I pretend to aſſume a deſpotick Power over my Army. I ſhall ask, and follow the Advice of the Officers which ſhall attend me, and which I ſhall employ. In a Word, leave the Management of the Enterprize you intruſt me with, to me, and I will do my utmoſt not to fruſtrate your Expectations.*

§. IV. THIS Diſcourſe only raiſed the Expectation of the Publick, and encreaſed the Eſteem they had of the General. They were pleaſed with his Freedom; and took even his Reproaches in good part. And the Senate were as ready to accept the Repreſentations of *Paulus Æmilius*, as the People. Theſe two ſovereign Powers

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Powers concurred to ſatisfy his Deſires. Before his Departure he made ſome wiſe Regulations; and all the People ſaw, that ſuch proper Precautions could not fail of happy Succeſs. In the firſt Place *Paulus Æmilius* ordered, That three Men, who well underſtood the Art of War, ſhould go immediately to *Macedon*, and examine upon the Spot, into ſeveral Particulars, which it was of Conſequence for him to know before he left *Italy*. The *Conſul* wanted to be informed, *1ſt*, Of the exact Place where *Marcius* was then encamped; whether he had gone through all the narrow Paſſes of the Mountains that ſurrounded *Macedon*; and whether he was gone ſo far, that he might be ſaid to be in the Enemy's Country. *2dly*, In what Diſpoſition the Allies of *Rome* were; what Nations continued faithful to her; and what Kings and Republicks ſeemed either to ſtand neuter, or to be wavering. *3dly*, Whether he could depend, on thoſe Magazines of Proviſions which his Predeceſſor had laid up; on the Roads he had mended for the Convenience of Carriage; and on the Cities which were to furniſh the *Roman* Armies with their Subſiſtence. Upon theſe minute Informations *Paulus Æmilius* was to regulate the Operations for the Campaign; and to form his Plan accordingly. The Deputies [9] ſet ſail without Delay, and though twice driven back by a Storm to *Dyrrhachium*, arrived at length in *Theſſaly*; and till their Return, *Rome* was wholly employed in Preparations for the War, under the Direction of *Paulus Æmilius*.

Six *Prætors* had been already choſen in the ſame *Comitia* as the *Conſuls*; and their Provinces were aſſigned them by Lot. *Bæbius* continued at *Rome*, there to judge both the Cauſes of *Citizens*, and of Foreigners. *Anicius Gallus* was appointed to ſucceed *Claudius*, in *Illyricum*. *C. Octavius* had the Command of the Fleet, which was to act under the *Conſul* in *Macedon*. *Ebutius Elva* was to govern *Sicily*. *Papirius Carbo*, *Sardinia*; and *P. Fonteius*, *Spain*. All prepared to ſet out for their reſpective Provinces, and waited only for the Diſtribution that was to be made of the *Roman* and Auxiliary Troops. *Paulus Æmilius* was ſo intent upon his Schemes, that he ruminated upon them Day and Night. He was excuſed the Trouble of making the Levies. A Commiſſion was given for that Purpoſe, to his Collegue *Licinius*; and in the mean time, *Æmilius* got the Senate to paſs a new Decree, in relation to the Command of the eight new *Legions*, which were going to be raiſed. He had, doubtleſs, obſerved, that theſe important *Corps*, had only Favourites at the Head of them, who little deſerved the Offices that were given them. It was therefore determined, That all the *Legionary Tribunes* ſhould be choſen out of thoſe, who had been promoted to Magiſtracies; That the People ſhould chuſe one half, and the Generals the other; and That *Paulus Æmilius* ſhould chuſe himſelf what Officers he pleaſed, and ſhould have the Preference before his Collegue and the *Prætors*. The Levies *Licinius* made for *Macedon*, amounted to ſeven thouſand Foot, and two hundred Horſe, all choſen out of the *Citizens* of *Rome*. To which were added, ſeven thouſand other Foot raiſed in *Latium*, and four hundred Horſe; beſides ſix hundred *Gallic* Horſe. This was a conſiderable Reinforcement for the Army that *Marcius* then commanded in the *Levant*. As to the Camp that *Licinius* was to have in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, it was to conſiſt only of two *Legions*, each containing of ſix thouſand Foot, and three hundred Horſe, This was enough to keep the Country in Subjection. It was alſo ordered, that ſuch of theſe Troops, as were leaſt inured to Diſcipline, ſhould be put in Garriſon. As to *Anicius*, who was nominated to make War in *Illyricum*, the Army *Claudius* then commanded there, was increaſed with an Addition of ten thouſand auxiliary Foot, and eight hundred Horſe, beſides the two *Legions* he was to carry over with him. And laſtly, the Fleet which was to be commanded by *Octavius* was recruited with Rowers. Five thouſand were added to thoſe already on board. The reſt of the Winter was ſpent in Works of Religion, and Shows. The Magnificence of the publick *Games* increaſed, in Proportion, as the Riches of the Republick did. It was obſerved, that in this Year there were ſhewn to the People ſixty three Oſtriches, forty Bears, and a good Number of Elephants.

9 The Senate ordered *Cneius Servilius Cepio*, the *Conſul* for the laſt Year, to nominate the three Deputies which were to go into *Macedon*, to inform *Paulus Æmilius* of the State of Affairs; and the Perſons he nominated were *Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus*, *Aulus Licinius Nerva*, and *Lucius Bæbius*.

§. V. In

Year of ROME DLXXXV. L. Æmilius Paulus, C. Licinius Crassus, Conſuls.

§. V. In the mean time *Paulus Æmilius* waited only for the return of the Deputies ſent to *Macedon*, before he ſet out for his Province. He declared this to *The Conſcript Fathers*, and deſired his Collegue *Licinius* to embark immediately after him, the Troops that were to follow him into the Eaſt. In a little time, theſe Deputies which had been ſo long expected, arrived; and *Æmilius*'s Impatience to hear their Report was ſo great, that he would have aſſembled the Senate the Moment they appeared, had it not been Night. Early in the Morning *The Conſcript Fathers* were convened, and the Deputies made their Report to them in theſe Words. *After the moſt exact Enquiries that we could make, what we find may be moſt certainly depended on, in relation to the State of our Affairs in the* Levant, *is this.* Marcius *has forced himſelf a Way through the Paſſes into* Macedon; *but with more Danger, than Profit. He is entered into* Pieria, *a Province faithful to her King. The* Macedonian *now lies encamped on the Banks of the* Enipeus [10], *with a numerous Army, and ſhuts up the Entrance into his Provinces againſt our Troops. He is very well pleaſed to ſee our Troops linger away their time in a Camp, without hazarding a Battel; and at the ſame time we dare not attack him in his Lines. Beſides, the Winter is very ſevere in that mountainous Country; and the Cold, as well as their Inaction, helps to ſtarve our Soldiers. In the mean time the Proviſions are conſumed; and* Marcius *has no more Corn, than will laſt him eight Days. As for* Claudius, *who is encamped in the Neighbourhood of* Lychnis, *he might make a powerful Diverſion; but his Army is ſo weak, that it muſt ſoon periſh in* Illyricum, *if a Reinforcement is not immediately ſent to it. And the* Roman *Fleet is in as bad a Condition. The greateſt part of the Crews have been carried off by Sickneſſes; and the reſt are oppreſſed with Want. The Sailors continually deſert; and almoſt all thoſe of* Sicily *are returned Home naked, and ready to periſh with Want. Our old Allies are all wavering.* Eumenes *himſelf had no ſooner joined his Fleet to ours, but he immediately left us. He was as inconſtant as the Wind that brought him, and inſtantly altered his Mind. But the Fidelity of his Brother* Attalus *is immoveable. In fine, we cannot abſolutely depend on the* Rhodians; *neither ought we to deſpair of recovering the King of* Illyricum.

Liv. B. 44 c. 21.

This plain, but minute Narrative, alarmed *The Conſcript Fathers*; and *Paulus Æmilius* took his Meaſures according to theſe Informations. He haſtened the Preparations for his Departure, with an Expedition not to be parallelled. On *The Fifth of the Calends of April*, he took Poſſeſſion of the *Faſces*, and three Days [11] after, went to celebrate *The Feriæ Latinæ*, on *The Hill of Alba*. After a pompous Sacrifice, he was there robed in Form, with the Cloak, and military Habit. The next Day, that is, the firſt of *April*, he left *Rome*, attended by *Octavius*, who was to command the Fleet; and carried with him a Man of great Diſtinction. This was that *Sulpicius* [12] *Galbus*, who from being *Prætor* the laſt Year, was now forced to ſerve only as a *Legionary Tribune*.

Ex diario hujus anni inter Monumenta Ludovici Vivis.

With a fine Train of Officers of the greateſt Merit, *Paulus Æmilius* took the Road to *Brunduſium*, and went to embark there for *Macedon*. It was obſerved, that the *Romans* had never conducted any General to the Gates of their City,

10 *In the* French *it is* The Helicon *with the following Note.* [The River *Helicon* watered the City of *Dium* in *Macedon*. *Pauſanias* calls it *Baphyras*. It is thought to be the ſame River which *Ptolomy* calls *Pharybus*. After it has loſt itſelf under Ground, for the Space of twenty *Stadia*, or about one League, it appears again, and diſcharges itſelf into the *Ægean* Sea.] *But I have corrected it by* Livy, *and by the Authors themſelves*, Vol 12. p. 23. N. a.

11 We have yet preſerved a Fragment of thoſe ancient Tables, in which the *Pontifices* recorded, by way of Annals, all the Events of every Day, to ſerve as Memoirs for Poſterity; and there we find, that *Paulus Æmilius* began to exerciſe his Office of *Conſul*, on *The fifth of the Calends of April*, which anſwers to our 28*th* Day of *March*. This Monument at the ſame time informs us of a Fact, whereof we find ſcarce any Footſteps in the ancient Authors; which is, That the two *Conſuls* then preſided each his Day ſucceſſively; and That the *Faſces* were ſent by turns from the Houſe of one, to that of the other. This was not always the Cuſtom, as we have obſerved, in the courſe of this Hiſtory; and we ſhall ſee it vary again, in the firſt *Conſulſhip* of *Julius Cæſar*. Add to this, that the Exactneſs of theſe ancient Annals is plain, from this Fragment which *Ludovicus Vives* has tranſmitted to us. We may here obſerve the Care of the Annaliſts, in exactly fixing the Dates of Facts, though of the leaſt Conſequence. Such are the Accounts given of the different Prodigies that happened, of the Accuſations brought againſt ſome *Citizens*, of a Quarrel that happened in a Tavern between ſome People who were drinking there, of the Puniſhment of a Captain of Pirates who was condemned to be crucified, of the Death of a famous Woman in *Rome*, of the Magnificence of her Obſequies, &c.

12 *Cicero*, in his Book entituled *Brutus*, highly commends this *Caius Sulpicius Galbus*. He ranks him among the moſt eminent Orators, and thoſe who were beſt verſed in the *Greek* Learning. And to theſe Qualities, we may add that of his being an able Aſtronomer, as appears by *Livy*.

in greater Numbers, or with a more remarkable Chearfulneſs. You might, in a manner, read in all their Faces, their Hopes of ſeeing an End put to the War with *Perſes*, by a General, who was allowed to be brave, vigilant, and expeditious.

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§. VI. AND whilſt *Paulus Æmilius* was taking proper Meaſures at *Rome* to ſecure himſelf the Victory; *Perſes*, in *Macedon*, ſeems to have taken Pleaſure in ruining his own Affairs. He had an excellent Underſtanding, a great deal of Valour, and no leſs Artifice; and with theſe Qualifications he might have made Head againſt the *Romans*, preſerved his Territories, and deſtroyed the Dominion of the imperious Republick in the *Levant*. He conſidered things in very proper Lights; had begun important Negotiations with Succeſs; and had put the Sovereigns and Republicks of the Eaſt in Motion, againſt *Rome*. But a baſe Paſſion ſubverted the Schemes which he had ſo wiſely begun. He loved Money to exceſs; his Treaſure was the only God he worſhiped; and we ſhall ſee him become a memorable Example for Sovereigns, of the Calamities in which Avarice involves a Prince, who has given up his Heart to it. It loſt *Perſes* his Crown, and thoſe very Riches, which he idolized.

THE *Conſul Marcius*, and the King, had watched one another all the Winter, on the Banks of the *Enipeus*. But their Conduct had been different. The *Roman* General was wholly taken up with the Care of providing Subſiſtence for his Troops in an Enemy's Country. Whereas the King of *Macedon* turned even his Inaction to his Advantage. Never were Views more extenſive, or Enterprizes better concerted, than thoſe which he formed. He attempted to join all the Powers in the Eaſt, in a general League againſt the Weſtern People, his Enemies. The laſt Year he had ſent to ſollicit Succours quite to the North, and beyond the *Danube*. An Army of twenty thouſand of thoſe *Gauls*, who had ſettled on the Banks of the [13] *Boriſthenes*, and who afterwards were called [14] *Baſtarnæ*, drawn by the Promiſes of *Perſes*, had come from thence, and already gained the Frontiers of *Illyricum*, and diſperſed themſelves there. This Army ſeemed to conſiſt half of Horſe, and half of Foot; and were ſo drawn up, that every Foot Soldier fought by the ſide of an Horſeman; and when the latter fell, the former took his Place, and leaped on his Horſe, with ſurpriſing Activity. *Clondicus*, [15] one of the little Kings of the Country, was the General of theſe Barbarians. They uſed to live entirely by War; neglected cultivating their Lands; and hired themſelves to ſerve in the Armies of any Nations that would pay them. So that they expected to have received a conſiderable Pay from the King of *Macedon*. He had promiſed to give every Foot Soldier five Pieces of Gold, every Horſeman ten, and their General a thouſand. Upon the firſt News that the *Baſtarnæ* were arrived on his Frontiers, the King of *Macedon* left his Camp, attended by a Guard, and went to meet this Reinforcement. He gave Orders, that Proviſions ſhould be got ready in all the Places, through which theſe Foreigners were to paſs, and carried with him little Preſents for the Officers of the Army. But as to the Money which he had promiſed them, he did not pay it. *Perſes* was the moſt backward in his Payments of any Man living. He came into [16] *Mygdonia*, to a City called [17] *Almana*, on the Banks of the *Axius*; and from thence ſent a Meſſenger to *Clondicus*, and his Army, who were encamped in the Neighbourhood of *Deſudaba*, where they expected to receive their Pay. *Antigonus* came to them from the King of *Macedon*, and invited them to advance to *Bylazora* [18], a City of *Pæonia*. The Ambaſſador was at firſt ſurprized at the fierce Looks of theſe warlike Men. Their wild Air, the

13 The *Boriſthenes* is that great River, which is now known by the Name of the *Nieper*, or *Niepro*. After it has run through a vaſt Extent of Ground, it diſcharges it ſelf into the *Euxine*, or *Black Sea*, between *Little Tartary* and *The Ukrain*.

14 The *Baſtarnæ* inhabited (at leaſt it is conjectured that they did) thoſe Countries of *Sarmatia Europea*, which now contain *Black Ruſſia*, *Podolia*, and *Volhinia*.

15 *Appian* gives this King of the *Baſtarnæ* the Name of *Claelius*. But he is more commonly called *Clondicus*. It is obſerved that this was a common Name among thoſe barbarous Nations.

16 *Mygdonia*, an ancient Province of *Macedon*, contained the Countries lying between the Rivers *Axius*, and *Strymon*, and reached to *The Toronaic Gulph*.

17 *Turnebius* is of Opinion, that inſtead of *Almana* we ought to read *Albana*; and takes this City for that of *Albanopolis*, in *Albania*, ſituated on the Banks of the *Drilo*. But this Suppoſition neither agrees with the Rout the *Gauls* took, nor with the March of *Perſes*; as may eaſily be ſeen, by conſulting the Maps, and by *Livy*'s Narration.

18 *Sanſon* places *Bylazora* in *Pelagonia*, which was then one of the Cantons of *Old Pæonia*.

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Novelty of their Arms, and Way of Fighting, were enough to have terrified the *Romans* themſelves. *Antigonus* aſſured them, that as they advanced into the middle of *Macedon*, they would find plenty of Proviſions ready for them; and gave their Generals to underſtand, that the King his Maſter would make them Preſents of Habits and Horſes, as ſoon as they ſhould come to him at his Camp. But Men who were not uſed to ſell their Services for any thing but ready Money, were not to be deluded by theſe Hopes and Promiſes. *Clondicus* asked the Ambaſſador, whether he had brought the Sums agreed on; and upon his giving ambiguous Anſwers, ſaid to him, with an arrogant Air, *Begone then this Moment; and tell your King, that we will not ſtir from hence, till he has ſent us Money and Hoſtages.* Upon this Anſwer of *Clondicus*, *Perſes* called a Council; and dreading to take ſo large a Sum out of his Coffers, endeavoured to colour over his Avarice, with an Appearance of Concern for the publick Good. *I have conſidered*, ſaid he, *that there may be Reaſon to be ſuſpicious of ſo great a Number of Barbarians, in the Heart of my Dominions. Perhaps it would be better even to bring* Romans *there, than* Baſtarnæ. *Would it not be ſufficient to keep with us only five thouſand of their Cavalry, without any of their Infantry? We ſhould then have no Reaſon to be afraid of an Handful of Soldiers, who might be of Uſe to us, and give us no Umbrage.* The Council plainly ſaw upon what Motives the King's Speech was founded. It was viſible that his greateſt Fear was that of parting with his Money. But nevertheleſs, they out of Complaiſance entered into his Views; and even exaggerated the Danger, of ſuffering twenty thouſand Barbarians to enter a Kingdom, which was going to be attacked by an innumerable Multitude of *Romans*. Whilſt at the ſame time, an Hiſtorian of good Authority aſſures us, that *Paulus Æmilius*'s Army was to conſiſt of at leaſt a hundred thouſand effective Men. Ought not then ſo important a Conſideration to have weakened the idle Apprehenſions of *Perſes*, and made him leſs afraid of the Mercenaries which offered to ſerve him, than of the numberleſs Enemies which he had upon him? But how can any Man conquer a Paſſion, which he has once ſuffered to get the Dominion over him? The King ſent *Antigonus*, a ſecond time, to the General of the *Baſtarnæ*, with Orders to take only five thouſand of their Cavalry into his Maſter's Service, and to ſend back the other fifteen thouſand into their own Country. But the bare mention of it raiſed a general Murmur among theſe Malecontents, who had been brought out of their own Country, to be ſent back again, without Glory, or Reward; and all were enraged at it. However *Clondicus* kept his Temper. *Is then*, ſaid he, *the Money ready for five thouſand Horſe at leaſt, which you will vouchſafe to receive among your Troops?* Upon which *Antigonus* prevaricated anew, and gave only ambiguous Anſwers. Who then can expreſs the Rage of theſe twenty thouſand brave Men, when fruſtrated of all their Expectations? They had like to have cut *Antigonus* in pieces: But nevertheleſs, though Barbarians, they had Regard to the Laws of Nations. They decamped, and returned toward the *Danube*; but in their Paſſage, they vented their Rage upon *Thrace*. They deſtroyed, pillaged, and burnt to Aſhes, all the Places wherever they came. And *Perſes* did not then know, that this Heap of Gold and Silver, which he had partly inherited from his Father, and partly amaſſed together himſelf, would ſoon be a Prey for the *Romans*. He might have made uſe of it to conquer them; but he kept it to enrich them. In ſhort, if he had only paid the moderate Sums he had promiſed, he might have utterly deſtroyed the *Roman* Army, which was obliged to ſpend the Winter on the Banks of the [19] *Enipeus*. The *Baſtarnæ* might have entered into *Theſſaly*; ruined the Cities there from whence *Marcius* drew his Subſiſtence, without being ſuffered to enter into *Macedon*; and *Perſes* might have employed them in other uſeful Diverſions. But Avarice blinded this Prince, who was otherwiſe ſo full of great Projects. By ſending away the *Baſtarnæ*, he deprived his Army of all Hopes of being able to force the *Romans* to leave *Macedon*; and they ſtill continued there under *Marcius*, who thereby pretended to facilitate the Victories of *Æmilius*.

Plut. Life of *Æmilius*.

19 The *Enipeus*, a little River of *Phthiotis*, a Province of *Theſſaly*, roſe in Mount *Olympus*, watered the City of *Pharſalus*, and after it had joined the *Aſſidorus*, fell into the *Peneus*. *Thevet* has very improperly confounded it with the *Pharybus*, Strabo ſpeaks of another City of this Name in *Peloponneſus*, which ran into the *Alpheus*.

§. VII.

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§. VII. By another piece of Avarice, and Deceit, *Perſes* alſo rendered uſeleſs the Aſſiſtance of *Gentius*, King of *Illyricum*, whom he had ſollicited to break with the Republick his Enemy. This was the firſt Negotiation which He had laboured to conclude, during the Winter; and it was now far advanced. *Gentius* had immediately declared openly againſt the *Romans*, had it not been for the Delays which *Perſes* affected to make, in paying him the Money promiſed for equipping a Fleet, and levying Troops. However, the Extremity of the Danger forced him at laſt to feign a Readineſs to ſatisfy the Deſire of the *Illyrican*, that he might the more effectually deceive him for the future. The baſe Artifice he reſolved to make Uſe of, was this. He at length pretended to have determined to ſend to *Illyricum* the three hundred *Talents* *, which *Gentius* had demanded a Year ago. *Pantauchus*, a deceitful Man, and full of his Maſter's Spirit, was the Agent whom *Perſes* ſent to draw up the Articles of the Treaty with *Gentius*, and aſſure him of the *Macedonian*'s faithful Diſcharge of his part of it. The Ambaſſador found the King of *Illyricum* at *Medion* [20], in the Country of the *Labeates*. There the Alliance was made; and as ſoon as the Sum was agreed on, which was to be paid for the Expence of the War, the artful Negotiator eaſily prevailed on *Gentius* to take what Steps he pleaſed. In the firſt Place the *Illyrican* ſent away the Hoſtages *Pantauchus* had required, and with them an Ambaſſador named *Olympio*, to receive from *Perſes* his Hoſtages, and to make him ſwear to the Treaty. And with this Ambaſſador were joined two Men of Buſineſs, to receive, and bring, the Sums agreed on. At the Requeſt of *Pantauchus*, the *Illyrican* alſo ſent a new Deputation of two Perſons, who, when they came to *Macedon*, were to join with the Ambaſſadors *Perſes* was to ſend to *Rhodes*, to draw the *Rhodians* into a League with the two Kings againſt the *Romans*. All theſe Deputies began their Journey; but *Pantauchus* continued with *Gentius*, to haſten his declaring himſelf openly againſt *Rome*, by ſome ſignal Act of Hoſtility. He was continually exciting him to ſeize ſome Poſts of the *Romans* by Surprize, to take Cities, and to equip a Fleet, to chaſe the Ships of the Republick. In the mean time the *Illyrican* Ambaſſador came to *Macedon*, and drew near to the Banks of the *Enipeus*. *Perſes*, upon this News, left his Camp, and marched towards *Dium* [21], to receive him; which he did in an open Plain, in the Preſence of the *Macedonian* Horſe, whom the King was willing to have Witneſſes of his Alliance with *Gentius*. He firſt received the *Illyrican* Hoſtages, and then delivered up his own to *Gentius*'s Ambaſſador; ſo that after the Oaths were reciprocally taken, all that remained was to pay the Money. But to force *Perſes* to leſſen his Treaſures, was Death to him. Nevertheleſs he ſent the Envoys to [22] *Pella*, with Orders for the Money. But he took a ſtrange Step for a Great King. He ſent Directions privately to thoſe who had the Care of his Treaſury, not to ſuffer the *Illyricans* to carry away with them more then ten † *Talents*, inſtead of the three hundred * promiſed. As to the reſt, the Treaſurers undertook to convey it to *Gentius* themſelves; and gave the *Illyricans* Leave to ſeal up the Cheſts with their own Seals. Upon theſe Aſſurances the *Illyricans* ſet out for *Illyricum*, but the Waggons were a great while following them. The Convoy with the Money marched exceeding ſlowly, and advanced, by very ſmall Journies, towards the Frontiers.

* 58125 *l. Arbuthnot.*

Livy, B. 44. c. 27.

† 1937 *l.* 10 *s. Arbuthnot.*

* 58125 *l. Arbuthnot.*

And during this Management, which was carried on by order of *Perſes*, *Pantauchus* was ſtill labouring to draw King *Gentius* further into the Snare. He was continually ſtirring him up, to make all kinds of Attempts againſt *Rome*, and to proclaim his new Alliance by overt Acts. But in reality, the Money which the *Illyrican* expected, was a more powerful Incentive, than the Diſcourſes of *Pantauchus*. *Gentius* was ſoon informed, that the two hundred and ninety *Talents* were ſtopped on the Frontiers of *Macedon*, by the King's Order; fancied that the only Reaſon why it was not delivered up into his Hands was, that he had not yet given one ſignal Proof to the World of his new Engagement; and rightly judged, that he could not give a ſtronger Teſtimony of his Zeal, than by being guilty of

20 The Country of the *Labeates* in *Dalmatia* took its Name from a neighbouring Lake, which is now called the Lake of *Scutari*. But the Natives of the Country call it *Pantei*. *Scodra* was the Capital of this Canton.

21 *Dium*, a City of *Pieria* in *Macedon*, ſtood formerly at the Entrance into *The Thermaic Gulph*. We have ſpoken of it in the preceding Volumes. It is now called *Studia*, according to *Nardus*.

22 See what we have ſaid of *Pella*, *Vol.* 3.

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a publick Breach of the Law of Nations. *Rome* had then two Ambaſſadors at the Court of *Illyricum*; one named *Perperna*, and the other *Petillius*. Theſe Ambaſſadors had no Commiſſion from the Senate, for any thing but to bring over the *Illyrican* to the *Roman* Party, or at leaſt to engage him to ſtand neuter; and had not in the leaſt exceeded their Commiſſion. But nevertheleſs *Gentius* began his Acts of Hoſtility with them, and threw them into a Dungeon, under Pretence that they were not ſo much Ambaſſadors as Spies. This was a notorious Act of Violence, after which he could not hope for Pardon; and *Perſes*, who was alſo convinced of it, took that Advantage to indulge his Avarice. There was now a Neceſſity for the *Illyrican*'s going to War; and it ſeemed certain, that a part of the *Roman* Forces would fall on *Illyricum*. It was paſt doubt, that there would be a Diverſion made there; and this was enough for *Perſes*. He immediately ordered his Carts to turn about, and brought back his Money to his Cheſts: So that *Gentius* had no more for his Revolt than ten *Talents*. A poor Recompence for the important War, with which he was threatened!

Livy, B. 44. c. 24.

§. VIII. After this firſt Cheat which *Perſes* had put upon young *Gentius*, he attempted another on *Eumenes*; but not with equal Succeſs. *Eumenes* was old, had a perſonal Hatred to the *Macedonian*, and was his moſt declared Enemy. The *Roman* Republick had heaped many Favours on him, and had made his Dominions three times as large as before. Yet after all, among Sovereigns, Policy eaſily effaces the Remembrance of Benefactions, and ſtifles the moſt inveterate Enmities. Upon a Proſpect of preſent Intereſt, or upon ſome preſent Affront, all that is paſt is immediately forgotten. And upon this Principle *Perſes* thought it poſſible to draw the King of *Pergamus* himſelf into the general Scheme he had formed, of ſtirring up againſt the Republick all the crowned Heads, and all the Republicks, in the Eaſt. In the firſt Place, the Uneaſineſs which it muſt naturally give all Monarchs to ſee themſelves brought into Subjection to a foreign Senate and People, had much cooled the Zeal of *Eumenes* for the *Roman* Party; and then the bold Reſiſtance *Perſes* had made to the Efforts of three *Conſuls*, had piqued him with Emulation. He had ſerved the Republick his Benefactreſs but coldly, and careleſly, the laſt Year. Nay it is ſaid, That one *Cydas*, a *Cretan*, and an Officer in the Army of *Eumenes*, had firſt treated with *Chimarus*, one of his Countrymen in the Service of *Perſes*, near [23] *Amphipolis*; and that he had afterwards had a private Conference with *Menecratus* and *Antimarches*, two of the King of *Macedon*'s Generals, during the Siege of *Demetrias*. And theſe Conferences gave the latter ſuch Hopes of a Reconciliation between the two Kings, that *Perſes* thought he might venture to ſend an Embaſſy to *Eumenes*. The Pretence for it was, the Redemption of Captives, on both ſides; but the real Deſign was to carry on a Negotiation of more Importance. The *Macedonian* intended to draw off *Eumenes* entirely from the *Roman* Party. To this end, he repreſented to him by *Crypho* [24] his Ambaſſador, That there was ſomething monſtrous in an Alliance between a Republick and a Monarchy; That their Maxims of Government were abſolutely inconſiſtent; and That the *Roman* Republick in particular had nothing in view, but to make Kings deſtroy one another. *Was it not*, ſaid the *Macedonian* Ambaſſadors, *by theſe Artifices, that* Rome *made your Father* Attalus *take up Arms againſt* Philip? *Did not you your ſelf, my Lord, deceived by the Subtlety of the* Romans, *lend theſe Weſtern People your Aſſiſtance to overcome* Antiochus? *Were not the Wars between* Pruſias *and You, the Work of theſe Republicans? All they aim at, is to make you oppreſs one another. Will you then lend them your Aſſiſtance to deſtroy* Macedon, *and run the Hazard of ſeeing it ſubdued? There is but a little Way between us and you; and* Rome *will ſoon paſs it. She has already a great Footing in* Aſia. *If her Senate gives the leaſt Orders,* Syria *trembles. An Ambaſſador draws a Circle round* Antiochus *in the Sand, and the Monarch inſtantly renounces the Conqueſt of* Egypt. *A ſtrange Inſtance of the Arrogance of the politick* Romans, *who even now are not afraid to give* Pruſias *the Preference before you. Is it thus they treat their old Friends? Both their Contempt*

23 The City of *Amphipolis* in *Macedon* was ſo called, becauſe the River *Strymon* ſurrounded it on all ſides. The *Greeks* afterwards gave it the Name of *Chriſtopolis*. It is the ſame Place which *Holſtenius* calls *Chiſopoli*.

24 We here follow *Polybius*, who gives this Ambaſſador the Name of *Crypho*. *Livy* calls him *Eropon*. But whatever were his true Name, the latter tells us, that *Perſes* had ſent him twice to *Eumenes*, in quality of Ambaſſador.

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and your own Intereſt, my Lord, ought to induce you, either to break with them, or oblige them to make a Peace with Macedon. *Your Inaction only will be enough to make them deſpair of reducing the Eaſt.*

L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS, C. LICINIUS CRASSUS, Conſuls.

BUT *Eumenes* was too prudent, and too proud, to declare openly in favour of *Perſes*. On one Hand, the *Romans* intimidated him; and on the other, he ſtill retained ſome Hatred to the *Macedonian*, and looked upon him as an Aſſaſſin, who had put him in Danger of his Life. Beſides, to have enabled him to conquer the *Romans*, would have been promoting him to the higheſt Pitch of Glory; and his Jealouſy would not ſuffer *Eumenes* to gain too much Honour to a King, whoſe Grandeur might prove fatal to *Pergamus*. He therefore reſolved to promiſe *Perſes* nothing, but to become a Mediator, to obtain a Peace for him. The *Pergamian* flattered himſelf, that by leaving off to aſſiſt *Rome* with his Troops and Ships, he ſhould force her to hearken more readily to the Propoſals of the King of *Macedon*. Beſides, the *Roman* Republick, tired out with ſo doubtful a War, ſeemed not to be ſo untractable as formerly. The People and Senate were at laſt tired with the great Expences of Armies in the *Levant*. So that according to the preſent State of Affairs, the part of a Mediator ſeemed to be moſt ſafe, and moſt glorious for *Eumenes*. But he did not foreſee that the *Roman* Fleet was bringing into *Macedon*, in the Perſon of *Paulus Æmilius*, an Hero, who was capable of effacing in a few Months, all the Diſgrace, which his Predeceſſors had brought on the *Roman* Name.

THE King of *Pergamus* therefore reſolved to ſell the King of *Macedon* his Intereſt. He promiſed two things, and expected to have got conſiderable Sums of Money for each. One was to ſtand neuter; and the other to intercede with the *Roman* Senate. For ſtanding neuter only, he asked fifteen hundred *Talents**; and probably demanded much the ſame Sum, for his Interceſſion with the *Romans*. But be that as it will; (for the Hiſtorians are defective in that Particular.) *Perſes* offered *Eumenes* fifteen hundred *Talents*, in hopes of having one Enemy the leſs; and without Heſitation, gave Hoſtages for the Performance of his Promiſe. But when the time came for advancing the Money, or lodging it in proper Hands, the Avarice and Deceit of the *Macedonian* were very notorious. He would depoſite it no where but in the Iſland of *Samothracia*, which belonged to himſelf; and *Eumenes* in vain inſiſted, that it ſhould be lodged in a Country that belonged to neither Party; as for Inſtance, among the *Cretans*. *Perſes* indulged his Love of Money preferably to his greateſt Intereſts. *Eumenes* indeed inſiſted upon having the Reward ſecured for him, after he had done the Service required; but the *Macedonian* was fully bent on deceiving his Benefactor, after he had made uſe of his Credit, and Services: So that the only Effect of the Negotiation was, that it made the *Pergamian* ſuſpected by the *Romans*, and left the *Macedonian* as eaſy to be overcome, as before. And as to *Antiochus*, *Perſes* did not pretend to make uſe of any Means to engage him in the League, but bare Remonſtrances. He repreſented to him, by an Ambaſſador, That all Alliances between Monarchies and Republicks, had very ill Effects; and put him in mind, That he had very lately received ſufficient Cauſes of Reſentment, to make him ſhake off the *Roman* Yoke. But *Antiochus* was embaraſſed with a religious War with the *Jews*. *Jeruſalem* had been ſacked. The Temple of the true God had been profaned; and the few virtuous *Iſraelites* that were left, threatened the *Syrian* with a general Revolt. Beſides, having been brought up at *Rome*, he had been accuſtomed from his Youth to reverence nothing in Heaven or Earth, ſo much as the Dominion of the *Romans*.

* 290625 *l. Arbuthnot.*

§. IX. However, the *Rhodian* Republick was more eaſily ſeduced by *Perſes*. This Prince, in order to gain the *Rhodians*, made uſe both of Negotiations, and Force, at the ſame time. At firſt ſome Ambaſſadors from *Macedon* and *Illyricum* arrived at *Rhodes* together, and acted jointly in the Name of the two confederate Kings. *Dino*, one of the Heads of the *Rhodian* Republick, had already conceived a Diſlike to the *Romans*, and was inclined to favour the *Macedonian* Party. But *Thetetes* one yet kept up in the Hearts of the People, ſome weak remains of Affection for *Rome*; and it was therefore neceſſary to deſtroy it. Which *Perſes* did, in ſuch manner, as filled theſe Iſlanders with Terror. As ſoon as his Avarice had made him loſe *Eumenes*'s Alliance, and Interpoſition with the *Romans*; he thought it ne-

Polyb. in Legat. n. 87.

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ceſſary to arm againſt *Pergamus*, and deſtroy the *Pergamian* Fleets wherever he met them. To this end, he equipped forty light Ships, and five great Gallies, which he ſent together to cruiſe towards the Iſland of [25] *Tenedos*, under the Command of *Antenor*, and *Callippus*, two of his Admirals. This Squadron ſtruck Terror into all the Coaſts of *Aſia*, and the adjacent Iſlands. Nay, it alſo gained an Advantage over ſome *Pergamian* Ships. The latter were ſurrounding (in a Bay near *Caſſandrea*) fifty *Macedonian* Barks laden with Corn. But *Perſes*'s Squadron ſet them at Liberty, and chaſed the *Pergamenſes*. From thence it came, and fell on thirty five of *Eumenes*'s Galliots, which were carrying ſome Cavalry, and their Horſes to *Attalus*, in the *Roman* Camp. Theſe Soldiers were almoſt all *Galatians*, who were little uſed to the Sea. The Convoy was briskly attacked, and eaſily defeated by the *Macedonian* Fleet, near *Chio*. The *Pergamian* Admiral did not expect to meet with a *Macedonian* Squadron, in this *Road*. He at firſt took it for a *Roman* Fleet; but was ſoon undeceived. He judged by the Make of the Ships, and the manner of Working of them, that they were *Macedonians*; and the *Galatians* were not an equal Match for them. They were not made for Sea-fights. All they could do, was to run a Ground near the Coaſts of *Chio*; and the Men and Horſes, either ſwam to the Iſland as well as they could, or got aſhore at *Erythrea*. The Soldiers that landed at *Chio*, would fain have taken Refuge in the City; but the *Macedonians* landed after them, purſued them, killed about eight hundred of them, and made two hundred Priſoners of War.

From thence the *Macedonian* Squadron turned towards *Delos*. This was a free Port, at which all the Nations in the World touched. In this Iſland, and its Ports, all Hoſtilities ceaſed, between the moſt inveterate Enemies. The pacifick God who was worſhiped there, made them all Friends, at leaſt for a time; it was deemed a very great Crime to ſhed Blood in *Apollo*'s Preſence, or to pollute with it the Country which gave him Birth. There the *Roman*, *Macedonian*, and *Pergamian* Ambaſſadors all met together; and all very peaceably made their Offerings in the Temple. But as ſoon as they were got out at Sea again, Hoſtilities were renewed. *Antenor*, one of *Perſes*'s Admirals, took or ſunk all the Ships he could, that were not of his Party. The little *Roman* Fleet which carried the Ambaſſadors, long ſerved to guard ſome Barks of the Allies. But the *Macedonian* took one of them every Night. In ſhort, *Perſes*'s Squadron was become a Terror to the *Cyclades*; and theſe ſmall Advantages which it had gained, inclined the *Rhodians* to give a favourable Reception to the Ambaſſadors of *Gentius*, and *Perſes*. They made Harangues in the *Rhodian* Senate, and before the aſſembled People; and then *Thetetes* himſelf complied, and dropped his Oppoſition to the Demands of the two confederate Kings: So that the *Rhodian* Republick promiſed to do for *Perſes*, what *Eumenes* had refuſed him. She engaged not to lend the *Romans* Ships or Soldiers, and thereby oblige them to finiſh the War with *Macedon*, by a Peace, which ſhould be advantageous to all the Eaſt. How exceeding formidable then might *Perſes* have been, if Avarice had not blinded him? The Kingdoms of *Pergamus*, and *Illyricum*, aſſiſted by the *Baſtarnæ*, and without doubt by the *Syrians* too, if proper Meaſures had been taken for it, would have joined with the Republicks of *Rhodes*, *Ætolia*, and *Greece*, to have ſecured *Macedon*. Could all the Forces of the *Roman* People have withſtood ſo great a Number of Enemies? The common Intereſt of the Eaſtern Powers would have made them unite. But a ſordid Paſſion prevented their Union. Only the Alliance between *Perſes* and *Gentius* remained, to the utter Ruin of both; the Relation of which is one of the moſt entertaining Parts of the Hiſtory we are writing.

§. X. Very early in the Spring, the three Generals which *Rome* had appointed to make War in the *Levant*, arrived in *Greece*. The *Prætor Anicius* came firſt to ſucceed *Claudius*. *Illyricum* was the Province aſſigned him. It was no longer a doubt whether *Gentius* was an Enemy; he had declared openly againſt *Rome*, by a ſignal Act of Perfidiouſneſs. *Octavius*, who was nominated Admiral for the *Romans*, ſailed for *Eubœa*, and took Poſſeſſion of the Fleet, which was then rid-

25 *Tenedos* is a little Iſland of *Aſia Minor*, lying in the *Archipelago*. It was anciently called *Leucophrys*, according to *Pauſanias*. The Natives of the Country call it *Tenedo* to this Day. We have ſpoken of it in the preceding Volumes.

ing at Anchor in the Port of *Oreos*. As to *Paulus Æmilius*, he had a good Passage, and landed in *Theſſaly*; and as his Preparations had been made with Prudence, his Conqueſts were rapid. But we ſhall at preſent poſtpone them for a Moment or two; and begin with *Anicius*. This illuſtrious *Prætor* merited almoſt as much Glory, by the Defeat of the *Illyrican*, as *Paulus Æmilius* did by the Conqueſt of *Macedon*.

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GENTIUS had ſucceeded in the Throne of *Illyricum*, his Father *Pleuratus*, a Prince of a ſolid Underſtanding, who in the firſt Wars of the *Romans* in the *Levant*, had always adhered to the beſt Party. When *Pleuratus* died, he left only two Sons by his Wife *Euridice*; but this Princeſs, whom he had married a Widow, had had by her former Husband another Son, whom the King had adopted. As ſoon as the Eyes of *Pleuratus* were cloſed, the elder of the two Brothers ſlew *Plator* the younger; but out of Pity, ſpared the Life of *Caravantius*, his Brother by Adoption. He was jealous of his own Brother, on two Accounts. *Etuta*, or *Eſteva*, a beautiful Princeſs, the Daughter of the King of *Dardania*, was promiſed to *Plator*. *Gentius* fell in Love with her, and got rid of a Rival and a Competitor for the Throne together. So that he was a Fratricide, as well as *Perſes*; but in all other Reſpects, the *Illyrican* was inferior to the *Macedonian*. The latter had a good Underſtanding, and not a little Penetration. The former had but a poor Genius, and had more Levity, than even his Age could excuſe. The one was artful, and capable of deceiving. The other was ſimple, and eaſy to be impoſed on. *Perſes* was brave, and experienced in the Art of War. *Gentius* had no Valour, but that Raſhneſs and Precipitation, in which the Fire of Youth conſiſts, and which is often not regulated by Reaſon.

THIS *Gentius* had drawn the Reſentment of the *Romans* upon him, by the Act of Perfidiouſneſs beforementioned, for which the Author of it had but ill rewarded him. He therefore expected ſoon to ſee a part of the *Roman* Forces in his Dominions; and wanting Money for the Expences of the War, overloaded his People with Taxes, and made his Government odious. All *Illyricum* murmured at it. But *Gentius* abated nothing of the Impoſitions with which he oppreſſed them. He loved Wine, and in his drunken Fits, ſigned many Edicts, which were very oppreſſive to his Subjects. Till at length he compaſſed an Army of fifteen thouſand Men, which he aſſembled near [26] *Liſſos*. *Caravantius* commanded it under him. The two Brothers divided their Forces. *Caravantius*, with a Detachment of a thouſand and fifty Men, marched into the Country of the [27] *Cavii* to reduce it. He was very well received at [28] *Burnium*, but the City of [29] *Caravantis* ſhut her Gates againſt him; and there ended his Expedition for the King. The latter, with the reſt of his Troops, advanced towards [30] *Baſſania*, a City near *Liſſos*, and always faithful to the *Romans*; and laid Siege to it. *Appius Claudius* was then encamped with a ſmall Army on the Banks of the [31] *Genuſus*, otherwiſe called the *Panyaſus*; and was daily expecting his Succeſſor, the *Prætor Anicius*, to come, and take his Place. Accordingly *Claudius* received the News, that he appeared off *Apollonia*, with a Squadron of Ships, which the Republick ſent to the *Levant* to enlarge her Fleet. Upon which *Claudius* did not change his Camp, but waited for *Anicius* on the Banks of the *Genuſus*, where he arrived in three Days time, and took upon him the Command of the Troops.

Livy, B. 44. c. 30.

[26] *Liſſos*, a City on the Confines of *Macedon*, belonged to *Illyricum*. It ſtood on an high Hill, two Miles from the *Adriatick* Sea, near the Mouth of the *Drilo*, or the *Drin*. From this City to *Croia*, the Capital of *Albania*, it was reckoned to be twenty five Miles; and thirty five, to *Durazzo*. *Liſſos* is now called *Aleſſio*, according to *Sophian*.

[27] All we know of the *Cavii* is, that they inhabited a Canton of *Dalmatia*.

[28] *Ptolomy* mentions a City of *Burnium*, which places in *Liburnia*. *Pliny* ſays it belonged to *Dalmatia*. *Niger* pretends that it was the ſame place as *Grachova*, which belonged to the *Dalmatini*. In the Text of *Livy* we read *Durnium*. But this Name was unknown to the ancient Geographers.

[29] *Livy* is the only Author who mentions a City of *Caravantis* in *Illyricum*. It is ſuppoſed that it ſtood near Mount *Caravanca*, which partly divides *Upper Pannonia* from *Iſtria* and *Liburnia*.

[30] *Baſſania* was at a little Diſtance from the Mouth of the *Drilo*, and the neighbouring Gulph. It ſtill retains its old Name, in the new Maps.

[31] The River *Genuſus* watered the Weſtern part of *Macedon*. It diſcharges itſelf into the *Adriatick* Sea, between *Apollonia*, and *Dyrrachium*. *Ptolomy* calls it *Panyaſus*. Some now take it for the *Vaïuſſa*. Father *Briet* thinks it is the River which is now called *Arzenza*.

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THEN the whole Face of Affairs changed, upon the Arrival of a *Prætor*, who was a Man of Expedition, and a great Soldier. *Anicius*, whether he was willing to refreſh the Troops he had brought from *Italy*, or whether they were not yet arrived, took only a Body of Auxiliaries with him, and haſtened to the Relief of *Baſſnia*, which *Gentius* was beſieging. The Succeſs of the Enterprize depended on driving from the Coaſt ſome Barks belonging to *Gentius*, which infeſted it. They were many in Number, and commanded by *Pantauchus*. However, *Anicius* thought the Squadron he had brought with him ſufficient to chaſe theſe Pirates, which ravaged the Territories of *Dyrrachium* and *Apollonia*. Being lately come from the Coaſts of *Italy*, the Squadron was mighty well provided with Soldiers, Seamen, and Rowers: And it was only Matter of Diverſion to them, to put to flight and diſperſe ſome Corſairs who were little uſed to fight, but had been wholly employed in making unexpected Deſcents, and Pillaging. Upon ſight of the *Roman* Gallies the *Brigantines* put out to Sea, or fled in Diſorder to the neighbouring Places. By their Lightneſs alone one part of them eſcaped; whilſt the other part were either ſunk or taken by the *Romans*; who purſued after them, came up with them, and made them ſurrender at Diſcretion.

Liv. B. 44. c. 31.

§. XI. THIS firſt Succeſs of the *Prætor* was a good Omen of that of the reſt of the Campaign. Several *Illyrican* Cities came over to him; and preferred the amiable Government of *Anicius*, to the tyrannical Dominion of a vicious and covetous Prince. The *Prætorian* Army was no ſooner upon the March, but the King of *Illyricum* raiſed the Siege he had begun. He was affrighted before the Battel, and fled to [32] *Scodra* for Refuge. This City had long been ſubject to the *Illyrican*, and undergone many changes. It was formerly *Roman*, and afterwards returned to its old Maſters. Its Situation made it looked on as the Bulwark of *Illyricum*; and upon the taking of it, depended the Conqueſt of the whole Kingdom. It was indeed both one of the beſt fortified Cities in the World, and one of the moſt inacceſſible. Two Rivers ſurrounded it, one called the [33] *Clauſula* on the Eaſt-ſide, and another called the [34] *Barbana* on the Weſt. After they had watered *Scodra*, they both ran into the [35] *Oriundus*, which riſes in Mount [36] *Scodrus*. And this City was in the Center of the Territory of the *Labeates*, a Country which was itſelf difficult of Acceſs, on account of the great Number of Rivers, Lakes, and Streams in it. Beſides, *Gentius* was covering *Scodra*, with all the Forces in his Kingdom,

32 *Scodra* was then the moſt conſiderable City in *Illyricum*. It is to this Day one of the chief Cities of *Albania*, and is called *Scutari*. From this City to the *Adriatick* Sea, *Pliny* reckoned it to be eighteen thouſand geometrical Paces; and he places it on the Banks of the *Drilo*. But in this he does not ſeem to agree with *Livy*, who mentions only two Rivers here. One called the *Clauſula*, which watered the Eaſtern Quarter of *Scodra*; and another, which he calls the *Barbana*, and which watered the Weſtern part of this City. *Florus* is miſtaken when he ſays, that *Scodra* was the Capital of *Macedon*.

33 We know nothing more of the *Clauſula* than what *Livy* ſays of it. Neither the ancient nor modern Geographers mention it.

34 The *Barbana*, according to ſome Geographers, riſes near the Mountains of *Albania*, and after it has run into *The Lake of Scutari*, continues its Courſe, till it comes beyond the Territory of *Scodra*, and diſcharges itſelf into the *Adriatick* Sea, between *Dolcigno*, and *The Gulph of Illyricum*, where it is called *Boiana*. This is the Account *Bandran* gives us of this River, in his Geographical Dictionary. But if we follow *Livy*, we muſt ſay that the *Barbana* riſes in the Lake *Labeatis*, or *Scutari*, and falls into the *Oriundus*. So that one of theſe Authors ſeems to be miſtaken, either the modern Geographer in taking the *Barbana* for the *Oriundus*; or *Livy*, in ſaying of the *Oriundus* what belongs to the *Barbana*. And in order to determine this with Certainty, it muſt firſt be known, which of the two Rivers loſes its Name, at the Place where they join. Nor do the Maps agree better as to the Situation of theſe two Rivers. Whence we may judge of the Uncertainty of the ancient Geography. Nevertheleſs moſt agree, in placing the Springs of the *Barbana* beyond the Lake, into which it runs. Add to this, that we cannot make Senſe of *Livy*, without ſuppoſing that he thought the *Barbana* roſe at the Place where it comes out of the Lake of *Scutari*, from whence it runs to the Sea, and falls into it, near the Mouth of the *Drilo*. We have followed this Conjecture as the moſt probable, with reſpect to the Situation of *Scodra*. We cannot fix it otherwiſe, without contradicting that Author.

35 The ancient and modern Geographers by no means agree as to the River *Oriundus*. Some as *Ptolomy*, *Pliny*, *Ortelius*, *Henry de Valois*, and Father *Briet*, make it the ſame River as the *Drin*, or *Drilo*. Others make them two different Rivers. A Difference which cannot be determined with Certainty, without going to the Place. Nevertheleſs moſt are of the latter Opinion, upon the Credit of *Livy*, who ſeems to diſtinguiſh the *Oriundus* from the *Drilo*.

36 Mount *Scodrus*, ſometimes called *Scordus*, and more commonly *Scardus*, is a long Chain of Mountains between *Macedon* and *Upper Mœſia*, or *Servia*. It is there, ſays *Livy*, that the River *Oriundus* riſes; and after it has been enlarged by ſeveral other Rivers, it falls into the *Adriatick*. From this Opinion of the *Roman* Hiſtorian, moſt People have thought the *Oriundus* and the *Drilo* to be the ſame River. And indeed what he ſays of the former does agree as well with the latter. But thoſe Geographers who make them two Rivers, put the Springs of the *Oriundus* and the *Drilo*, at ſeveral Leagues Diſtance from one another.

and ſecuring himſelf a Retreat there againſt all Events. Nevertheleſs *Anicius* ventured to go over thither, in ſearch of him. His Army was more numerous than thoſe of *Prætors* generally were; and was not unlike a *Conſular* one. So impatient was *Rome* to puniſh Perfidiouſneſs, and avenge the Injury done her Ambaſſadors!

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AFTER he had ſurmounted all Obſtacles, the *Roman* appeared in the Neighbourhood of *Scodra*; and the *Illyrican* left the Plain, and retired for Safety behind the Walls of the City. Then *Anicius* took Advantage of the Terror he had ſtruck into the Enemy. The Diſcouragement of *Gentius* made the *Roman* the more bold. He drew near the Walls, and ordered the Towers to be ſurrounded, as if he intended to ſcale them. It is not to be imagined, that he would have pretended to have taken a City by Aſſault, which was defended by a whole Army, commanded by its King in Perſon. But the Boldneſs of the *Prætor* had at leaſt this good Effect, that it drew the *Illyrican* out of the Place into which he had retired. His Army marched out of the City, formed itſelf, and appeared ready to give Battel. But it did not maintain the Fight with ſo much Courage as it prepared for it. Upon the firſt Onſet, the *Roman Legionaries* put it into Diſorder. The *Illyricans* were hard preſſed, returned to the City, and above two hundred of them were ſtifled under the Gates, as they were endeavouring to enter them. And this ſingle Repulſe, tho' inconſiderable in itſelf, cauſed the Loſs of all *Illyricum*, and made *Anicius* Maſter of *Scodra*, and of the Perſon of the King. This weak and inconſtant Prince could find no Reſource but in a Submiſſion. Immediately after his Defeat, he ſent two *Illyricans*, of the chief of the Nobility, to the *Roman* Camp, to demand a Truce, to give him time to conſider what to do. *Anicius* granted him three Days. This was indeed a very ſhort one; but it was of Conſequence, not to give the King time enough to recover from his Fright. In a word, *Gentius* was diſmayed, trembled, was more vanquiſhed by Fear than the Arms of the Enemy, and had no Hopes left, but in his Brother *Caravantius*. This Prince was then in the Country of the *Cavii* [37], where he was to aſſemble a Body of Troops to come and reinforce the King's Army. But *Caravantius* could not come to him ſoon enough, ſince the Truce was to laſt but three Days. In order to haſten this Reinforcement, *Gentius* himſelf ſailed down the *Barbana*, and entered the Lake *Labeatis*. But his impatient Expectations were fruſtrated, and turned into Deſpair. No Succours appeared. So that the King returned back, up the River, on the third Day of the Truce, which was ready to expire; and the Renewal of the Attacks intimidated him. The cowardly King therefore demanded an Interview with the *Prætor*, and obtained Leave, as a Favour, to come to him at his Camp. How glorious was this for a *Roman Prætor* to ſee a King humbled at his Feet! *Gentius* came to the Audience in Tears, and ſhewed his Weakneſs by his Actions and Diſcourſes. *Mad that I was*, ſaid he, *to prefer the Alliance of a wavering Prince, who has deceived me, to that of a powerful and faithful Republick!* At which Words he threw himſelf proſtrate before *Anicius*. His Conſternation drove him to this mean Submiſſion, which was unworthy the Majeſty of a King. The *Prætor* raiſed him up, and made him eat with him; and then the *Roman* General and the King went into the City together. *Anicius* took Poſſeſſion of it in the Name of his Republick, and made himſelf Maſter of all the Poſts in it. After a fine Entertainment, the *Roman* put the King into the Hands of a *Legionary Tribune*, to guard him; and it was not till after his Confinement, that *Gentius* ſaw what would be the fatal Conſequences of his Levity. An unfortunate Prince, who for ten *Talents* * loſt both his Crown and his Liberty!

*App. in Illyr. Livy, B. 44. c. 31.

THE Captivity of the King ſtruck Terror into the Capital. The *Prætor* gave Law there, and was obeyed. His firſt Care was to take out of Priſon, *Petillius* and *Perpegna*, the two *Roman* Ambaſſadors whom *Gentius* had confined. And *Perpegna* himſelf was ſent to all the Cities of *Illyricum*, to find out all the Princes and Princeſſes of the Royal Family, together with the King's chief Friends, and bring them to *Scodra*. This was an agreeable Commiſſion to a *Roman* who had been perſonally ill treated; and he took out of the Royal Palace of [38] *Medion*,

* 1937 *l.* 10 *s.* *Arbuthnot.*

Livy, B. 44. c. 32.

[37] We cannot gueſs what Part of *Illyricum* the *Cavii* inhabited. The Ancients ſay nothing of it.

[38] All we know of *Medion* is, that it was a City in the Country of the *Labeates*, in the Neighbourhood of the Lake *Scutari*, according to *Livy*.

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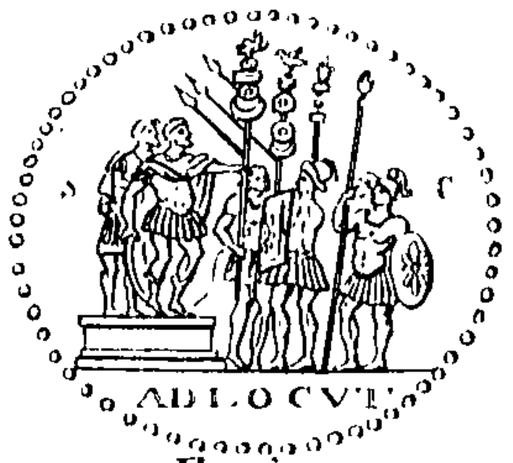
Queen 39 *Etetva*, and *Scerdiletus* and *Pleuratus*, two of her Sons. *Eurydice* the Mother of *Gentius*, and Prince *Caravantius*, alſo underwent the ſame Fate. They were all brought to the *Roman* Camp. It would indeed ſeem incredible, if all the Ancients did not atteſt it; but they all agree, that this glorious Expedition, the Conqueſt of all *Illyricum*, was finiſhed by the *Prætor* in thirty, or as ſome ſay, in twenty Days. So that the News of it came to *Rome*, before it was known there that *Anicius* had begun his Hoſtilities in *Illyricum*. *Perpegna* was ſent thither to inform the Senate and People of this ſudden Victory; and a few Days after, the King, two Queens, and three Princes of *Illyricum*, were brought to *Rome*. The Expedition of the *Prætor* was very ſurprizing, and the Sight of ſo many illuſtrious Captives increaſed the Glory of the Conqueror. Thanks were returned to the Gods; all the Temples in the City were opened for three Days, and frequented by a vaſt Concourſe of People; and the Captives were kept to adorn the *Prætor*'s Triumph, after his Return.

Plut. Life of *Paulus*. *Livy*, *B.* 44. *c.* 32.

§. XII. On the other hand, the *Conſul* was even more expeditious in *Macedon*, than the *Prætor* in *Illyricum*. Conſidering the Enemy *Paulus Æmilius* had to contend with, and the Country he had to conquer, he was more rapid in his Succeſs than *Anicius*. The Preſence and Reputation of the *Roman* General, who was newly landed in *Theſſaly*, forced *Perſes* to take new Precautions for his Defence.

We have already obſerved, that he had the laſt Year pitched his Camp on one Bank of the *Enipeus*, and That *Marcius* had pitched his on the other. But when *Paulus Æmilius* had taken upon him the Command of the Army, the *Macedonian* ſaw by his Appearances that he had a Man to deal with, who was very different from the *Conſuls* his Predeceſſors. The Diſcipline of the *Roman* Army ſeemed to be entirely reformed. And indeed, *Paulus Æmilius*, from the Day that he arrived in the Camp, ſpoke to his Soldiers with that Air of Authority which he had aſſumed at *Rome*, over the People aſſembled in their *Comitia*. In the Camp, as well as in the City, the Republican Spirit ſo far prevailed, as to give the Soldiers a ſtrange Liberty of directing the Steps of the Generals, repreſenting to them what Views they ought to have, pointing out their Expeditions, cenſuring their Conduct, and almoſt preſcribing their Motions, Marches, Sieges, and the Times for giving Battel. By this Means, there could be no Secrecy in the Councils of War, nor could any of thoſe Enterprizes be undertaken which depended wholly on Privacy. *Paulus Æmilius* therefore aſſembled his Soldiers, and made them one of thoſe Harangues which the Ancients call 40 *Allocutions*. *Romans*, ſaid he, *the Republick has appointed only one Head to command her Armies; and intends, that the Execution of all the Enterprizes ſhe has entruſted him with, ſhould depend on him only. This Authority, which ſhe has not divided, is wholly veſted in me; and for others to aſſume any Part of it, is Uſurpation. As I am to be the Soul that is to actuate this great Body, all the Members of it ought readily to obey*



Brass.

39 *Livy* had before ſpoken of a Wife of *Gentius*, under the Name of *Etuta*, the Daughter of *Honunnus*, King of the *Dardani*. He was very fond of her. Envying the Happineſs of *Plator*, to whom ſhe was eſpouſed, he ſhed this unfortunate Brother's Blood, that he might be at Liberty to enjoy his Amours. After he had got rid of a Prince, whom he only conſidered as a troubleſome Rival, he married the Lady. So that if *Etuta* was a different Perſon from the *Etetva* here mentioned, *Gentius* muſt have had two Wives. And if ſo, either the former was dead, or eſcaped the Search of the *Romans*.

40 Among the *Romans*, Harangues were made, even in Armies, as we have obſerved, *Vol.* 2. The Right of haranguing belonged to the Generals. The Emperors themſelves gloried in this Privilege, as appears by the publick Monuments. There are Imperial Medals which prove this Cuſtom. That above is the Reverſe of *A Galba*, who is repreſented in his military Habit, and haranguing his Soldiers. This is implied by the Term ADLOCUTIO, in the Inſcription.

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my Motions. I will admit whomſoever I pleaſe into my Councils; but I will not ſuffer any others to propoſe, either in publick or private, Opinions which are often no better founded, than in mere Caprice, and which they ſeditiouſly endeavour to inſtil into others, in private Aſſemblies. This is giving Law to him from whom they ought to receive it. All the Foreſight of a Soldier ought to reach no farther than to harden his Body for military Fatigues, to keep his Arms bright and ſharp, and to order his Proviſions ſo as to be always ready to march upon the firſt Orders. To anticipate by their Conjectures, or to pretend to regulate by their Schemes, the Deſigns of the General, is either endeavouring to dive into the Myſteries of Fate, or encroaching upon that Authority which alone is lawful. There can be no Security in a Camp, neither can any Enterprize be regularly carried on, as long as the Subaltern encroaches on the Juriſdiction of his Superior, governs himſelf only by his own Judgment, and makes himſelf the Cenſor *of him whoſe Orders he ought to reverence. I will take Care,* Romans, *to provide all Neceſſaries for you, and to conſult your Safety, and your Glory. Place your Confidence then in me; and do you, without having any regard for the future, think only of the preſent. To be ready upon the firſt Sound of the Trumpet, to repair to his Poſt, and to fight there with Courage, is the whole Province of a private Soldier.*

But this Diſcourſe, as imperious as it was, did not offend the *Legionaries*. They ſaw the Neceſſity of it. Thoſe who were grown grey in Arms, honeſtly confeſſed that both they and their Generals were only Apprentices; one in the Art of Commanding, and the other in that of Obeying. And this Beginning of a Reformation emboldened the General to correct other Abuſes. It was cuſtomary in the *Roman* Armies, to keep the Centinels, both Horſe and Foot, that were upon Guard, four and twenty Hours together upon Duty. And this long Continuance of Labour often proved very grievous to the Soldiers, and prejudicial to the Camps and Armies. To continue upon Guard the whole Night, in the Froſts in the Depth of the Winter, and the whole Day in the greateſt Heats of Summer, was too great a Fatigue for the moſt robuſt Men. It often happened, that the Enemy took Advantage of their being tired, and fell on the Advanced-Guards, who were then eaſily overcome. Out of Compaſſion therefore for the private Centinels, and Regard to the publick Good, *Paulus Æmilius* determined that the Guards ſhould be relieved twice a Day. Nor was this all. Hitherto, all thoſe who were upon Guard, either on the Ramparts, or without them, uſed to have with them all their offenſive and defenſive Arms. But the new General forbad them having their Bucklers upon Guard. The Soldiers often fixed the Points of them upon the Ground; and reſting their Heads upon the Tops of them, and leaning at the ſame time upon their Darts, ſlept very quietly, when they ſhould have been watching. It had ſeveral times happened, that, in the Night, the Enemy had diſcovered the Poſt where the *Roman* Centinels were, by Star-light, or the Reflection of the Moon-ſhine on their Bucklers, and had ſeized it: So that it was very prudent in the General to deprive the Soldiers upon Guard of their defenſive Weapons. It was not their Buſineſs to fight, but to fly, and give the Alarm, at the Approach of the Enemy.

All the Innovations *Paulus Æmilius* introduced into the *Roman* Soldiery were approved of; and his Orders were obeyed with Joy. The Soldiers no longer aſſembled together, and loſt time in idle Speculations about the Operations of the Campaign, or Murmurs about the Conduct of the General. Every one made it his whole Buſineſs to ſharpen his Arms, poliſh his Buckler, *Cuiraſs*, and Helmet, habituate himſelf to the Uſe of his Armour, and husband his Proviſions ſo as to be ready on any ſudden Commands. So that by the good Order which was obſerved in his Camp, it was reaſonable to judge, That when *Paulus Æmilius* came into the Field, he would be no leſs careful to take proper Precautions not to run any Hazard thro' Levity, and not to put his Troops in Motion till a proper time, when all Things were come to Maturity for it. The Confidence of the Soldiers in their General daily increaſed; and their Eſteem was a reaſonable Preſumption of Victory. Some indeed pretend, That this Hero's great Succeſſes were as much owing to Fortune, as to his Experience and Valour. But it muſt be owned, that if Fortune did favour him, he knew how to improve her Favours prudently. His Steps were always ſettled with Prudence; there was not one of his Enterprizes, which was raſhly undertaken, or which happened to ſucceed contrary to Rule.

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§. XIII. This Reform in the *Roman* Army, which was perceived by the Enemy, doubled the Anxiety and Care of *Perſes*. He expected a new kind of War with the new General. And therefore took more Precautions than formerly, to guard againſt this more formidable Aggreſſor. He left his Camp at [41] *Phila*, which he had fortified, to come and watch *Paulus Æmilius*, who was encamped on the *Enipeus* in *Theſſaly*. The *Roman* Army, as has been already obſerved, had left *Macedon*, into which it had entered, and had returned to *Theſſaly*, for Proviſions. So that the Affairs of the *Romans* here were in no greater Forwardneſs, after three Years, than the firſt Day they came to make War with *Macedon*. They were ſtill to penetrate into this inacceſſible Kingdom, and make themſelves a Way, which had been ſo long ſought for, and had been found at laſt, but with little Succeſs, ſince they had been forced to return back again. *Perſes* was very ſenſible that *Paulus Æmilius* would make it his whole Buſineſs to enter *Macedon*; and therefore made it his, to guard the Paſſes, and render the Attempts of the new *Conſul* fruitleſs. To this End, he came and encamped over againſt the *Roman* Army, to watch it the more narrowly; but he took Care to keep the *Enipeus* between the Enemy and himſelf. Nor was this all: He fortified his new Poſt with all the Addreſs of a great General. He fetched Wood from the neighbouring Foreſt, for Stakes and Paliſades for his Ramparts, and for building Towers at proper Diſtances. By this Means he hoped to have ſtopped the impetuous *Roman*, and forced him to have ſuffered his Year to wear away in Inaction. And indeed, two Armies were perhaps never ſo long in Sight of each other, without entering upon Action. Nevertheleſs, *Paulus Æmilius* made it his whole Buſineſs to find out an Expedient to bring his Troops into *Macedon*. This employed all his Thoughts, both Day and Night. The oldeſt of his Officers were for paſſing the *Enipeus*, attacking the Enemy's Camp, and ſtorming their Towers. *The laſt Year*, ſaid they, *our* Romans *drove the* Macedonians *from Eminences of more difficult Acceſs, than theſe Towers and Ramparts; and our Valour is not abated, ſince we have changed our General.* Others were of Opinion, that it would be beſt for the *Roman* Admiral to bring his Fleet to *Theſſalonica*, make a Deſcent there, and ravage the Coaſts, in order to make the *Macedonian* Troops alter their Meaſures. *As ſoon as* Perſes *ſhall have ſent any Detachment from his Army, it will then,* ſaid they, *be the more eaſy for us to attack his Camp, and drive him from his Entrenchments, in which he has earthed himſelf.* But the *Conſul* did not approve of either of theſe Expedients. All the Banks of the *Enipeus*, on the Side where the *Macedonians* were encamped, were lined with *Balliſtæ* and *Catapultæ*; and it ſeemed impoſſible to paſs the River in ſight of the Enemy. Beſides, the *Macedonian* Dartmen vaſtly excelled the *Roman*, in throwing their Darts with Skill, and ſtriking Marks at a Diſtance.

Plut. Life of *Paulus*.

Livy B. 44. *c.* 35.

Whilst the *Conſul* was yet undetermined what Method to take, there arrived in his Camp an Embaſſy from the *Rhodians*. Their Republick thought this a proper time to negotiate a Peace between *Rome* and *Macedon*. The Propoſals the Ambaſſadors came to make had already been rejected with Diſdain, by the *Roman* Senate; and they met with ſtill a leſs favourable Reception in an Army, by Officers who breathed nothing but Blood. Some were for driving the Ambaſſadors out of the Camp, without hearing them. But the *Conſul* only told them, with great Haughtineſs, that they ſhould have their Anſwer in fifteen Days; and to ſhew them how little diſpoſed he was to ſatisfy them, he affected to talk in their Preſence, of the ſeveral Ways of attacking the Enemy. During theſe Tranſactions, the unexpected News of the Captivity of the King of *Illyricum*, and the taking of *Scodra*, came to both Camps, at the ſame time. But it was received in a very different Manner, on the two Banks of the *Enipeus*. The *Romans* leaped for Joy, and thought it a favourable Omen of an equal Succeſs againſt *Perſes*. And it is eaſy to judge, that the *Rhodian* Ambaſſadors felt it recoil upon them; and were from that time grieved, to ſee their Republick embarked in a Cauſe which was already tottering and half ruined. As to *Perſes*, he trembled with Rage at it. But he diſſembled his Concern; and endeavoured to conceal the News from the Know-

41 According to *Stephen of Byſantium*, the City of *Phila* was built by the Orders of *Demetrius*, the Son of *Antigonus*, ſurnamed *Gonatas*; and the Founder gave it his Mother's Name. This City ſtood in *Macedon*, towards the Confines of *Theſſaly*, to the North of the River *Peneus*, between *Dium*, and *The Valley of Tempe*. It is now called *Pello*, according to *Nardus*.

ledge of his Troops, for fear of diſcouraging them. He ſent to forbid *Pantauchus* entering into his Camp. This *Macedonian* Officer, who had eſcaped from the Defeat of the King of *Illyricum*, and was coming to bring an Account of this Misfortune, was ſtopped by the Way. But the Precaution was vain. The Courtiers had Penetration enough to diſcover the King's Secret, and Indiſcretion enough to divulge it among the Soldiers. Beſides, the young Children which *Perſes* had given King *Gentius* in Hoſtage, ſoon arrived. Who then can deſcribe the Conſternation of the Soldiers, and their Commanders? They concluded, from the Misfortunes of *Illyricum*, that *Macedon*, which was ſo much threatened, would fare no better. Year of ROME DLXXXV. L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS, C. LICINIUS CRASSUS, Conſuls.

§. XIV. ON the other hand, *Paulus Æmilius* was piqued with Emulation, at the Account he received of the complete Victory *Anicius* had juſt gained. The *Conſul* had ſcarce begun the Campaign; and already heard that a *Prætor* had finiſhed his, with Glory. This he made uſe of as a proper Motive to increaſe the Courage of his Troops, and all theſe brave Men preſſed him to lead them on to Victory. But the flegmatick General moderated the Ardour of his Soldiers. As his only Point in view was to find out a good Place to penetrate into *Macedon*, he examined all thoſe who could give him any Light proper for his Deſign. To this End, he had two *Theſſalian* Merchants brought to him, who were continually carrying their Merchandizes into *Macedon*. Theſe Men were both devoted to the *Romans*, and the General could depend on their Probity and Fidelity. He enquired, of them, into the Nature of the Roads of [42] *Perræbia*, a Province of *Theſſaly*, which he muſt croſs, before he could come to the Place deſired; and they ſaid, *Theſe Roads are only difficult, becauſe they are guarded by* Macedonian *Troops*; *they are paſſable enough in themſelves.* From thence the *Conſul* inferred, that he could make his Way thro' this firſt Province; and reſolved, that a great Detachment of *Romans* ſhould attack theſe Guards on a ſudden, and in the Night. He concluded, *That by this Means they would eaſily be defeated*; *That the Darkneſs would deprive the* Macedonians *of the only Superiority they had over his Troops*; *and That when they came to fight, not at a Diſtance with Darts, but Man to Man, his* Romans *would have all the Advantage.* In order therefore to purſue this Scheme, he ordered the Admiral *Octavius* to ſet ſail, as ſoon as he had baked Biſcuit enough for a thouſand Land-Forces for ten Days, and go and wait for him in the Port of *Heraclea*. *Octavius* obeyed the Orders of the General, without penetrating into his Deſigns; which *Paulus Æmilius* likewiſe concealed, both from *Scipio Naſica* his Son-in-law, and from *Fabius Æmilianus*, his eldeſt Son. He put them at the Head of five thouſand *Legionaries*, three thouſand auxiliary Foot, and three hundred and twenty Horſe; and then ordered them what Rout to take. *March directly to* Heraclea, ſaid he, *where you will find the Proviſions I have prepared for you*; *and be in a Readineſs to embark there upon the firſt Orders, to go into* Theſſalonica, *and ravage the inner Coaſts of* Macedon. *Plut.* Life of *Paulus*. *Livy*, *B.* 44. *c.* 35.

THE two young Officers did not ſuſpect that the General concealed his real Deſigns. They knew that the Project of making a Deſcent near *Theſſalonica* had been propoſed in the Council of War; and Diſſimulation was not yet practiſed in the *Roman* Camps. Before *Æmilius*'s time, all Reſolutions were taken in publick, with the Conſent of thoſe who were employed in the Execution of them. An Abuſe which this wiſe *Conſul* had reformed. *Naſica* and *Fabius* therefore ſet out from the Camp, fully perſuaded that they were going to embark. In the mean time, in order to conceal from the Enemy the Departure of ſo conſiderable a Detachment, the General contrived this maſterly Stratagem. Tho' he had continued quiet in his Camp, ever ſince his Arrival in it, he now pretended to attack that of *Perſes*. At Break of Day, the *Romans* croſſed a Part of the River, and attacked the *Macedonian* Guards, which were ſet to watch it, where it was fordable. The light-armed Troops only were ordered upon this Attack, in which ſcarce any Arms but Darts were to be uſed. The Diſtance was too great, and the Banks too ſteep, for them to be able to join the Enemy, and fight Man to Man, ſo that the *Legionaries*, with the *Conſul*, on one Side, and the King and his *Pha-* *Livy*, *B.* 44. *c.* 35.

[42] We have already ſpoken of *Perræbia*, a County of *Theſſaly*, near Mount *Olympus*, and the Banks of the *Peneus*. There was alſo a little Province of this Name in *Ætolia*, near Mount *Pindus*, according to *Pliny*.

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langites on the other, were only Spectators of the Skirmiſh. The *Macedonians* threw their Darts with more Certainty than the *Romans*; but in cloſe fighting the *Romans* had all the Advantage. The Battel ended about Noon; and the next Day, after Sun-riſing, it was renewed. And then the Action was the more fierce, becauſe the Soldiers were more enraged. However, it muſt be owned, that this ſecond Attack was more to the Diſadvantage of the *Romans*. The *Balliſtæ* and *Catapultæ* upon the Ramparts and Towers of the *Macedonian* Camp were played upon them, and overwhelmed them with Showers of Darts. But after all, the *Conſul* was little concerned at his Loſs: He had gained his Point; which was to divert *Perſes* from oppoſing the March of the *Roman* Detachment, which was gone for *Heraclea*. Accordingly, *Naſica* and young *Fabius* led on the Troops they commanded without Oppoſition; and when they came to *Heraclea*, they halted till Sun-ſet. When the Night was cloſed, *Naſica* opened the General's Packet, and there found theſe new Orders. *When you are come to* [43] Heraclea, *you ſhall divide your Detachment into two Bodies; and each ſhall march thro' different Ways to* Pythium [44]; *which you ſhall attack when united again.*

§. XV. Immediately therefore, without waiting for the Return of Day, *Naſica* and *Fabius* left *Heraclea*, and advanced towards *Pythium*. They marched on ſilently in the Night, croſs Mountains and Rocks; and when they were come near the Place, they halted for ſome Hours. The People there were not upon their Guard; and the City would have been taken by Aſſault, if the *Conſul's* Deſign had not been treacherouſly diſcovered. But a Deſerter of the *Roman* Detachment, a *Cretan* by Nation, and as perfidious as his Countrymen generally were, gueſſed by its March, that it was deſigned for *Pythium*, and went and carried the News to the King of *Macedon*. *Perſes* was extremely embarraſſed to know what Part to chuſe. To haſten with all his Army to the Defence of ſo important a Poſt, was the beſt thing to be done; but that, in his preſent Circumſtances, was impracticable. He muſt, in that Caſe, have left the Banks of the *Enipeus* unguarded, and given the *Romans* a free Paſſage into *Macedon*. He therefore choſe a middle Way; which was, to continue in his Camp himſelf, with the Bulk of his Army, and to ſend away a Detachment, ſuperior in Number, to that of the *Conſul*. He choſe out twelve thouſand Men, and put at the Head of them one of his Generals, named *Milo*, who was a Man of Steddineſs and Reſolution, with Orders to ſeize an Eminence over which the *Romans* were to paſs, before they could come to *Pythium*. The General did ſo, with incredible Expedition; and when he came to the Top of the Mountain, gave his Soldiers ſome Reſt. And then, ſay ſome, they were ſo much fatigued, and ſlept ſo ſoundly, that the *Romans* ſurprized them in their firſt Sleep, and cut them to Pieces. But others affirm, that on the Summit itſelf a diſorderly Battel was fought, in which *Naſica* had like to have been killed by a *Thracian* Trooper. However, add they, the brave *Roman* at length diſengaged himſelf from him, run him thro' with his Sword, and left him dead upon the Place. Then this vigorous Action was followed by the entire Rout of the *Macedonian* Detachment. *Milo* fled; and the News of his Rout threw *Perſes* into freſh Perplexity. He foreſaw that the *Romans* would enter into his Dominions, thro' the Way that this Victory would open for them; and found it would be neceſſary for him to leave formidable Entrenchments on the *Enipeus*, and haſten to the Defence of his own Territories. But, which Way ſhould he go thither? He was divided between two Points, which kept him in Uncertainty. The firſt was, whether he ſhould retire as far as to [45] *Pydna*, in the Heart of *Macedon*, and wait for the Enemy there; where he might hope, under the Walls of a large maritime City, to be able to give Battel to Advantage; or at leaſt the better to ſecure a Retreat. And the ſecond Queſtion was, whether he ſhould canton his Troops on the Frontiers of his Dominions, put them in Garriſon in the fortified Towns, and thereby defend his Towns, keep his Subjects in their Duty, remove his Corn into Places of Safety,

Polyb. and *Naſica* himſelf, in a Letter in *Plutarch*.

43 The City of *Heraclea*, here ſpoken of, ſtood on the Frontiers of *Macedon* and *Theſſaly*, near *The Gulph of Salonichi*.

44 *Pythium*, or *Pytheum*, belonged to *Pelagonia Tripolitis*, a little Canton of *Theſſaly*. There are now no Footſteps of it remaining.

45 *Pydna* was a City of *Macedon*, anciently called *Citron*, according to the Abridger of *Strabo*. It ſtood near the Mouth of the River *Haliacmon*, on the Coaſt of *The Thermaic Gulph*. *Sophian* calls it *Chitro*. *Nardus* will have it to be the preſent *Platon*.

leave

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leave the *Romans* only deſolate Fields, terrify them with continual Skirmiſhes, and deſtroy them with Hunger and Want. Both Schemes had their Difficulties; but the laſt ſeemed moſt impracticable. To divide a great Army was to weaken exceedingly the Forces of a great Kingdom. Beſides, to ſend his Troops in ſmall Bodies to ſo many different Places, was not the Work of one Day. And what would be the Conſequence? When the *Romans* found themſelves on deſolate Frontiers, they would leave them, and march into the Heart of *Macedon*. There they would deſtroy every thing with Fire and Sword, and force his Subjects to join with the ſtrongeſt Party. *Perſes* and his Council therefore were all for keeping the Army entire. If they ſhould be under a Neceſſity of coming to a Battel, it was probable the *Macedonians* would make powerful Efforts to defend their Wives, Children, and their domeſtick Gods. For theſe Reaſons, the King left *Theſſaly*, returned to *Macedon*, and came and encamped under *Pydna*. There he made all his Diſpoſitions at Leiſure, kept his Troops continually in Exerciſe, and taught them all military Evolutions. He had great Dependance on two Rivers, or rather Torrents, which divided the Plain where he encamped. Indeed there was not a great deal of Water in them; but their Banks were ſteep.

Plut. Life of *Paulus.*

When *Paulus Æmilius* ſaw the Banks of the *Enipeus* deſerted, he paſſed that River without Oppoſition, and went to join his Detachment towards *Pythium*. This Fortreſs ſtood on the higheſt Summit of Mount *Olympus*, which, according to an able Geometrician of that time, who had meaſured it from the Foot to the Top, was ten [46] *Stadia* high. So that the ancient *Greeks* [47] thought *Olympus* as high a Mountain as any they knew in the World. At the Foot of this ſtrong Barrier to *Macedon*, *Paulus Æmilius* firſt encamped with the Remains of his Army. He poſted himſelf in a Valley, almoſt on the Sea-ſhore. His Camp was plentifully ſupplied with Proviſions. But both the Men and Horſes wanted Water. They found only ſome little Rivulets of Water, which was brackiſh, of a bad Taſte, and unwholſome. But the *Conſul*, who could judge well of natural Cauſes by Appearances, at the ſight of ſome Trees on the Mountain that looked very green and buſhy, concluded that there muſt be in the Cavities of it ſome little Springs of Water, which were filtrated thro' the Ground. He therefore ordered his Soldiers to dig at the Foot of Mount *Olympus*; and immediately ſome very freſh Water burſt out, which was fit for the Uſe both of the Men and Cattel. This Diſcovery increaſed the Eſteem the Soldiers had for their General. They looked on him as the Favourite of the Gods, a Man whom they entruſted with their Secrets.

Zonaras, B. 9. c. 23.

And being thus prepoſſeſſed in his Favour, the Army did not refuſe to follow the *Conſul* to the Top of Mount *Olympus*. But if the flying Corps of *Naſica* and *Fabius* could not ſurmount it without great Difficulty, what muſt have been the Fatigue and Confuſion of marching up a great Army, with all the neceſſary Carriages for removing Proviſions and Machines of War? They marched only by Night, and with exceeding great Precaution. As they knew not the Place to which *Perſes* was retired, they had Reaſon to be under continual Apprehenſions that he had laid Ambuſhes for them in the Copices, and Hollows of the Mountain. But at laſt, *Paulus Æmilius* arrived at *Pythium*, without any Accident, and joined his Detachment. The *Romans* were already Maſters of this Poſt, which they had taken without any Reſiſtance. *Perſes* had left only a weak Garriſon in it. He had taken it for granted, That a few Soldiers would be ſufficient to guard a Fortreſs which was acceſſible only to Birds. By this Conqueſt, the *Conſular* Army was now in the Enemy's Country, ſince *Macedon* began at the North Side of Mount *Olympus*. They came down from the Mountain without any Oppoſition. *Perſes* did not wait in the Valley for the *Conſul*, who would there have fought him from the upper Ground, and have fallen down upon him like a Torrent.

§. XVI. As ſoon as *Paulus Æmilius* had gained the Plain, he was informed that the Enemy were entrenched under the Walls of *Pydna*. Without Heſitation therefore, he marched to them, keeping along the Sea-Coaſt, by the *Roman* Fleet, which advanced no faſter than the Land-Army; the former ſupplying the lat-

[46] Ten *Stadia* make twelve hundred and fifty Geometrical Paces, or ſix thouſand two hundred and fifty Feet.

[47] The ancient *Greeks* would have been of a very different Opinion, if they had meaſured ſome of the *Pyrenees*, which are above twelve hundred Fathom in Height, perpendicular.

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ter with Proviſions, which were brought to it in Barks. Of all the *Roman* Generals, perhaps none made War with more Coolneſs and Reflection than *Paulus Æmilius*. During the March he was very thoughtful; wholly intent on finding out Means to deprive *Perſes* of the Advantages of the Place where he was poſted; and tho' ardently deſirous of coming into the Enemy's Preſence, and finiſhing the War as ſoon as poſſible, by a deciſive Action, he did not march faſt. The Seaſon of the Year would not admit of it. It is eaſy to imagine how great the Heats muſt be in *Macedon*, about the Summer Solſtice. The *Romans* were quite oppreſſed with Thirſt and Fatigue, as much inured as they were to Labour. However, at length the *Roman* Army appeared in ſight of the Enemy, and was drawn up in Battalia. But the *Roman* General was fully reſolved not to fight that Day, tho' *Perſes* expected it, and appeared in good Order to begin the Action. The prudent *Conſul* had private Views of his own, which he had not communicated to any Body; not even to *Attalus*, his chief Confidant, or his Son-in-law, or his Son. He thought it raſh to attack ſuddenly, and without ſome Refreſhment, Enemies who were freſh, had had a great deal of Reſt, and Time to look about them, and take their Advantages. Beſides, if he had been worſted, what Hazard would he have run of being entirely defeated? Where could the Remains of his Army fly for Refuge, in an Enemy's Country, which was ſurrounded on all Sides with Mountains? He at leaſt ought to have a Camp, to be an *Aſylum* for the Remains of an Army. Theſe were Reflections worthy of a Great General; but they did not enter into the Thoughts of the Soldiers, or ſubaltern Officers. Their Valour inclined them to hazard every thing, the firſt Moment they came. And the *Conſul* ſeemed willing to gratify them; but at the ſame time took a Step, which ſhewed the Superiority of his Genius. He drew up his Troops in three Lines, after the uſual Method of the *Romans*; the *Haſtati* in the firſt, the *Principes* in the ſecond, and the *Triarii* in the third. This Army, which faced that of the King, covered ſome Pioneers, which were buſy in forming a Camp. By the Diligence of theſe Workmen, the Ditch which was next to the Enemy was ſoon dug, and the *Courtine* of the Rampart thrown up, and as faſt as this Entrenchment was finiſhed, the *Triarii* of the firſt Line entered into it, and the two other Lines drew backwards towards it. When the whole Line of the Camp was finiſhed, the whole Army retired into it, by degrees, and in ſmall Parties; even to the light-armed Soldiers, who uſed to throw Darts at the Head of the *Legions*. The Cavalry only continued longer expoſed in the Plain, becauſe they ſerved to cover the Infantry, during this prudent Retreat. And then the whole *Conſular* Army found themſelves, in a manner without knowing it, ſurrounded with a Camp, which was ſufficiently well fortified, for them to paſs the Night with Safety in their Tents.

Plut. Life of *Paulus*. *Livy*, *B.* 44. *c.* 36.

But before the General ſecured his Soldiers behind his Lines, he made them dearly purchaſe, and greatly deſire, the Repoſe he procured for them. He expoſed them to the Heat of the Sun all the middle of the Day, and ſuffered them to be quite worn out with Fatigue. Moſt of them, tired with being ſo long upon their Feet, and without Motion, began to reſt themſelves upon their Bucklers, or Javelins. By that means, their Impatience to fight a Battel that Day was much abated. Nevertheleſs, the young Officers of the *Roman* Army were extremely impatient to fight immediately. The *Conſul* had not communicated his Deſign to them; and none of them expected to paſs the Night in any Camp, but that of the Enemy. *Attalus* therefore, *Naſica*, and *Fabius*, were much ſurpriſed, to ſee the Army file off backwards, and get behind Ramparts, which ſeemed to be ſtarted up out of the Ground. And *Naſica*, in his Surprize, came to the General, his Father-in-law, and made the following Remonſtrance; which ſhewed both his Courage, and his Want of Experience. *Our* Legions, ſaid he, *are retiring, and we are going to ſuffer the Enemy to eſcape us, which has ſo often eſcaped out of the Hands of our Predeceſſors. Perhaps the Night will favour their Retreat. And then, with what Fatigue and Danger ſhall we be forced to follow them into the Heart of* Macedon? *For the ſake of your own Glory, therefore, and ours, let us attack the Enemy, my Lord; let us give Battel this Moment. Let it not be caſt as a Reproach upon us, that we let ſlip an Opportunity of Conquering.* Nay, the Birth, Merit, and laſt Exploit of *Naſica*, authoriſed him alſo to mix a little Fierceneſs with his Reproof to the *Conſul*. To which the latter only replied, in very few Words, but ſuch as made

the young General look a little into himself. *At your Age*, said *Paulus*, *I talked as You do; and you at mine, will act as I do.* This struck his Son-in-Law dumb. It made him sensible, that Generals of Armies often have superior Views, to those of the Subalterns. Year of *ROME* DLXXXV. L. Æmilius Paulus, C. Licinius Crassus, Consuls.

§. XVII. *PERSES* retired into his Camp, when the *Romans* had left the Plain; and the *Macedonians* triumphed to have seen a *Consul* decline a Battel. They resolved to continue in their present Post, which they thought formidable to the Enemy; and in the Night, when all seemed very quiet, a natural Event, but such a one as might well terrify weak and ignorant Men, troubled their Repose. About seven a Clock in the Evening the Moon changed Colour, was eclipsed, and the Eclipse lasted till nine at Night; and this *Phænomenon* produced very different Effects in the two Camps. Among the *Romans*, that *Sulpicius Galbus*, who had been *Prætor* the last Year, and now attended *Paulus Æmilius*, only in quality of *Legionary Tribune*, had calculated the Eclipse by the Rules of Astronomy; and for fear the Soldiers should be discouraged by it, he desired the *Consul*'s Leave, to declare to the Army, the Eclipse he had foretold. Accordingly the Soldiers were assembled before the *Prætorium*, and the Astronomer spoke thus. *This Night you will see one of those natural Effects, which are very surprizing to those, who are ignorant of the Causes of them. At seven a Clock the Moon will lose her Light, and not recover it till nine. You may therefore plainly see, that what can be foretold by a Knowlege of the Heavens, is not supernatural. You don't at all wonder that the Sun should rise and set, sooner and later, according to the Seasons. Nor are you surprized at the different Phases of the Moon. She is sometimes full, and sometimes only a Crescent. And you may depend upon it, that there is nothing more wonderful in her Eclipses, than in her Fulness, or Decline. All come equally at certain times, but at different Periods.*

ACCORDINGLY, the Night [48] before *The Nones of September*, the Moon was eclipsed at the Hour *Sulpicius* had foretold; and the *Phænomenon* made but slight [49] Impressions on the Minds of the *Romans*. Indeed, they beat their Pots, and Basons, and lighted [50] Torches; but more to keep up old Customs, than out of Superstition. Whereas, the *Macedonian* Camp was affected in a very different manner. At first there was a mournful Silence throughout the whole Camp; (a plain Proof of their Consternation) and afterwards this Silence was changed into terrible Shouts and Howlings. Their Diviners told them, that the Eclipse presaged the Ruin of the King, and the Destruction of the State. And indeed these Calamities were near at Hand; but the Moon was not conscious of it. As for *Paulus Æmilius*, he prepared to give Battel the next Day. However, on account of the Eclipse, he thought it necessary to appease the Gods; *But not*, says an ancient Author, *because he did not understand the Nature of Eclipses, and that in certain Revolutions of* *Plut.* Life of *Paulus.*

48 *Livy* seems here to contradict himself. He places the famous Eclipse, which preceded the Battel of *Pydna* with *Perses*, on the Day, or rather the Night before *The Nones of September*, that is, the third Day of that Month. Whereas he says, almost in the same Place, that the Troops could then scarce bear the Heat of the Sun, which had just entered into the *Solstitial Point*. But what others think a Mistake of the Historian, is really a Proof of his Fidelity, in following the Order of the Events he relates. In order to be convinced of this, it is necessary to know, that in the Order of Years, Months, Festivals, and Seasons, the *Romans*, till *Julius Cæsar*'s time, followed no other Rule, but the Calendar of *Numa Pompilius*: The Faults of which we have shewn in the first Volume. This Legislator did not exactly know the length of each Course of the Moon, or Sun; and consequently could not exactly adjust the *Roman* Year, to the Motions of the heavenly Bodies. Besides, the Negligence of the *Pontifices*, whose Business it was to insert the intercalary Days and Months, had made monstrous irregularities in the order of time: So that it is not at all surprising, that in *Paulus Æmilius*'s time, the Errors of the old Calendar should be so sensible. The Seasons had long since began to be confounded. And in the Year of *Rome* 585, there was a Difference of above two Months, between the solar Year, or rather the true Place of the Sun, and the civil Year, which we shall have occasion to observe, when we come to give an Account of the Corrections which were made in the Calendar by *Sosigenes*, at the Command of *Julius Cæsar*. Add to this, that it is certain, by the Calculations of the most able Astronomers, that the Eclipse here mentioned, did happen in the Night between the twenty first and twenty second Day of *June*, according to the *Julian* Year. It lasted four Hours, six Minutes, or from fifty nine Minutes after six, to five Minutes after eleven. Its Bigness was almost sixteen Digits, or sixteen twelfth Parts of the Diameter of the Moon. So that it was total, and the Moon was wholly swallowed up in the Shadow of the Earth.

49 According to *Livy*, when the *Roman* Soldiers saw that the *Phænomenon* answered so exactly to the Prediction, they were full of Admiration. Nay, says he, they had like to have taken *Caius Galbus* for a God, who gave Law to the heavenly Bodies, and the Firmament. *Romanis militibus Galli sapientia prope divina videri.* *Pliny* says, that *Sulpicius* wrote a Treatise upon Eclipses.

50 We have spoken of the superstitious Practices of the *Romans*, at the time of an Eclipse, in the preceding Volumes.

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time the Moon is hid by the Shadow of the Earth. The *Romans* had converſed too much with the *Greeks* to be ignorant of thoſe things. Is it not then ſurprizing, that the *Macedonians* ſhould be more ignorant than they, of the Nature of Eclipſes? But be that as it will, the *Roman* General made ſeveral good Uſes of this Accident. 1. He gave the Enemy Battel before they were recovered from their Fright. And *2dly*, He took away all manner of Scruple from his own People, by appeaſing the Gods with Sacrifices. As ſoon as the Moon had recovered her former Brightneſs, he offered eleven young Bulls to her Honour; and the next Morning, before he gave Battel, ſacrificed a greater Number of Oxen to *Hercules*. The Entrails of twenty of theſe Victims were conſulted before the *Aruſpices* found a favourable Anſwer. But upon ſeeing thoſe of the twenty firſt, they, either upon their own trifling Conjectures, or as directed by the *Conſul*, promiſed the *Romans* the Victory, if they waited for the Enemy to begin the Attack. Without doubt *Paulus Æmilius* foreſaw, that the uſual way of beginning Battels with throwing Darts, would not be advantageous to him. He had a greater Dependence on a cloſe Fight, Sword in Hand. And after he had vowed a Sacrifice of a hundred Oxen to *Hercules*, and promiſed to celebrate *Games* to his Honour; he was ſeen in deep Contemplation about the Ground he ſhould chooſe, and the Orders he ſhould give his Troops.

§. XVIII. Perhaps *Rome* never had a more circumſpect General. He now conſidered, that if he formed his Troops early, on the Ground on which he deſigned to poſt them, the Sun would riſe in their Faces, and dazzle their Eyes, during the Action: And therefore he did not draw them up in Battalia, till the Sun began to decline. In the mean time he aſſembled his chief Officers, more to amuſe them, than to hold a Council; and with a familiar Air (for *Paulus Æmilius* was no Declaimer) addreſſed himſelf to them thus. *Yeſterday my Son-in-law* Naſica *ventured to reproach me for not attacking the Enemy, as ſoon as we came into their Preſence. I gave him a rambling Anſwer, which reduced him to Silence. But after all, I have not ſo much Reaſon to complain of his Frankneſs, as of the ſecret Murmurs of ſome* Tribunes, *who have taken the Liberty to blame my Conduct. I am accountable for it to no Body. Nevertheleſs, in order to undeceive or confound theſe imprudent* Cenſors, *I will tell you the Reaſons that induced me to delay the Battel. I am ſo far from repenting of this Delay, that I impute the Safety of the* Roman *Army to it. When we firſt appeared here at Noon, every thing was diſpoſed to the Advantage of the* Macedonian, *and the Diſadvantage of his Adverſaries. Upon the firſt Glance I ſaw how much the Enemy ſurpaſſed us in Number. Beſides, as we had no Camp, I muſt have left the beſt Troops I had, to guard the Baggage. Were then the few I ſhould have had left, in a Condition to ſuſtain the Attack of an Army, who had recovered their Strength by their Repoſe? We were tired with a long March, covered with Duſt, and Sweat, and ready to periſh with Thirſt. Could we then have held out againſt the Enemy? Beſides, what time had I to chooſe my Ground, and aſſign their Poſts to Troops, which could move but ſlowly? What would have become of us, if we had been attacked, at the inſtant that our Ranks had been diſordered? Had we a Camp to ſerve us for a Retreat? Were we near any Stream, wherein we might have quenched our Thirſt, and watered our Horſes? Had we examined the Field of Battel, and neighbouring Places, to guard againſt Ambuſcades? There was no Place to retire to but an open Plain, ſurrounded with high Mountains. Did our illuſtrious Anceſtors hazard Battels in that manner, without ſecuring themſelves a Retreat? Their Camp was a Place of Safety for them, where they might refreſh themſelves after a Victory, or recover themſelves after a Rout. In theſe fortified Entrenchments they found in a manner a new Country, and their* Penates *ſafe in their Tents. Armies, after they have been driven back into their Camp, have often made Sallies from thence, and thereby recovered the Advantages they had loſt. Judge then, whether it was not neceſſary to pitch a Camp, before I gave Battel. But you loſt time, ſay ſome, and* Perſes *might have eſcaped from you in the Night. Could then any Man think this, without calling his own Underſtanding in Queſtion?* Pydna *is the Poſt which the* Macedonian *has choſen preferably to all others. It is what he moſt deſired; and he left* Theſſaly, *on purpoſe to take Poſſeſſion of it. He has made it his Magazine of Arms. Could it then be imagined that he would abandon it, to draw us into any other Place? If he had had any Thoughts of*

Livy, B. 44. c. 38.

of leaving it, would he not have done it, when we were marching over the Olympus, *or crossing the Plains to join him? Would he have waited for our coming up with him, before he decamped? Besides, were not we near enough to watch him all Night! Without doubt,* Perses *is determined to continue under the Walls of* Pydna. *We shall there find him always ready to receive us; whether to Day, or to Morrow, or whenever I shall think fit to attack him.*

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By these last Words *Paulus Æmilius* concealed his Design from his Officers, and kept them in suspence; by not absolutely determining to come to a Battel that Day. Nevertheless he marched his Troops out of his Camp, at nine in the Morning; and though no Body could guess at the time when the *Consul* would chuse to attack the Enemy, yet this mysterious Air in the General was not imputed to Pride. It was believed, that his only Design was to rectify that Openness, and Want of Secrecy, which former *Consuls* had introduced into their Camps, out of an Affectation of Popularity. They had communicated their Designs to their *Legionaries*, in order to get their Good-will, and obtain their Suffrages in the *Comitia*, after their return to *Rome*. Whereas it was well known, that *Paulus Æmilius* was above all ambitious Views, and had no Regard, but to the publick Good. His Army were therefore exceeding ready to obey his Orders, and his Officers seemed inclined to follow the Inclinations of so prudent a General: So that the two Armies were drawn out, but not so much to fight, as to look at one another. *Perses* found his Troops in a little Consternation about the Eclipse; and observed an Air of Cheerfulness in the *Roman Legions*, which is not to be described, and which seemed to presage their Success. And the *Consul* was not for hazarding a Battel, before he had furnished his Camp with all things necessary. He wanted Wood and Forage there; and had been forced to send out large Detachments, to the neighbouring Forests and Plains; and therefore he drew out his Army in sight of the Enemy, for no other Reason, but that he might not seem to have declined a Battel two Days together.

So that the Action would have been postponed by the Prudence of the two Generals, if an Accident had not brought it on. There was a narrow, and shallow River between the two Camps, but nearer to the *Macedonian*. Both Parties fetched their Water from thence, and watered their Horses there. So that the *Roman* and *Macedonian* had both posted Guards, each on his Bank, to defend those who came to the River on these Occasions. And it happened, that a Horse got out of the Hand of a *Roman* who was leading it, and went pretty far into the River. Two *Thracians* of the Enemy's Guard immediately went into the Water, up to their Wastes, to get out the Horse; but three *Roman* Soldiers at the same time, ran into the River on their side, killed one of the *Thracians*, and recovered the Beast. And this was enough to say, that the *Macedonians* had committed the first Act of Hostility, and that the *Romans* had not been the first Aggressors; and consequently the *Consul* could depend on the Victory, according to the Answer of the *Aruspices*. Some Authors indeed affirm, that the *Macedonians* attacked the *Romans* in a more sensible manner, than barely by endeavouring to take a Horse from them. They say, That a Party of the King's Men attacked some Forragers of the *Consular* Army; and That the Action was begun that Way. But as this last Account has all the Air of a Fiction, invented purely to give Credit to the Art of *Augury*, we shall adhere to the relation of the greatest Number of the best Historians.

Plut. Life of *Paulus.*

§. XIX. The River between the two Camps having been stained with the Blood of the *Thracian* Soldier, who had been killed; this was enough to exasperate the whole Body of eight hundred *Thracians*, who were guarding the Bank. The *Romans* upon Guard on the opposite side saw them passing the River, and coming to them; and then they likewise began to move. And this Motion was followed by that of all the *Roman* and *Macedonian* Troops, which were posted on the two Banks. The *Consul* had placed two Battalions of auxiliary Foot, and two Squadrons of Horse there. These brave Men sustained the Attack with Courage; and the Noise of the Fight was heard at a great Distance. *Paulus Æmilius* was then reposing himself in his Tent, and did not expect to be rouzed by a sudden Attack. But he was awakened by the Noise, went out in an instant, ran through all the Ranks of his Army, exhorted his Men to behave themselves well, and resolved to turn this sudden Alarm into a more serious Affair. In the mean time, that he might

Livy, B. 44. *c.* 40.

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might not do any thing inconſiderately, he ſent his Son-in-Law *Naſica*, who com manded a Body of Troops on the Sea-ſhore, to diſcover the Enemy. And upo the Report of this prudent *Aid-de-Camp*, who was himſelf capable of comman ing an Army, the *Conſul* advanced with his *Legions*, reſolving to come to a gener Engagement. *Naſica* had informed him, That *Perſes* was upon full March on t other ſide of the River, at the Head of all his Troops, and would ſoon appear the Plain near the *Roman* Camp. It is a Misfortune, that the Deſcription of t Order in which *Perſes* drew up his Troops, is loſt in *Livy*; and That we have relation of it but in *Plutarch*, who was no Soldier, and has given us but a co fuſed Account of it, And it is ſtill a greater Misfortune, that *Polybius*, who ha deſcribed it like a Man skilful in military Affairs, is defective in this Particula However, we will collect what Accounts we have of this memorable Battel, an lay them together before the Reader.

Plut. Life of *Paulus.*

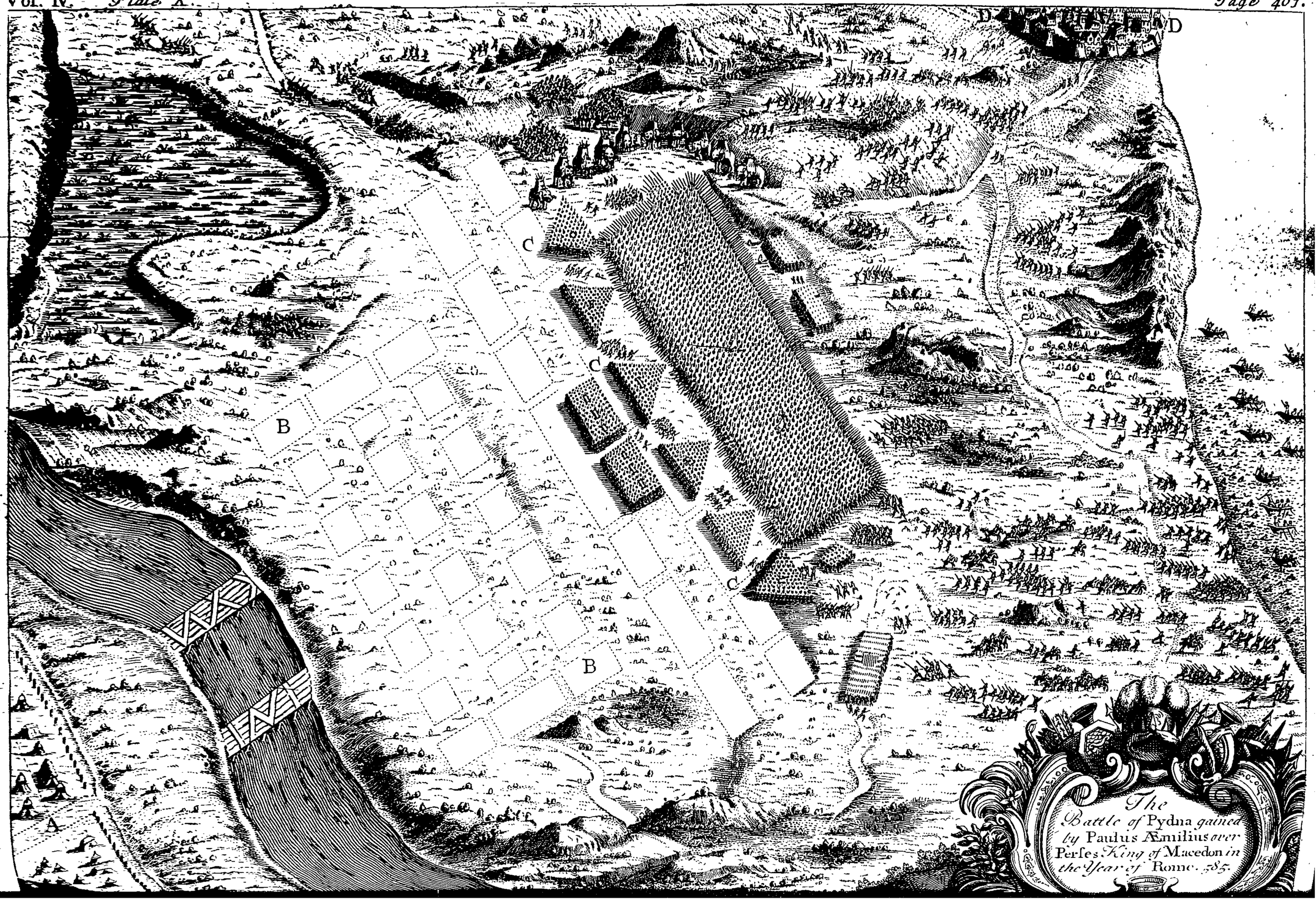
It ſeems certain, that the King of *Macedon* commanded at the Battel of *Pydn* between forty four and forty five thouſand Men of the fineſt Troops that had bee ſeen in *Macedon*, ſince the time of *Alexander*. But the *Roman* Army was much inf rior in Number. At firſt the *Macedonian* had poſted in his firſt Line, the Battalio and Squadrons which *Cotys* had brought him from *Thrace*. Theſe were, in A pearance, the fierceſt, and fineſt Soldiers in the World. Their Stature, their wi Air, the Glitter of their Bucklers, and the Weight of their Sabres, would have a frighted any Enemies but *Romans*. There was ſomething inexpreſſibly terrib even in their Dreſs. They had on their Shoulders a ſort of black Mantle whic covered their Breaſts, and hung down to the *Small* of their Backs. Their Legs we covered with black *Cuiſſarts*, but their Arms were very bright; and this Mixture ſhining Metal, and dark Stuffs, made them look like ſo many infernal Monſter After the *Thracians*, came the Mercenaries of different Nations. All theſe wer differently armed, and dreſſed after the Faſhion of their reſpective Countrie Among the reſt there were ſome mountaineers of *Pæonia*, a fierce and almoſt ſa vage People, whoſe very Looks were frightful. And laſtly, behind them the appeared, drawn up in the Plain, a complete *Phalanx* of ſixteen thouſand *Mac donians*, all armed with long Pikes, and advancing ſlowly, in cloſe Order. In th third Line conſiſted the whole Strength of the King's Army; and tho' this *Phalan* was but one entire Body, the different Parts of it were diſtinguiſhed from one an other, by Bucklers of different Colours, or different Metals. Some of theſe D viſions were called *Leucaſpides*, becauſe their Bucklers were ſilvered; others *Cha caſpides*, or *Aglaſpides*, becauſe theirs were of Braſs. All theſe Arms ſtrongly r flected the Rays of the Sun, and filled the Plain with Gleams of Light. Th whole Plain ſhined with the Brightneſs of their Arms; and the Mountains ran with their Noiſes and Shouts, and made them the more terrible.

Ibid.

On the other hand, the *Conſul* advanced ſlowly in the middle of his *Legion* It is to be preſumed, that he drew up his Troops after the uſual manner of the *Ro mans*. The Allies were poſted in the Wings, the *Legionaries* in the Center, an the Cavalry flanked both, to the right and left. The Attack was begun by th *Latin* Auxiliaries; and theſe brave Men had ſoon repulſed the ſtrange Troops i the Enemy's two firſt Lines. They ſeem to have been brought more for Shew and to ſtrike Terror into the Enemy with their Looks, than to ſupport a totterin Crown. All the Difficulty the *Romans* had, was to break the *Macedonian Pha lanx*. At firſt the *Phalangites* made themſelves a ſort of Parapet with their Buck lers, which they reſted upon the Ground, and a ſtrong Barrier with their Pike which they levelled againſt the Enemy; and the *Conſul* reſerved the Attack of th *Phalanx* for the *Legions*. But how could they break into this inacceſſible Body The *Legionaries* could not reach the *Phalangites* with their Swords, or come nea enough to fight Man to Man. As ſoon as they drew near, they were either ki led, or wounded, and repulſed. Nevertheleſs the *Conſul* ran through the Rank and encouraged his Soldiers. He was himſelf without Helmet, or *Cuiraſs*, ca neſtly preſſed his Men to behave themſelves well, and animated them by his ow Example.

Poſſidonius apud Plut.

The King of *Macedon*, in the mean time was ſeized with a ſudden Terror, and i the midſt of the Battel abandoned his *Phalanx*. Deſpairing of Succeſs, at the ver time when his faithful *Macedonians* were making it doubtful, he returned to *Pydn* und



The Battle of Pydna gained by Paulus Æmilius over Perses King of Macedon in the Year of Rome 585.

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under Pretence of being obliged to offer up Sacrifice there, to *Hercules.* But how ill did he imitate the Valour of the pretended Demi-God, which he honoured! Nevertheleſs, one [51] who is rather a Panegyriſt of *Perſes*, than an Hiſtorian, affirms, That the King, though wounded in the Leg, the Evening before, by a Kick from an Horſe, put himſelf at the Head of his *Phalanx*, and fought with Courage. According to him, *Perſes* did not leave the Fight, till after he had received a painful Contuſion, which forced him to retire into the City, to get it dreſſed. After the Retreat of the King, the Attack of the *Legionaries* was the more vigorous; but ſtill the *Macedonians* were impenetrable. Then the Auxiliaries being come to the Aſſiſtance of the *Legionaries*, the whole *Roman* Army attacked them; and a brave *Centurion* named *Salius*, who commanded a Battalion of *Peligni*, threw a *Colour* of his Battalion, into the middle of the *Phalangites* before him. It is well known to how great a Degree the Companies of the *Roman* Armies thought themſelves diſhonoured by the Loſs of their *Colours*; and that they at any time readily hazarded their Lives to prevent this Indignity. And now, the Fury with which the *Peligni* ran againſt this Rampart of Bucklers and Pikes, is not to be expreſſed. Lions don't ſhew more Fury in breaking their Way through the Spears of the Hunters that ſurround them. The Soldiers of the firſt Rank endeavoured to turn aſide the long iron-headed Poles which were levelled againſt them with their Hands and Bucklers. But nevertheleſs they were forced to give Way, being run through with theſe murdering Weapons; and throughout the whole Battel, the *Romans* did not loſe more Men in any Attack, than in this of the *Peligni*.

THE *Phalanx* ſtill kept its Ground on all ſides, whilſt the *Pelignian* Battalion, after being repulſed, retired towards Mount [52] *Olocrus*; and upon ſeeing this Attempt prove fruitleſs, *Paulus Æmilius* almoſt ſunk into Deſpair. He rent his Clothes, and ſhewed great Vexation at not being able to break this ſingle Body, which alone obſtructed his Victory. But the *Conſul* ſoon recovered from this Fit of Rage, and regained his uſual Serenity. He conſidered, that it was not poſſible, but that theſe *Phalangites*, which were ſo well cloſed, muſt at laſt diſunite in ſeveral Places, and leave Spaces for his *Legionaries* to enter. Conſtancy was the chief Virtue of the *Romans*; and their General, without quitting the Enterprize, now kept himſelf upon the Watch, to find out ſome Space, through which he might penetrate into the *Phalanx*. Till at length he perceived, that upon repeating the Attacks on different ſides, the firſt Ranks of the Enemy began to make ſome little Motions, and conſequently that the Union of this impenetrable Body would ſoon be broken. And in order to take Advantage of this Opportunity, which he foreſaw, *Paulus Æmilius* divided his Troops into ſmall Plattoons, and ordered them to ſlip into the firſt Openings that ſhould be made in the *Phalanx*. Accordingly the *Conſul* was obeyed; and the *Romans* formed themſelves into ſeveral pointed Battalions, and multiplied their Attacks all along the Front of the Enemy. After ſome time the *Phalangites* diſunited and divided themſelves into ſeveral Bodies. Upon which the *Legionaries* inſtantly ſlipped into the Spaces, and were in a Condition to fight Man to Man. And then how great was the Difference between the *Romans* armed with ſtrong Swords, and large Bucklers, and the *Macedonians*, who were forced to quit their long Pikes, and fight with unequal Weapons! And the Inequality was yet greater between the Courage of one and the other, than between their Shields and Swords. The more Enemies the *Romans* killed, the wider they made the Openings; and the Son of *Cato*, the Son-in-Law of *Paulus Æmilius*, was one of the Officers who penetrated fartheſt in this Attack. He performed ſuch Acts of Valour, as were worthy of the Father from whom he deſcended. Nevertheleſs, an Inundation of *Phalangites* fell upon the Company he commanded, and forced it to retire; and in this Retreat he perceived that he had dropped his Sword. Aſhamed therefore of having left on the Field of Battel the chief Inſtru-

51 This Writer called himſelf *Poſſidonius*, according to *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Paulus Æmilius.* If he was really Cotemporary with *Perſes*, he was a different Perſon from that *Poſſidonius*, the Philoſopher and Hiſtorian, who was a Native of *Apamea.* The latter carried on the Hiſtory of *Polybius*, and made a Voyage to *Rome*, in the *Conſulſhip* of *Marcellus*, a hundred and eighteen Years after the Battel of *Pydna*.

52 Mount *Olocrus* was probably a part of Mount *Olympus*, and bounded the Plain, which was the Field of Battel.

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ment of his Valour, he aſſembled ſome of his Friends, and returned to the Charge. This Company of brave Men followed him ſtooping; broke their Way with Fury through the Enemy; and killed ſo many of the *Macedonians*, as to make ſo great a Void round *Cato*, that he had room and time to look for his Sword, and found it. A memorable 53 Action, and very pleaſing to *Paulus Æmilius*, whoſe Daughter the young Hero had 54 married!

As ſoon as the *Conſul* ſaw the *Phalangites* broken, he no longer doubted of the Victory. Nevertheleſs, he was yet to engage the divided Parts of it, which ſtill kept their Ground. The brave General therefore put himſelf at the Head of the firſt *Legion*, which had not engaged, and led it up to the Enemy. Theſe *Legionaries* were proud of following their General, and receiving their Orders immediately from himſelf; and they with Admiration ſaw him diſcharge the Duty of a young Officer, though advanced in Age, and expoſe himſelf to Danger like a private Soldier. They entered into the Space which divided the *Phalanx*, as it were, into two Bodies, and made Head againſt the *Aglaſpides*; that is, that part of the *Phalangites* which had braſs Bucklers. At the ſame time the ſecond *Legion*, commanded by the Lieutenant General *L. Albinus*, a Man of great Experience in War, who had been *Conſul*, faced the *Leucaſpides*; that is, thoſe *Phalangites* whoſe Bucklers were ſilvered. And as it was foreſeen that the Enemy would firſt be routed on the ſide of the right Wing where the Battel had begun, the Elephants and auxiliary Horſe were ordered to advance that Way. As to the Elephants, no uſe had been made of them in the Battel. The *Romans* were now undeceived as to their Uſefulneſs in Battels. The bringing them into Armies, was one of thoſe Inventions which mightily pleaſe at firſt ſight; but upon Experience are found to be of no Value. They were only employed in purſuing the *Aglaſpides*, when the firſt *Legion* had routed them. The ſecond *Legion* alſo did the ſame by the *Leucaſpides*; and then almoſt the whole *Phalanx* was put into Confuſion. All things conſidered, nothing contributed more towards gaining the *Romans* this Victory, than the Plattoons, which attacked the *Phalanx* in many different Places at once; a way of Fighting firſt invented by *Paulus Æmilius*. Without this Expedient, till then unheard of, it would have been as difficult to have broken the *Phalangites*, as to have beaten down the Walls of a City, defended by a ſtrong Garriſon, without *Rams*.

Liv. B. 44. c. 41.

Nevertheleſs one part of the *Phalanx*, conſiſting of about three thouſand Men, ſtill kept their Ground for a little time; and they were all cut in pieces. Not one of them eſcaped. After this terrible Slaughter, the *Romans* had nothing to do but purſue the Fugitives. From the Field of Battel to *Pydna*, the whole Plain was covered with dead Bodies; and it is ſaid, that till the next Day the Waters of the River 55 *Leucus* were ſtained with Blood. The Slaughter laſted for ſeveral Hours. Some of the Vanquiſhed gained the Tops of the Mountains, others rambled about the Sea-ſhore, and others leaped up to the Middle in the Water, and lifting up their Hands to Heaven, implored the Aſſiſtance of the *Roman* Fleet. They begged for Quarter; and deſired Life and Slavery. Accordingly Boats were ſent out to them; and theſe terrified Men ſwam towards them, to reach them the ſooner. But the mercileſs Seamen killed thoſe who deſired Life, and forced the others to return to the Shore, where they met the Elephants, which trod them under their Feet. Of all the Battels the *Romans* had ever fought with the *Macedonians* this was the moſt bloody. The Enemy loſt near twenty five thouſand Men. Six thouſand more were taken Captives in *Pydna*, of which the *Romans* made themſelves Maſters, and five thouſand Fugitives in the Plain were made Priſoners of War. But the *Romans* did not loſe above eighty, or at moſt a hundred Men. Providence ſeems to have reſerved it for the moſt virtuous *Roman* of his Age, to puniſh the Vices of the moſt wicked of Kings.

Plut. Life of *Paulus.*

Liv. B. 44. c. 42.

53 *Plutarch* ſays there was a Letter extant in his time which *Cato* wrote to his Son; and wherein the Father, in the Joy of his Heart, was very laviſh of his Praiſes, of the Intrepidity young *Porcius* had ſhewn, when he was endeavouring to recover his Sword.

54 *Plutarch* tells us, that young *Cato* did not marry the Daughter of *Paulus Æmilius*, till after the Conqueſt of *Macedon*.

55 We cannot diſcover what River this was. But it is conjectured, that the Hiſtorians mean by it one of the little Rivulets that ran into the River *Haliacmon*; which is now the *Pelaca*, according to *Sophian*, or the *Platamona*, according to *Mercator*.

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§. XX. AFTER this fatiguing and glorious Day, *Paulus Æmilius* refreſhed himſelf a little in his Tent, and waited for the return of thoſe, who were ſtill purſuing the Vanquiſhed. He had brought into *Macedon* with him his two eldeſt Sons, whom he had tranſplanted into two illuſtrious *Roman* Families by Adoption. The firſt, as we have obſerved, had taken the Name of *Fabius* from the *Fabian* Family, into which he was entered. The ſecond, ſince his being adopted by the Son of the Great *Scipio*, had aſſumed the Name of *Cornelius Scipio*. He was the Darling of his Father; having by his extraordinary Virtues merited, and gained the greateſt Share of his Affection. Though young *Scipio* was not above ſeventeen Years at moſt, he already diſcovered the firſt Dawnings of that Heroiſm, which we ſhall ſoon ſee equal him to the Great *Scipio Africanus*, his Grandfather; and his growing Valour now carried him too far in purſuit of the Fugitives. Night came on, and the Soldiers rejoiced exceedingly in their Victory. All the Camp was illuminated, and the Pavilions of the Officers were adorned with Garlands, and Branches of Ivy or Lawrel. But though this military Feſtival made all others very gay, the General's Anxiety was viſible, both in his Air and Countenance. He was a Father, and thought he had loſt the Son whom he loved beſt. The more he reflected on *Scipio's* Valour, the greater were his Fears; and his Grief increaſed in Proportion to his Eſteem. The Domeſticks of the young *Roman* in vain ſought his Body on the Field of Battel, with Flambeaux; and in vain called after him by his Name, all over the Plain. No *Scipio* appeared. The *Conſul* ſupped with a ſorrowful Air, amidſt the publick Joy and Acclamations; his Uneaſineſs ſpread itſelf through the Camp; and then the Rejoicings were turned into Grief. The Soldiers adored *Paulus Æmilius*; and he loved his younger Son very tenderly. Hence the Concern the whole Camp was under to find him. The Night was already far advanced; and the *Conſul* deſpaired of ever ſeeing him more. But juſt as he was ready to retire to lament the Loſs of him in private, young *Scipio* appeared, attended only by two or three of his Companions. Their martial Ardour had carried them quite to the Gates of *Pydna*, in purſuit of the Enemy. *Scipio's* Clothes were yet covered with the Blood which he had ſpilt; and the Joy the Father felt, when he embraced his Son, may better be imagined, than expreſſed. *Paulus Æmilius* was as thankful to the Gods for not having loſt *Scipio*, as for having gained the Battel.

AND now, the Joy of the *Romans* was complete, and the Conſternation in *Macedon* general. *Perſes*, after having abandoned *Pydna*, was on the *Road* to *Pella*, whither the Love of his Riches drew him. During his March, he had *Cotys* the King of the *Odryſians* always by his ſide. The *Macedonian* [56] Cavalry which had not ſuffered during the Action, eſcorted the two Kings. They were obliged to paſs through the Foreſt of *Piaria*, in which there were ſeveral very different Roads. The two Kings kept before their Guards, and mutually comforted each other under their Misfortunes. And it being late in the Day, and the Sun near ſetting, it happened that they took one Road for another, and conſequently the farther they went into the Foreſt, the farther they rambled out of the Way: So that they were forced to ſpend the Night there. But the Cavalry that were behind them, marched on the direct Road to *Pella*, and arrived there before the two Kings. Their Abſence therefore emboldened theſe Soldiers to diſband themſelves; and every Horſeman retired to his own Village. *Perſes* found only ſome Squadrons of *Cre-*

Livy, B. 44. c. 43.

[56] *Plutarch* in his Account of the Flight of the King of *Macedon*, mentions ſome Circumſtances which *Livy* ſeems to have been ignorant of, or to have neglected. *Perſes*, ſays the *Greek* Hiſtorian, marched with great Precipitation, deſigning to take Refuge in *Pella*. He had been joined by his Cavalry, which had not been employed in the Action. His Infantry eſcaped in Diſorder, and fled through any Ways that firſt occurred to them. Several of theſe diſperſed Battalions ſaw the Cavalry which was peaceably attending the King of *Macedon*, and trembled with Rage. Though ſpent with Hunger and Fatigue, they ran up to theſe Horſemen with Fury, and loaded them with Reproaches and Curſes. *Theſe*, ſaid they, *are the cowardly Deſerters who left us to the Mercy of the* Romans, *and would not vouchſafe to aſſiſt us.* And from Reproaches they come to Blows. They briskly attacked the Guard that ſurrounded *Perſes*, and diſmounted and beat all they could reach. Several of the King's Train were grievouſly wounded in the Fray, and Majeſty could not have ſecured that Prince himſelf from the Attempts of theſe Madmen, if he had not eſcaped out of their Sight, and fled through By-Roads. The better to conceal himſelf in his Flight, he threw off his Royal Mantle, Diadem, and all other Marks of his Dignity. And then he ſoon found himſelf deſerted by thoſe who had attended him ſo far. All dreaded the Violence of a wild Prince, who in his raving Fits was guilty of the moſt barbarous Actions. His Ferocity and his Suſpicions increaſed, at the ſight of his Misfortunes.

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tan Horſe there; and in his Palace, he found no Body to attend him, but only his Maſter of the Houſhold, and a few Pages. Then the two Guardians of the King's Treaſure, *Euctus* and *Eudeus* appeared before him; and with the wholſome Advice which theſe faithful Miniſters gave him, for the future, they ſeemed to mix ſome Reproaches for what was paſt. Upon this the King was ſeized with a Fit of Rage, drew his Sword, ſtabbed them, and left them dead upon the Place. This barbarous Action alienated from him all his Friends who had eſcaped out of the Battel; and though invited to come to Court, they would not appear. Three Strangers only continued about his Perſon. One was a *Cretan* named *Evander*, another a *Bœotian* named *Neo*, and the third an *Ætolian* named *Archidamus*. This Solitude was an obvious Preſage to *Perſes* of approaching Ruin; and he no longer thought it ſafe for him to continue in *Pella*. Beſides, the Palace of his Anceſtors ſeemed to reproach him with his Crimes; and the City, which gave Birth to the Conqueror of *Aſia*, inſulted him for his Defeat.

Plut. Life of *Paulus.*

Livy, B. 44. c. 43.

PERSES therefore packed up his Gold, Silver, Vaſes of valuable Stone, and rich Metal, and in ſhort, all the fine Furniture of his Palace, in Waggons; and at four in the Morning left his Capital, attended by the Princes his Children, and guarded by only five hundred *Cretan* Horſe, and King *Cotys*. Not that the *Cretan* Soldiers had any particular Affection for the fugitive King. His Treaſures were the Charm that drew them after him. They hoped for a favourable Opportunity to plunder him. In this Condition *Perſes* marched on towards *Amphipolis* in great haſte; and was very deſirous to get the River *Axius* [57] between him and the *Romans*, whom he thought continually at his Heels. This River was broad and deep, and the King did not think himſelf ſafe till he had paſſed it. During his March, the News of his Defeat, and of the entire Rout of his Army came to *Amphipolis*. The Terror of the People was exceeding great upon it; and the Ladies of the City fled for Refuge to a Temple of *Diana Tauropolos* [58], hoping to find an Aſylum at the Feet of the chaſte Goddeſs. The Town was guarded by a thouſand *Thracians* only, Men greedy of Booty; but *Diodorus* the *Macedonian* was Governor. He was an able Man, watchful of the Intereſts of his Country, afraid that in this ſudden Alarm the foreign Garriſon would plunder the Temples and Houſes in *Amphipolis*, and in order to prevent it, invented a Stratagem, which ſucceeded. He hired a Man, who dreſſed himſelf like a Courier, and brought forged Letters to the Governor and Garriſon. The Purport of them was, that the *Roman* Fleet had made a Deſcent on the Coaſts of *Emathia*, and pillaged them; and the Garriſon of *Amphipolis* were therefore intreated to haſten to the Defence of the Province, and come and reap the Spoils of a good Number of *Romans*, who were diſperſed in Confuſion all over the Country. *Diodorus* alſo had the Addreſs, to leſſen the Diſadvantages of the Rout of *Perſes*, in the Opinions of the *Amphipolitans*. *Theſe are falſe Reports*, ſaid he. *If the News was true, how many Fugitives ſhould we have had fled hither, to confirm it!* Upon the Aſſurances of the Governor, the *Thracians* marched out of *Amphipolis*; and as ſoon as they had paſſed the *Strymon* [59], the Gates of the City were ſhut againſt them. Thus *Diodorus* became Maſter of the City, and waited for an Opportunity to declare himſelf for the victorious Party.

§. XXI. Whilst the vanquiſhed King was advancing towards *Amphipolis*, the *Conſul* was intent on making the beſt uſe of his Victory, and rendring it complete. In the firſt Place, the chief Commanders of the *Macedonian* Army, *Hippias*, *Milo*, and *Pantauchus*, came and ſurrendered themſelves up to him, and offered the *Romans* their Services. At the ſame time they delivered up the City of [60] *Berœa*;

57 The River *Axius* is the moſt conſiderable River in *Macedon*. It riſes at Mount *Scardus* in *Illyricum*, and after it has run through ſeveral Provinces of that Country, diſcharges itſelf into *The Thermaic Gulph*. *Sophian* and *Tzetzes* call it the *Vardari*. *Zonaras* had before given it the Name of *Bardarius*; whence perhaps its modern Name came.

58 The Surname of *Tauropolos* was given to *Diana*, becauſe ſhe was revered in a particular manner at *Tauris*, a City of *Scythia*.

59 The River *Strymon* riſes at Mount *Orbelus* in *Macedon*, and falls into the *Ægean* Sea. According to *Bellonius* it is at preſent the *Marmara*. *Lazius* gives it the Name of *Iſchar*; *Nardus*, that of *Radivi*; and *Sophian*, that of *Stromona*.

60 *Berœa* was one of the chief Cities of *Emathia*, a Province of *Macedon*. *Holſtenius* places it at the Foot of Mount *Bermius*, in a Country covered with Forests.

and many other Cities followed the Example of this important Place. First *Pydna*, then *Theſſalonica*, and then *Pella*, opened their Gates to the *Romans*. It may be affirmed, that ſoon after the gaining of the Battel, almoſt all *Macedon* ſubmitted to the Conqueror; and then *Paulus Æmilius* took care to reward his Soldiers. He gave them Leave to plunder *Pydna*, and ſtrip the Dead which were left on the Field of Battel. He alſo ſuffered his Cavalry to go and get what Booty they could round the Plain, for two Days together; but commanded them to repair to the Camp, immediately after that time. In the mean while he ſent to *Rome* his Son *Fabius*, with two Officers of Diſtinction, to give the Senate and People an account of the great Victory he had juſt gained; and when theſe Meſſengers had taken their Leave, he proceeded to finiſh his Expedition.

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He was yet a great Way off, when *Perſes* advanced towards *Amphipolis*. This City was in his Dominions; but nevertheleſs ſeems to have been the Capital of a free People called [61] *Biſaltæ*, who had ſpread themſelves along the Banks of the River *Strymon*. The Gates of *Amphipolis* were opened to the King of *Macedon*, who had depended on the Reinforcements which the *Biſaltæ* would furniſh him with; and in order to induce them to aſſiſt him, he aſſembled the *Citizens* of *Amphipolis* in the Market-place. The King came thither, attended by *Philip* his eldeſt Son; and his Pretence for making a Speech, was that of exhorting the few Troops that had followed him, or that had come to *Amphipolis* ſince the Rout, to do their Duty. So that *Perſes* mounted *A Tribune of Harangues*, and began a Speech; but was ſo often interrupted in his Diſcourſe by his Tears, that he was obliged to come down, and return home. And then *Evander* the *Cretan*, who was always faithful to the King, even in his Misfortunes, by his Order took his Place, and continued the Harangue; but with very different Succeſs. The Preſence of an unfortunate Prince, and eſpecially his Tears, had moved the *Amphipolitans*. But they deſpiſed the Speech, and the Perſon of the foreign Officer. Voices were heard among the People interrupting him, and crying out; *Come down from the* Tribune, *and march out of the City with your* Cretans, *as ſoon as poſſible. Shall we, for the ſake of defending you, involve ourſelves in all theſe Calamities, from which you could not deliver* Macedon?

This was giving both the King and his *Cretans* warning to be ſoon gone from *Amphipolis*. *Perſes* therefore put his Family, Treaſures, and *Cretans*, on board ſome Barks, which were in the River *Strymon*; and when he was come on board himſelf, followed the Courſe of the River. Then *Cotys* and his [62] *Odryſians* deſerted him, and returned into their own Country; but the *Cretans* ſtill adhered to him, becauſe they daily expected the happy Minute when they ſhould get ſome of his Treaſures. And indeed *Perſes* deſigned to ſatisfy theſe greedy Men, whoſe Intentions he foreſaw. But he was ſenſible, that if he made a Diſtribution among them with his own Hands, he ſhould raiſe great Diſcontents; and therefore, in order to ſatisfy them, he choſe to let them get a Booty of about the Value of fifty *Talents* †, which he cauſed to be laid for them on the Shore. The Effects which he left to gratify their Avarice, were Vaſes of Gold and Silver, and other Utenſils, of which every one ſeized as much as he could; and when they were loaded with the Booty, they inſtantly reimbarked, for fear of being left on the Shore, to the Mercy of the *Romans*, who were already all over *Macedon*. Their Hurry was ſo great to get to their Boats, that they ſunk one of them. In the mean time the King continued his Courſe, and the ſame Day arrived at *Galepſos* [63],

† 9687 *l.* 10 *s.* *Arbuthnot.*

61 The *Biſaltæ* poſſeſſed one of the Mountains of *Macedon*, which was next to the Mouth of the *Strymon*. *Stephen of Byſantium* is the only Author who affirms, without Proof, that the Names of *Biſaltia* and *Biſaltus*, were given to a City and River of this Canton. *Livy* ſays, *B.* 45. that the *Biſaltæ* lived near the River *Strymon*. And in another Place, he makes them to have ſettled beyond the River which divides *Thrace* from *Macedon*; which Paſſages are not irreconcileable. *Athenæus* ſays, that theſe People had formerly ſpread themſelves beyond the Bounds, which moſt of the ancient Geographers have given them.

62 The Ancients give the Name of *Odryſæ* to a People of *Thrace*, who lived near the River *Hebrus*. The Territory of *Didimotica* belonged to them. *Thucydides* ſays, *B.* 2. that they were the moſt powerful Nation in *Thrace*. He affirms, that they extended their Dominion from the City of *Abdera* on the Borders of *Macedon*, to the *Euxin* Sea, near the Mouth of the *Danube*.

63 As far as we can judge of it by the Courſe *Perſes* took to go to the Iſland of *Samothrace*, *Gelapſos* muſt have ſtood beyond the *Strymon*, towards the Mouth of the River *Neſſus*, and on this ſide the *Hebrus*.

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a little maritime City, between the Mouths of the *Strymon*, and the [64] *Hebrus*.

How difficult is it, under any change of Circumſtances, for Men ever to conquer a Paſſion, which they have once ſuffered to get the Dominion over them! Avarice had always been the capital Vice of *Perſes*, and now when he came to *Galepſos*, he repented of that ſingle Act of Liberality on the Road. The fifty *Talents* he had ſquandered away among the *Cretans* came into his Thoughts; and he was wholly bent on recovering part of them at leaſt, though by Lies, and Deceit. He made uſe of one of thoſe Artifices, with which the *Cretans* are ſo often reproached, to cheat them. He declared, That among the Cups and Urns which he had given up to them, there had, by miſtake, been ſome, which had belonged to *Alexander the Great*; That as he had vaſt Reſpect for the Memory of that Hero, it was Matter of the greateſt Grief to him, to have loſt the leaſt thing that had belonged to him; and That he would give double the Value for any of theſe Vaſes, which were more dear to him, on account of *Alexander*'s Name, than their intrinſick Worth: and the King, by theſe Declarations, impoſed on the *Cretans*. They brought him their Vaſes again; *Perſes* ſeized them; and ſaid no more of giving them any Reward for them. By this baſe Artifice he recovered at leaſt thirty **Talents*.

* 5812 *l.* 10 *s. Arbuthnot.*

His very Guard therefore loaded him with Curſes; and he was wholly bent on leaving them, retiring from the Continent, and taking Refuge in the Iſland of *Samothrace*. This was an *Aſylum* [65] conſecrated by Religion, and revered by all Nations in the World. The Worſhip that was there paid to *Cybele*, made it venerable; and the Remembrance of *The Mother of the Gods*, who had dwelt there, made it more reſpected, than even the Temple of *Delphi*, or the Iſland of *Delos*. The fugitive King therefore hoping that the *Romans* would not prophane this Sanctuary, by ſtaining it with his Blood, went thither with his Family, and carried with him the Remains of his dear Treaſure, which yet amounted to [66] two thouſand *Talents* †. *Evander*, the faithful Friend, whom he had ſo often employed in Aſſaſſinations, was almoſt the only Perſon who followed him into this Place of Baniſhment; and the King, to whom this whole Iſland of *Samothrace* was ſubject (tho' all the Nations in the World were at full Liberty to come and pay their Devotions there) took up his Habitation in a Temple dedicated to *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. There he waited for the Departure of the *Romans*, or ſome favourable turn of Fortune.

† 387500 *l. Arbuthnot.*

§. XXII. As for *Paulus Æmilius*, he was not idle during theſe Attempts of *Perſes* to eſcape from him. He was ſenſible that his Land Forces could be of no uſe to him, to ſurround the fugitive King in his Retreat; and to prevent his Eſcape, he ſent Orders to the *Prætor Octavius*, to go and inveſt the Iſland of *Samothrace* with his Fleet. In the mean time, the *Conſul* himſelf marched with his *Legions* into the Heart of *Macedon*. *Theſſalonica* and *Pella* were taken in two Days; and almoſt all the reſt of the Cities ſurrendered as ſoon. Though the *Macedonians* were the beſt affected to their Kings of any Nation in the World,

64 The River *Hebrus*, which riſes by Mount *Hæmus*, towards the Confines of *Macedon*, falls into the *Ægean* Sea, after it has run through a part of *Thrace*.

65 *Samothrace* was an Iſland in the *Archipelago*, lying near *Thrace*, between the Iſlands of *Imbros*, and *Lemnos*. In the moſt early Ages it was called *Dardania*, becauſe *Dardanus* retired thither, according to *Pliny* and *Pauſanias*. Theſe two Authors add, that it changed its firſt Name into that of *Samothrace*, from the time that it become inhabited by a Colony of *Thracians*, and ſome Fugitives from *Samos*, an Iſland in the *Ionian* Sea. But *Diodorus Siculus* pretends, *B.* 4. that the *Amazon*, *Myrina*, in the Courſe of her Conqueſts, on the Coaſts of the *Ægean* Sea, conſecrated this Iſland to *Cybele*, under the Name of *Samothrace*; a Term, ſays he, then uſed to ſignify a conſecrated Place. The Goddeſs, continues he, was charmed with the Lovelineſs of the Climate, and pitched on that Place for the Celebration of her Myſteries, which was committed to the Care of the *Corybantes*. The Place appointed for the Aſſemblies of the Initiated was in a Wood, which ſoon after became a Place of Refuge to all that fled thither. The Worſhip of the Goddeſs was afterwards extended to the *Corybantes* her Sons, which ſome have taken for the *Cabiri*. The Pagans carried their Prejudices ſo far, in favour of theſe pretended Gods, in the Countries of *Aſia* and *Greece*, that the People were ſtruck with an awful Dread upon the bare mention of their Names. Of all the Oaths that were in uſe among the Pagans, that by the Gods of *Samothrace* was deemed the moſt inviolable. They who were perjured by this Oath, were the Curſe of Mankind, and conſidered as prophane Wretches, devoted to Deſtruction. See what we have ſaid of the *Cabiri*, in the third Volume.

Add to this, that this Iſland, which was ſometimes called *Melita*, ſometimes *Leucaſia* and *Leucana*, and ſometimes *Electria*, is now called *Samandrachi*. It is ſaid to be about twenty Miles in Circumference.

66 Two thouſand *Talents*, at the Rate of a thouſand *French Crowns per Talent*, amount to ſix Millions of *Livres*.

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yet having no Defence left, they ſwam with the Stream. In ſhort, never was Conqueſt more rapid. Indeed *Æginium* [67], which had not received the News of the King's Defeat, made ſome Reſiſtance to a Detachment of *Romans*, commanded by Lieutenant General *Anicius*; but after the Inhabitants had loſt two hundred Men in a Sally, they ſurrendered. The *Conſul* himſelf advanced towards *Pella*, and encamped near it for ſome Days; and there *Paulus Æmilius* was charmed with the fine Conqueſt he had made. He thought the City which ſurrendred to him without Oppoſition, impregnable. It roſe up like an Amphitheatre in the middle of a Marſh, made by the Overflowings of ſeveral Lakes, and was not acceſſible any Way but over a Bridge, which was eaſy to be broken down. Art had alſo been added to the Works of Nature, in guarding this Fortreſs. It was ſurrounded on all ſides with a Wall, and a ſtrong Rampart, which ſeemed to join to the City, but was ſeparated from it by a River, which ſurrounded it on the inſide of the Wall, and was a ſort of natural Ditch of running Water. It is not therefore to be wondered at, that a Prince, who idolized his Treaſures, ſhould chuſe to depoſite them in a Place ſo well fortified. Nevertheleſs, when *Paulus Æmilius* entered it, he found there only the three hundred *Talents* * which were for King *Gentius*, and of which *Perſes* had defrauded him. They ſeem to have been laid up only for a Prey for the *Romans*.

* 58125 *l. Sterling. Arbuthnot.*

During the *Conſul*'s Stay at *Pella*, Embaſſies were daily coming to him from all Parts of *Greece*, to congratulate him on his Victory. The *Theſſalians* eſpecially diſtinguiſhed themſelves. They were the faithful Province. No other had furniſhed the victorious Army with more Proviſions and Men. From *Pella*, *Paulus Æmilius* ſet out for *Amphipolis*; and was better received there, Sword in Hand, than the diſarmed and fugitive *Perſes*. However, the *Conſul* had the Precaution to ſend thither before him his Son-in-Law *Naſica*, with ſome Horſe and Foot; and he himſelf entered this Capital of the *Biſaltæ*, as it were in Triumph. It is ſaid that an Event, which if true was fortuitous, increaſed the Admiration of the People of *Amphipolis* for the *Conſul*. Whilſt he was ſacrificing in the Temple, ſay they, and the Entrails of the Victims were laying upon the Wood, there fell down on a ſudden a Fire from Heaven, which conſumed them; as if *Jupiter* had been thereby pleaſed to ratify the Victory of the *Conſul*, and the Puniſhment of an unworthy Monarch. From thence *Æmilius* paſſed on, in a victorious manner, through all the Provinces of *Macedon*, quite to the Coaſt of *Thrace*; *Naſica* ſtill marching before him with a Detachment. He ravaged the Country of [68] *Sintice*; entered the Territory of the *Odomantes* [69], at the Foot of Mount *Orbelus*; and tarried ſome Days near [70] *Siræ*. And there he expected to hear of the Concluſion of the Expedition, which he had committed to the Care of the Admiral *Octavius*.

Plut. Life of *Paulus*. *Liv. B.* 44. *c.* 46.

§. XXIII. *PERSES* ſtill depended on the Safety of his Perſon and Family, which he promiſed himſelf from the Sanctity of the Place which he had made his *Aſylum*. And in order to ſoften his Conqueror, he ſent ſuch an Embaſſy to him as was proper to move him. The Perſons choſen to be ſent, and their Train, were ſuch as ſhewed the Miſery of a King, who was reduced to the laſt Extremity. He had no Lord of his Court to put at the Head of the Deputation; they had all deſerted him. The *Conſul* received the Deputies at *Siræ*, and upon a Sight of the Condition to which this great King appeared to be reduced, could not refrain from Tears. *Is this*, ſaid he, *that* Perſes, *that Succeſſor of* Alexander the Great, *that proud Monarch, whoſe Ambition knew no Bounds? Formerly, not content with* Macedon, *he extended his Views to* Illyricum, Dardania, *and in ſhort,*

67 *Æginium*, a City of *Æſtiotis*, a Canton of *Theſſaly*, ſtood in the moſt Northern Part of *Pelagonia Tripolitis*. Nevertheleſs the City here ſpoken of, ſeems by *Livy*'s Story to have been ſituated in *Macedon*, at a little Diſtance from *Pella*.

68 *Sintice* was one of the Eaſtern Provinces of *Macedon*. It reached on both ſides the River *Strymon*, to the Mouth of the *Biſaltis*. The City of *Heraclea*, which was diſtinguiſhed from the many others of that Name, by the Appellation of *Sintice*, was the Capital of this Country. *Caſtaldus* now calls it *Cheſeia*.

69 The *Odomantes* bordered on *Sintice* to the North; and on *Biſaltia* to the South. Though their Country belonged to *Macedon*, ſome Geographers have taken them for a People of *Thrace*; perhaps becauſe they bordered upon this Country, or becauſe the Eaſtern Provinces of *Macedon* had formerly been Parts of *Thrace*.

70 We can ſay nothing more of this City, than that it ſtood in the moſt Eaſtern Part of *Macedon*.

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These Words threw the King into a Conſternation. He was afraid, that this Friend, this conſtant Attendant upon him in his Flight, would confeſs his Crime. *Perhaps*, ſaid he to himſelf, Evander *whom I have entruſted with all my Secrets, will be forced by Tortures to load me with new Infamy. He muſt therefore die by my Hand, or his own!* In Purſuit of which barbarous Scheme, *Perſes* took aſide the only Friend he had left, and addreſſed himſelf to him thus. *You are ſuſpected of having made an Attempt upon the Life of the King of* Pergamus, *and you are cited to appear before the People of* Samothrace. *But I am againſt your running the Hazards of being tried by the People. Tho' I am a King, and Lord of* Samothrace, *my Power here is loſt with my Fortune. Die then,* Evander, *Die. It is a glorious thing, for a brave Man, as you are, to diſpatch himſelf.* The *Cretan* ſeemed to come into the Propoſal, and anſwered, *I am not afraid of dying. But it is not proper to pollute this holy Iſland with Blood. Poiſon will put an End to a Life which I have long devoted to you, as effectually as a Sword.* Which ſaid, he left the Place; but with a Deſign to ſeek for Means to eſcape out of the Iſland, and avoid this Danger. *Perſes* however ſuſpected it; ſent after him, and had him murdered; and by this freſh Impiety filled up the Meaſure of his Iniquities. So that the Villain was ever after upon the Rack with inward Remorſe. He was continually afraid that the Death of *Evander*, and the deſigned Aſſaſſination of *Eumenes*, would be imputed to him; which would make the *Romans* treat him with ſtill leſs Regard. And in order to avoid this double Suſpicion, he corrupted *Theondas*, the moſt conſiderable Man in *Samothrace*, with Money, and the latter declared to the People, that *Evander* had killed himſelf.

§. XXIV. But tho' the unfortunate King eſcaped the Judgment of the People, he could not eſcape from his own Fears. He had no Troops, no Friends, no Protectors; not even among the Gods, two of whoſe moſt ſacred *Aſyla* he had prophaned. He therefore did his utmoſt to find Means to eſcape out of a Place where both Heaven and Earth ſeemed to conſpire againſt him. He had been informed, that under a Promontory of *Samothrace*, called *Demetrium* [75], there was a Merchant Ship lying at Anchor, which had come from *Crete*. The Name of the Captain who commanded her, and had freighted her on his own Account, was *Oroandes*. *Perſes* got him to be brought into the Temple where he lived, and treated privately with him, about carrying himſelf and his Effects into *Thrace*, to King *Cotys*, his old Friend and Ally. The *Cretan* was well acquainted with the Coaſt of *Thrace*, and had often trafficked there. But he was as ſelfiſh as other Traders, and as deceitful as the reſt of his Countrymen. The Price was agreed on, and proper Meaſures were taken for embarking the King and his Treaſures. It was ſaid, that in the Dusk of the Evening, *Perſes* conveyed to the Port of *Demetrium* the Cheſts in which his Treaſures were, and followed them himſelf before Break of Day. And indeed, as much Money was carried on Board the Ship as could be removed before it was quite dark. But *Perſes* had the Caution to ſend only the leaſt Part of his Treaſures before him. Avarice is always ſuſpicious.

Plut. Life of *Paulus*. *Liv.*, B. 45. c. 6.

In the dead of the Night, the King prepared every thing for his own Departure. He took with him only Prince *Philip*, his eldeſt Son, and three Men, in whom he could confide. The reſt of his Houſhold, that is, his other Children, Pages, and all his Retinue, were left behind him. He eſcaped out of the Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* [76], thro' a narrow Window, into an adjoining Garden. From thence he entered into the Plain, thro' an Hole which he found in the Wall, and made the beſt of his Way to *Demetrium*. The reſt of his Treaſure was following him thro' different Roads. But when he came to the Sea-ſhore, he, to his great Surprize, found no Ship there. The perfidious *Cretan* had ſet ſail in the Middle of the Night; and the King loſt Part of his Treaſures paſt Recovery. He was inconſolable at the Loſs; and rambled about the Shore for ſome time, in Perplexity what to do. He was aſhamed of having left his Children and Houſhold to the Mercy of the *Romans*; and for fear of the Reproaches he had deſerved from them, would not return to the Apartments within the Temple, where he had before lived. He

75 *Livy* and *Plutarch* are the only Authors that mention *The Promontory of Demetrium*.

76 The *Cabiri* were the tutelary Gods of *Samothrace*. *Plutarch* here follows the Opinion of thoſe who make them to have been the ſame as *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, whom the Pagans worſhipped under the Title of *Dioſcorides*. See what we have ſaid of the Origin and Worſhip of the *Dii Cabiri*, *Vol.* 3. went

went into the Temple itſelf, and hid himſelf in a Corner of it, to prevent being diſcovered. Year of *ROME* DLXXXV.

In the mean time, the *Roman* Admiral was not ignorant of the baſe Uſage *Perſes* had ſhewn his Houſhold; and in order to engage him to ſurrender himſelf up without Violence, the *Roman* made Proclamation in the City, by Sound of Trumpet, *That ſuch of the King's Pages, and other* Macedonians *in the Iſland, as would ſurrender up themſelves voluntarily to the* Romans, *ſhould have their Lives and Liberty given them.* Expreſs Mention was made of the King's Pages, becauſe they were a conſiderable Body at the Court of the *Macedonian.* They were the chief of the young Lords of the Kingdom, whom the King kept near his Perſon, as Pledges for the Fidelity of their Fathers, and employed in what Offices he pleaſed. Upon this, the young Company of Nobles immediately ſurrendered themſelves up to the *Prætor Octavius.* A *Tribune* took their Names; and then they were put in Poſſeſſion of all the Privileges of Men of their Birth. This Example was alſo followed by the King's Sons, who were all, except the Eldeſt, put into the Hands of the *Roman* Admiral, by their 77 Governour. And this laſt Stroke ſtrongly affected *Perſes.* He was like a wild Beaſt robbed of its Young, and gave himſelf up to Deſpair. The Time ſeemed to be come for him to end his Days himſelf, and follow the Advice he had given to *Evander.* Paganiſm had falſely adjudged theſe violent Deaths to be glorious. But *Perſes* had not Courage enough to put in Execution his own Advice to other Men; and he therefore came out of the dark Place in which he had hid himſelf, and demanded a Conference. *Plut. in Paulo*

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At firſt he declared that he would ſurrender himſelf up to no Body but *Scipio,* the youngeſt of the two Sons which *Æmilius* had brought with him into *Macedon.* But the young *Roman* was not at *Samothrace.* He was, doubtleſs, with his Father on the Continent; ſo that *Perſes* was at laſt forced to take hold of the only Reſource he had left; that is, ſurrender himſelf up to *Octavius.* Indeed he ſaved his Life by this cowardly Surrendry; but it was only to ſpend the Remainder of it amidſt the Reproaches of a captive State. Whereas, according to the prevailing Opinions of that time, he would at leaſt have raiſed the Compaſſion of the Publick, if he had had Courage enough to have killed himſelf. But inſtead of that he firſt inveighed againſt the Gods, who had deſerted him, and againſt *Fortune,* who had betrayed him; and then conſented to be carried, with Prince *Philip* his eldeſt Son, and the reſt of his Treaſures, on board the *Roman* Galleys, which brought him to *Amphipolis.*

As ſoon as the Fleet was arrived there, the Admiral wrote to the *Conſul* to come thither, to receive the Homages of the captive King of *Macedon* in Chains. *Paulus Æmilius* brought his victorious Army, and encamped near the Place; and immediately ſent *Tubero* his Son-in-law to meet the King. The *Conſul* never had a more numerous Court of Officers about him, than on the Day in which he received *Perſes* in his Tent. Nor had any *Roman* General (not even the Great *Scipio* himſelf, when *Syphax* was brought a Priſoner to him) ever ſeen a more glorious, or more affecting Sight. What was *Syphax* more than a petty King of *Numidia,* who had raſhly come to the Aſſiſtance of *Carthage?* Whereas the King of *Macedon* was the greateſt Prince in *Europe*; Great, by his Birth, his own Victories, and thoſe of his Predeceſſors, his Riches, and the Extent of his Dominions. Had it not been for his vicious Paſſions, which he always indulged to great Exceſs; he had ſufficient Talents of Mind and Courage to have made a Figure among the greateſt of Kings. What Glory then was it to *Æmilius,* to ſee the moſt powerful Monarch in the World, the Conqueror of three *Conſuls,* and the Terror of the *Romans,* groveling at his Feet! *Perſes* indeed did not bear his Misfortunes with that Magnanimity which he had ſhewn in his Proſperity. It was almoſt the peculiar Happineſs of the *Romans,* to be able to ſurmount the greateſt of Calamities by Conſtancy.

§. XXV. *PERSES* entered the *Roman* Camp in a mourning Habit, ſuitable to his Condition. He was attended by only one *Macedonian,* who might raiſe

77 *Perſes,* ſays *Plutarch,* had committed his youngeſt Children to the Care of *Ion of Theſſalonica,* his Favourite. But this Traitor, adds the Hiſtorian, by the moſt infamous Act of Perfidiouſneſs, abuſed the Confidence placed in him, and ſurrendered them up to the *Romans* at Diſcretion, when he might have carried them to a Place of Safety.

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ſome Compaſſion for the Body of the conquered People. The Concourſe was ſo great to ſee him paſs, that the *Conſul* was forced to keep off the Crowd with his *Lictors*, from the great Street of the Camp to his Tent. As ſoon as the King appeared, *Paulus Æmilius* and his Officers roſe up; then ſate down again; and then the *Conſul* advanced ſome Steps to meet *Perſes*. *Æmilius*, as a Sign of Hoſpitality, reached out his Hand to him; and that Inſtant the King ſtooped down to embrace the Knees of his Conqueror. It is alſo ſaid, that he fell proſtrate, ſtruck his Forehead on the Ground, and dropped Expreſſions unworthy of the Majeſty of a King. *Æmilius* was moved with Compaſſion towards him, and with an Air of Sweetneſs, and Indignation at the ſame time, ſaid, *Unfortunate King! why do you diſhonour my Victory, by this Weakneſs? This Humiliation leſſens the Value of the Advantages* Rome *has gained over you. Rather impute your Misfortunes to the Gods, than to your own ill-judged Proceedings. You ought not to reproach your ſelf with being in this Condition, ſo much as the Decrees of the Gods.* Thus far the *Stoick*. *Æmilius* had been taught in their School [78] to impute all Events of Life to an inevitable Fatality; and did not conſider, that he thereby took off all kind of Merit from his own Victory, and leſſened the Value of it more than *Perſes* had done by his Meanneſs and Cowardice.

Plut. Life of *Paulus*.

After this firſt Diſcourſe, the *Conſul* and the King began to converſe more familiarly; and the *Roman* asked him, *What could have induced him to break with the Republick, and declare himſelf her Enemy?* Which *Perſes* only anſwered with Tears. He kept his Eyes fixed on the Ground, and confeſſed his Fault by his Silence. *Indeed*, continued *Æmilius*, *you would have been ſomewhat excuſable, if you had mounted the Throne in the Flower of your Age. In the Heat of Youth Men don't enough conſider the Conſequences of a dangerous Enterprize. But you*, Perſes, *had known the Strength and Power of* Rome *during the Wars of your Father* Philip. *You was then fit to bear Arms; and thro' the whole Courſe of your Predeceſſor's Reign, you might have obſerved with what Fidelity the* Romans *ever cultivated the Friendſhip of pacified Nations.* Upon this the unfortunate King wept afreſh; held his Peace; and his Silence was more eloquent than any Words he could have uttered. The Converſation between the *Roman* and him was in the *Greek* Language; the *Conſul* invited the King to dine with him; and then ſhut himſelf up in his own Tent, with only his Sons-in-law, and his Sons. There he gave a full Scope to his Reflections; and, like a *Stoick*, made the following Speech in *Latin*, to the young Warriors of his Family, whom he had ordered to come to him.

Plut. Life of *Paulus*. *Livy B.* 45. *c.* 8.

YOU have now before your Eyes, my dear Children, a very affecting and a very inſtructive Inſtance of the Revolutions of Fortune. Ought I then to glory in my Succeſs and Victories, upon ſhewing you this Sight? Can I depend on the Capriciouſneſs of Fate for one Moment? Do I know what my future Deſtiny will be? Or can any one guard me from the Inſtability of Fortune? If in the midſt of Victory and Applauſe the proudeſt Conqueror cannot promiſe himſelf a laſting Proſperity, can he be proud for a tranſient Advantage? One fatal Minute deſtroyed the Family of Alexander, *and put an End to his Ambition; and here one of his moſt illuſtrious Succeſſors is now ſuffering under a more deplorable Change. He ſurvives the Loſs of his Glory, his Liberty, and his Dominions. He was formerly ſurrounded with a numerous Army, and formidable to our* Legions. *But now he has no Attendant, and is condemned to the Miſeries of Slavery. What then can be a ſtronger Preſervative againſt Pride? Let his Fall teach you to fear the Changes of* Fortune; *and learn, during the Calm, to bear the Storm with Dignity.* In this manner did the wiſe *Paulus Æmilius* inſtruct his Children; whom he made all Heroes.

This glorious Day was concluded with a fine Entertainment which *Æmilius* gave *Perſes*. He was wanting in no Inſtance of Honour and Reſpect to him. After this, the *Conſul* put him under the Guard of *Q. Ælius*, till the Time he had

78 The *Stoicks* deſtroyed the Liberty of Man, by ſubjecting him to the unalterable Decrees of Fate. A capital Error, which ſapped the Foundations of all civil Society, and all Religion. According to this Doctrine, Virtue can be nothing but a ſpecious Name, an idle Phantom. This monſtrous Tenet opens a Door for all Impiety, by making God reſponſible for our Vices. Nevertheleſs, *Livy* makes *Paulus Æmilius* ſpeak like a Man undetermined, and wavering between the Opinions of the *Academicks*, *Epicureans*, and *Stoicks*. *Let us not enquire*, ſays he to *Perſes*, *whether you ought to impute your Misfortunes to yourſelf, or to Chance, or to an inevitable Fatality. Utcunque tamen hæc, ſive errore humano, ſive caſu, ſive neceſſitate inciderunt.*

fixed

fixed for carrying him to *Rome*. And now, nothing remained for the *Roman* General to do, but to give his Troops ſome Reſt; which he did, by putting them in good Quarters, ſome in *Amphipolis*, and the others in the neighbouring Cities.

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THUS ended the ſecond War with *Macedon*, which laſted four Years. This was the finiſhing Stroke to the *Macedonian* Monarchy; a Stroke which determined its Fate; and from which it never recovered. According to ſome Hiſtorians, *Perſes* was the twenty fifth King of *Macedon*. From *Caranus* 79 the firſt King, one and twenty, or as others ſay, thirty, or thirty nine Kings, ſucceſſively filled that Throne, before *Perſes*. But be that as it will, it ſeems more certain, that *Perſes* was the ſeventeenth King, ſince the Death of *Alexander the Great*. Strictly ſpeaking, this Monarchy did not begin to be in a flouriſhing Condition, till the Time of *Philip* the Son of *Amyntas*, and the Father of the Conqueror of *Aſia*. It continued in Splendor for a hundred and ninety three Years, made *Greece* tremble, carried its victorious Arms beyond the *Indus*, and furniſhed *Egypt* and *Syria* with a Succeſſion of Kings. The *Seleucidæ* and the *Ptolomies* kept themſelves longer on the Thrones which they invaded, than the Succeſſors of *Alexander* did, on that of *Macedon*. But tho' *Rome* did not ſwallow up theſe two Monarchies, till ſome time after the Ruin of that of *Macedon*; the Time will come when we ſhall ſee them alſo conquered, and become abſolutely ſubject to her.

79 *Caranus*, who was of the Race of *Hercules*, and deſcended from the Kings of *Argi*, went into *Emathia*, where he laid the Foundations of the Kingdom of *Macedon*.

THE Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK XLVI.

Year of *ROME* DLXXXV.

L. Æmilius Paulus, C. Licinius Crassus, Conſuls.

§. I. *ROME* waited with Impatience for ſome News from *Macedon*. Notwithſtanding the great Opinion both Senate and People entertained of the General they had ſent thither, it was not natural to believe that he could have finiſhed the War in ſo few Months, by the Conqueſt of ſo great a [1] Kingdom. They were therefore ſurprized to ſee *Fabius*, the eldeſt of *Paulus Æmilius*'s Sons, arrive, and hear him give, firſt the Senate, and afterwards the *Comitia*, an Account of the entire Defeat of the *Macedonian* Army, the Flight of *Perſes* into *Samothrace*, and the great Hopes there was Reaſon to entertain, that the King would ſpeedily ſurrender up himſelf and all his Dominions. When *Fabius* left *Macedon*, *Perſes* enjoyed ſome Sort of Liberty in his *Aſylum*. Nevertheleſs, there had been a Report ſpread in *Rome*, ſome time before *Fabius* arrived there, That the King of *Macedon* had been vanquiſhed, That he was a Captive in the Hands of *Paulus Æmilius*, and That the Republick was in Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom. And if we give Credit to the Fact which the *Pontifices* doubtleſs inſerted in their Annals, from whence *Plutarch* had it, and which ſome Authors aſcribe to the [2] Devil, we muſt think there was ſomething ſupernatural in this early News. Indeed it is not poſſible, without a Miracle, that the People in the Center of *Italy* ſhould have known of the Victory of *Paulus Æmilius*, ſo ſoon as four Days after it was gained. And tho' *Livy* [3], relates the Prodigy, he gives us likewiſe a more ſincere and ſenſible Account of the Conveyance of this News; which Account is very credible in itſelf,

Plut. Life of *Paulus*.

Livy, *B.* 45. *c.* 1.

1 *Macedon* then contained that great Continent, which is bounded, to the North, by *Servia* and *Bulgaria*; to the Weſt, by the Borders of the *Adriatic* Sea; to the South, by *Theſſaly*; and to the Eaſt, by the *Ægean* Sea, and a Part of *Thrace*. *Ptolomy* makes the Length of this Kingdom to have been two thouſand *Stadia*; that is, near eighty three Leagues, from Mount *Orbelus*, to Mount *Pindus*: and he gives it two thouſand five hundred *Stadia*; that is, an hundred and three, or an hundred and four common Leagues, in Breadth; reckoning from *Dyrrachium*, or *Durazzo*, to Mount *Athos*, now known by the Name of *Monte Santo*. This Country now contains four great Provinces; *viz.* *Jamboli*, *Macedon* ſtrictly ſo called, *Comenomitari*, and *Jauna*.

2 We have Accounts of Facts like this in every Age. *Plutarch*, and ſome of the ancient Hiſtorians, have given us ſeveral Inſtances of them. *Grotius*, to cut the Knot at once, aſcribes theſe wonderful Effects to the Power of the Devil, whoſe Intereſt it was to bring this early News. By this Artifice, the ſeducing Spirit was more ſure of impoſing on the Credulity of the People. The Pagans never failed to turn it to the Advantage of Polytheiſm; and always oppoſed theſe pretended Miracles, to the invincible Arguments brought againſt the Deluſions of Paganiſm, by the Fathers of the Church. Beſides, if prophane Authors have ſtuffed their Works full of ſuch Prodigies, their Teſtimony is of no Weight. They might, out of Policy, Fear, or Deference for the People, magnify the Events they related, and implicitly follow many fabulous Traditions, tho' they were very ſenſible of the Vanity of them. They often profeſſed in Publick, the Belief of what they condemned in Private; and ſeveral of them entertained this falſe Notion, That it was neceſſary to have Recourſe to Fiction, to ſupport a Worſhip, which ſeemed to themſelves to overturn the ſolid Foundations of Morality, and contradict the Dictates of right Reaſon. Upon this Principle, *Polybius*, in his 8th Book of his Hiſtory, imbibed this ſtrange Maxim, That an Hiſtorian might, without a Crime, have Recourſe to Lying, and make uſe of the *Falſe Marvellous*, in order to inſpire the ſtupid Multitude with a Fear of the Gods, and gain Credit to Religion. The Men of Senſe among them did not run into the fooliſh Viſions, and pompous Extravagancies which were Matters of Admiration for the Vulgar. And hence aroſe the Maxim which prevailed among the pretended Sages of Paganiſm, *That Miracles were only for Fools*.

3 *Livy* and *Plutarch* have taken Care to give us all the Circumſtances of this Fact; which, upon the Credit of a Tradition which had long been received in *Rome*, they relate in this Manner. Four Days after the Battel of *Pydna*, the People were aſſembled in the *Circus*, where they were entertaining themſelves with Chariot-Races. All on a ſudden a confuſed Rumour was heard in the chief Place of the Amphitheatre, *That* Paulus Æmilius *had defeated* Perſes, *and conquered the whole Kingdom of* Macedo

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ſelf, and takes off the Neceſſity of having recourſe to ſupernatural Powers. Thirteen Days, ſays he, after the gaining of the Victory over *Perſes*, a Courier arrived at *Rome*, who brought from *Macedon*, Letters for *Licinius Craſſus*, *Paulus Æmilius*'s Collegue. This *Conſul* was then preſiding at the Celebration of *The Roman Games*. He was juſt ready to give the Signal for the Chariots to ſtart, when the Courier put into his Hands Letters crowned with Laurels. It was cuſtomary at *Rome* to ſend Letters ſo adorned, which contained the News of a great Victory. *Licinius* received the Packet, gave the Signal for the Chariots, immediately got into his own, and came into the *Area* of the *Circus*, there to read his Letters. He immediately communicated the Contents of them to ſome Friends. They reported, that *Perſes* had been vanquiſhed, and had fled, and left his Capital, and all the Cities in his Kingdom, a Prey to the *Romans*. This News was inſtantly ſpread from Mouth to Mouth, and all the People immediately left the Shows, and crouded round the *Conſul*, to hear the Letters read. But *Licinius* did not communicate them to the People, till he had the Conſent of the Senators. They were aſſembled there for the *Games*, and paſſed the Decree in the *Circus* itſelf. Then the People entirely left the *Games*, and returned Home, to carry the News to their Wives and Children. By this means, the News had been brought a little too early; and *Fabius* had anticipated himſelf, by a Courier, who came to *Rome* before him: And this gave Riſe to the Fiction, which was afterwards invented, that *Caſtor* and *Pollux* had themſelves brought the News from *Macedon* in four Days. With a fair Wind at Sea, and good Poſt-Horſes by Land, it was eaſy enough to carry the News of what happened in *Macedon*, to *Rome*, in thirteen Days. And this Account entirely deſtroys the Miracle adopted by *Plutarch*, and clears the Hiſtory of the *Falſe Marvellous*.

Upon the Credit of the Letter, the Senate, which aſſembled the next Day, ordered *Supplications* in all the Temples, and made ſome Regulations for disbanding ſome of the Troops which were in *Macedon*. But the ſettling other Matters was delayed, till after *Fabius*, and the other Meſſengers ſent with him, arrived. It was not long before they came; and it is incredible what Numbers of People followed them to the Door of the Hall, where the Senate was aſſembled. *Fabius* was much pleaſed with having forwarded for ſome Days, the Joy of the *Romans*, at his Father's Succeſs; and he entered the Senate where he had nothing to do, but to give a more particular Account of the Circumſtances of the Battel of *Pydna*. He was heard with great Attention, whilſt he related the immenſe Labours the Army had undergone in paſſing Mount *Olympus*, the Difficulties they had had to break into the *Macedonian Phalanx*, the Art of *Paulus Æmilius*, in ordering his Men to engage only in Plottoons, the Rout of the Enemy, and the Flight of *Perſes* into *Samothrace*; and from the Senate he went to the *Comitia*, where the People were waiting for him. After he had made his Report, the Air rung with Acclamations; and the *Conſul Licinius* ordered, That all the Temples ſhould be opened a ſecond time, and all the *Romans*, Men, Women, and Children flocked to them. The Feſtival laſted five Days, during all which time the People continued crouding to the Feet of the Altars.

§. II. In the mean time, the Senate ſtill went on, to make the neceſſary Reforms, in the Troops deſigned for *Macedon*. Ever ſince *Paulus Æmilius* had been gone from *Rome*, the Republick had kept in a readineſs to ſail, a certain Number of Ships to reinforce the Fleet in the *Levant*, if there ſhould be occaſion; and now they were carried back into Port, and laid up. The *Conſul Licinius* had

Macedon. The News ſoon ſpread from Seat to Seat, and was immediately carried round the *Circus*. The *Citizens* were ſeized with a Sort of Enthuſiaſm, ſhewed their Joy by repeated Acclamations, and great Clappings; and the reſt of the Day was ſpent in celebrating the Exploits of *Paulus Æmilius*. The Air rung with Shouts and the Praiſes of the General, in which every one laboured to exceed his Neighbour. But when this exceſſive Joy was a little abated, and gave way to Reflection, the *Romans* found, upon ſtrict Enquiry, that this News was not built upon any poſitive Teſtimony, which ſhewed the Certainty of it. They were forced to wait for the Arrival of the Courier which *Paulus Æmilius* had ſent with his Diſpatches, before they could be ſure of the Fact. Upon his Arrival, the Agreement of the Fact with the firſt Account was Matter of Admiration to the People; and what perhaps was no more than a lucky Accident, was deemed by the Multitude a certain Miracle. But what Neceſſity is there for having Recourſe to ſupernatural Things, to explain an Accident of this Nature? In all Probability, among this prodigious Number of Spectators, which filled the Amphitheatre, there were ſeveral who were openly diſcourſing about the War in *Macedon*; and without doubt ſome of their Words, which were ill pronounced, imperfectly heard, or miſunderſtood, gave Riſe to the popular Rumours that were ſpread of the Victory of *Paulus Æmilius*, before the News came.

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alſo poſted Troops on the Coaſts of *Italy*, in order to have gone over with them himſelf, to aſſiſt his Collegue; and now theſe were all disbanded, as well as the Rowers deſigned for the Fleet. The People at *Rome* looked on the Affairs of *Macedon* as finiſhed; and a few Days after the Arrival of the Meſſengers of *Paulus Æmilius*, thoſe of the *Prætor Anicius* arrived from *Illyricum*, with the News of his Victory. Indeed *Gentius* had been made Priſoner ſome Days before the Battel of *Pydna*, and the Surrendry of *Perſes*. But the *Prætor* had more Difficulties to conquer, in order to compleat his Conqueſt in *Illyricum*, than the *Conſul* had in *Macedon*; and this made it ſo late before *Anicius* ſent an Account of it to the Republick. *Licinius Nerva*, and *P. Decius*, were the Meſſengers the *Prætor* ſent; and they made a Report to the Senate, and People, of the Advantages the Republick had gained, under the Conduct of *Anicius*. Upon which, the *Conſcript Fathers* paſſed a Decree, ordering that publick Prayers ſhould be offered up for three Days, by way of Thankſgiving to the Gods. Thus by the gaining of two Battels, the Conqueſt of two Kingdoms, and the Captivity of two Kings, the Campaign of the Year 585 was become the moſt glorious of any the *Romans* had ever made ſince the Foundation of their City.

They were puffed up with this Succeſs, to a Degree ſcarce to be imagined; and very unfortunately for the Republick of *Rhodes*, the Ambaſſadors ſhe had ſent to *Rome*, to treat for *Perſes*, were but juſt come thither, when the News of his Defeat was publiſhed. And the Senate maliciouſly choſe that very time to give them Audience. But the Chief of the Embaſſy turned the haughty Demands he was ordered to make in favour of the King of *Macedon*, into Congratulations. *I came hither*, Conſcript Fathers, ſaid he, *to repreſent to you, how burdenſome the War in the* Levant *was to you, and how prejudicial to us. But your Proſperity has prevented my Repreſentations, and left nothing for me to do but to rejoice with you, upon your great Succeſs.* To which the Senate ordered ſuch an Anſwer to be given, as was ſuitable to the Suſpicions they had entertained of the *Rhodians*. *Neither the Intereſts of* Greece, ſaid they, *nor your own Safety, brought you hither. It was your Attachment to the* Macedonian *Party, that alone induced you to croſs the Seas, in order to intimidate us. Had your Concern been only for* Greece, *or Yourſelves, you would have come and implored the Aſſiſtance of* Rome, *when* Perſes *entered* Theſſaly, *and threatened the Continent, and your Iſland with a ſudden Invaſion. On the contrary, you knew that* Paulus Æmilius *had opened a Way into* Macedon, *your Fears were for that Kingdom, and therefore you came to treat of Peace. Go, perfidious Men, and carry back your Republick word, that her Care for the Intereſts of* Perſes *are now out of Seaſon.* This Anſwer from the Victorious, much terrified the *Rhodians*; and they returned into their own Country, and exhorted their Countrymen to regain the Good-will of the *Romans*, by all kinds of Submiſſion.

During the Tempeſts in *Macedon*, the *Romans* had alſo ſome Storms to ride out in *Spain*. We have already obſerved, That no Nation was ever kept in Subjection with more Difficulty, or was more jealous of her Liberty, than the *Spaniſh*. One *Claudius Marcellus* had been ſent ſole *Prætor*, to govern that large Continent; and he returned about this time. But the only Advantage he had gained over the Rebels, was that of taking from them one Place, called † *Marcolica*; and the ten Pounds Weight of Gold, and the 5 Money he brought from thence, were not ſufficient to procure him the Honour of an *Ovation*. *Rome* was now grown too rich, and powerful, to reward moderate Succeſſes with great Honours. Beſides, the Republick was at preſent wholly taken up with keeping her populous Capital under due Regulations. Bankrupts were treated there without Mercy. It happened that a Banker, named *Q. Auſidius*, diſappeared, with the Money he had in Bank; and he was purſued, cited to appear before one of the *Prætors*, and condemned to pay

Ex Diario Lud. Vi.

4 The ancient Geographers have not told us any thing either of the Name or Situation of *Marcolica*. Some Moderns have conjectured, that it may be the ſame City as *Marcia*, or *Marciana*. It is ſo called in ſome ancient Inſcriptions. But neither *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Ptolomy*, *Stephen of Byſantium*, or *Mela*, ſay one Word of it. *Antoninus* only mentions it, in his *Itinerary*. *Caſtaldus* places it in *Bætica*, near the Place where *Marchena* now ſtands. *Sanſon* will have it to have been a City of *Galicia*, now called *Porto Marin*.

* 8072 *l.* 18 *s.* † *d. Arbuth.*

5 According to *Livy*, *Marcellus* brought from *Spain*, in Money, the Value of one thouſand *Great Seſterces*, or a Million of *Little Seſterces* *; which amounts to about a hundred and twenty five thouſand *French Franks*, at the Rate of two *Sols* and a half *per Seſterce*. See our Diſſertation on the *Roman* Money, *Vol.* 2.

the

the whole Sums, of which he would have cheated his Creditors. Some Butchers, who were accuſed of having ſold Meat, which had not been inſpected by the *Ædiles*, were alſo fined, and the Fines employed in building a Chapel near the Temple of the Goddeſs *Tellus Laverna* [6]. Year of ROME DLXXXV. L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS, C. LICINIUS CRASSUS, Conſuls.

§. III. AND now the *Conſular* Year was ready to expire, and the *Conſul Licinius* was returned to *Rome*. His Campaign had been barren, for want of Enemies. Even his *Legions* had not followed him into his Province, under Pretence that ſome religious Obſervance had been omitted by him, when he took Poſſeſſion of his Dignity. So that he had ſpent the Summer at the Foot of the *Alpes*, between *Rhegium* [7] and *Modena*, with only the Auxiliaries. When he came to *Rome*, he there found two Embaſſies, from two of the moſt powerful Monarchies in the Eaſt. One came from *Antiochus* King of *Syria*; and the other from the two *Ptolomies*, Kings of *Egypt*, and from *Cleopatra* their Mother. We have before obſerved, That *Antiochus* had ſo much dreaded, or reſpected the Orders of *Rome*, that when he was juſt ready to have beſieged *Alexandria*, with an Army of ten thouſand Men, he had abandoned that Enterpriſe, upon the bare Word of *Popillius*, and retired into *Phœnicia*, and *Judæa*. And now this cowardly King, though aſhamed of what he had done, and diſſatisfied with the haughty Proceedings of the Republick, carried his Flattery ſo far, as to ſend a Deputation to the Senate, to make his Court to them. When his Ambaſſador was introduced into the Aſſembly of the *Conſcript Fathers*, his Harangue was not long, but ſuch as ſufficiently ſhewed the Character of the *Aſiatick* Princes. His Words were theſe. *Though* Popillius *communicated your Pleaſure to the King my Maſter, at a time when all* Egypt *was ready to ſink under his Army; yet he preferred Obedience to Victory. He thought himſelf as indiſpenſably obliged to ſubmit to the Deciſions of* Rome, *as to fulfill the Will of the Gods.* The Anſwer of the Senate was in theſe Words. Antiochus *did wiſely in putting our Orders in execution. The Senate and People of* Rome *are well ſatisfied with it.* So great an Authority did the *Romans* aſſume over all crowned Heads! The Humiliation of *Perſes* had made them prouder than ever. *Liv. B.* 45. *c.* 13. *Livy. ibid.*

AFTER the *Syrian* Ambaſſadors, thoſe of *Egypt* were introduced. The two Brothers who had contended for the Kingdom, were now reconciled by the Mediation of *Popillius*, and his Collegues. The eldeſt had taken Poſſeſſion of *Egypt*, properly ſo called, for his Share; and the youngeſt had taken for his, *Cyrenaica* [8], and

6 Among the many Surnames which were given to the Goddeſs *Tellus*, that of *Laverna* was one: as appears by an ancient Fragment quoted by *Ludovicus Vives*, and mentioned above, *p.* 440 *Note* 11. Perhaps the Earth (which the *Romans* worſhiped under the Name of *Tellus*) was ſo called, becauſe it conceals the Seeds of all Plants; or rather, becauſe Robbers uſed to hide themſelves in ſubterraneous Places, and there ſecure the Fruits of their Theſts and Robberies. At leaſt we know that among the Pagans, the Robbers and Thieves made themſelves a tutelary Divinity, which they called *Laverna*. Her Worſhipers were from thence called *Laverniones*; and one of the Gates of *Rome*, which was near a Temple, where there was an Altar erected to this Goddeſs, was from thence called *Porta Lavernalis*, according to *Varro*, *B.* 4. *De Ling. Latina*. *Hinc Porta Lavernalis ab ara Laverna, quod ibi ara ejus Dea.* The old Commentator on *Horace* ſpeaks of a Wood which was conſecrated to her in *The Salarian Way*, without the Walls: Robbers uſed to meet there in the Night, to divide their Booty. Thus the Pagans, through a monſtrous Blindneſs tolerated, and even authorized, a Worſhip which tended directly to overturn Morality, and deſtroy civil Societies. This Notion *Horace* himſelf gives us of it, when in his Epiſtle to *Quinctius*, he introduces a Thief, making this Prayer to *Laverna*.

Pulchra Laverna
Da mihi fallere; da juſtum ſanctumque videri:
Noctem peccatis, & fraudibus objice nubem.

That is, *O charming* Laverna, *ſuggeſt to me the proper means of ſtealing with ſo much Skill, that I may eſcape with Impunity! Enable me to get the Reputation of an honeſt Man by an Appearance of Sanctity. And conceal, I beſeech thee, all my Robberies, from the Knowledge of the Publick, and the Diſcovery of the moſt Sagacious.* Some have confounded *Laverna* with *Proſerpine*, and taken them for the ſame Goddeſs. Nevertheleſs it appears, that they had different Attributes. But be that as it will, *Laverna* had a Temple at *Rome* called *Lavernium*.

7 *Rhegio*, or *Rhegium*, is one of the moſt ancient Cities in *Lombardy*. The *Latin* Authors call it *Forum Lepidi*, *Regium Lepidum*, and *Regium Lepidi*. Though we are not certain who founded it, or when, it is probable that *Æmilius Lepidus* firſt laid the Foundations of it, about the Year of *Rome* 564. He was then *Conſul* with *Caius Flaminius Nepos*. He ſpent part of his *Conſulſhip* in making the Road which led from *Placentia* to *Rimini*, and was from him called *The Æmilian Way*. And indeed this Place ſtood on that Road. It was ſituated in a fruitful Plain, which was bounded by the *Apennines*. *Ptolomy* gives it the Title of a *Colony*. Nevertheleſs *Strabo* ſays, that it was ſo inconſiderable in his time, that it ſcarce deſerved the Name of a City. *Livy* calls the neighbouring Mountains *Sicimina*, and *Papinus*, and places them at the Extremity of a Plain, which he calls *Macri Campi*. This Diſtrict is thought to be the ſame where we now ſee a Village, or Town, which the Natives call *Marzala*.

8 *Cyrenaica* is that ancient Country of *Africa*, which *Marmol* ſays is now the Province of *Meſrate*,

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and a part of *Lybia*. So that the Intrigues of *Cleopatra*, in favour of her youngeſt Son, were brought to nought, and ſhe was forced to give way to the Juſtice and Authority of the *Romans*. The Head of the *Egyptian* Embaſſy addreſſed himſelf to *The Fathers*, in the Name of the Mother and her two Sons, in theſe Words. *To you*, Conſcript Fathers, *we owe the Deliverance of* Egypt, *and the Concord that reigns among us. The Departure of* Antiochus, *and the Diviſion of our Provinces between the two rival Princes have ſecured our Liberty, and reſtored us Peace. A double Benefaction! for which the Kings and Nations of* Egypt *are as much indebted to you, as Children to their Parents, or Men to Gods.* And as the Ambaſſadors ſeemed to be ſincere in returning their Thanks, the Senate were as gracious in their Anſwer. *Rome*, ſaid they, *ſhares your Happineſs, and is affected with your Gratitude.* Egypt *may always depend on her Protection.* And after theſe Compliments were paid, the uſual Preſents 9 followed.

§. IV. But the People of *Rome* were ſtill anxious about the Fate of *Perſes*. Was he eſcaped out of his Iſland? Had the People ventured to take him by Force from his *Aſylum?* Had *Octavius* by his Vigilance kept him in *Samothrace*; or had he taken him at Sea after his Eſcape? Theſe Enquiries were the Subjects of all the Converſation of the City; and the Joy of the People was complete, when they received an Account by freſh Letters, that *Perſes* had ſurrendered himſelf up to his Conqueror. All the Foreigners which were at *Rome* came to congratulate the Senate upon it; but the Perſon, whoſe Compliments were moſt acceptable, was the Son of *Maſiniſſa*. His Name was *Maſgaba*, or *Maſſagrada*. This young Prince was lately arrived, to reproach the Republick in a civil manner; and he added, of his own Head, Congratulations on the Conqueſt of *Macedon*, and the Deſtruction of *Perſes*. *The King of* Numidia *my Father*, ſaid he, *charged me only to make Complaints of your Proceedings. He was aſhamed to hear your Ambaſſadors entreat him to furniſh you with ſome Proviſions, Troops, and Elephants, for the War with* Macedon. *He did not expect Entreaties, but Orders from* Rome. *How great then was his Confuſion, when an Offer was made on your part, to pay him for the Corn which he had put on board your Ships! What*, ſaid he, *were not thoſe very Fields, which produce theſe plentiful Harveſts, a Preſent made me by the* Romans? *Strictly ſpeaking, only the Produce of them belongs to me; the Property belongs to* Rome. *Why then does ſhe thank me for what belongs to her ſelf? Theſe were the Subjects of* Maſiniſſa's *Complaints, who, when I left him, did not know that the* Macedonian *War was ended, by the moſt complete Victory that was ever gained. But as ſoon as he knew it, he ordered me, by Letter, to congratulate you upon it. And he deſires you would give him Leave to come hither, to return Thanks to* Jupiter Capitolinus *in Perſon, with a pompous Sacrifice.*

In this manner did the ſeveral Nations of the World dreſs up their Flatteries with all the Art they could, in order to gain the Good-will of the formidable Republick, which did not at all ſuſpect the Sincerity of the Congratulations of *Maſiniſſa*. He had given Proofs of his Fidelity, by a conſtant Courſe of Actions, from which he had never varied; and therefore the Senate laid aſide their Pride, and ſhewed their great Benevolence, in the Anſwer they gave his Son. *The King of* Numidia, ſaid they, *is not content to do agreeable things, without adding to the Pleaſure of them, by the polite Manner in which he does them. If we increaſed his Dominions, it was no more than he deſerved at our Hands, by the Services he had done us in our Wars with* Carthage. *And with what Conſtancy has he ſent*

in the State of *Tripoli*; though *Magin* makes it a part of the State of *Barca*. The Country we ſpeak of, reached as far as to *The Great Syrtis*, between *Africa Propria*, which bounded it to the Weſt, and *Marmarica*, which bounded it to the Eaſt. Moſt agree that it was a part of ancient *Lybia*. Some extend its Limits as far as to the *Catabathmos* of *Egypt*, and the *Nile*. Among other Provinces it comprehended *Pentapolis*, which was ſo called from the five Cities, which belonged to it. *Cyrene* was its Capital. *Poſtel* thinks this City was the ſame Place which is now called *Cairoan*. It was reckoned to be a hundred and twenty five thouſand geometrical Paces from the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, and not four hundred thouſand, as *Pliny* pretends, *B. 5*. This, which was one of the greateſt and moſt opulent Cities in *Africa*, rivalled *Carthage*, according to *Sallaſt*, at the time when the latter gave Law to the richeſt Provinces of this vaſt Continent. Nevertheleſs it is certain, that *Cyrene* ſtood in a ſandy Plain, nine or ten Leagues from the *Mediterranean*.

9 *Caius Papirius Carbo* was ordered by the Senate to make theſe Preſents in the Name of the Republick. He was a *Prætor*, and *Sardinia* had fallen to his Lot. But he was obliged to continue at *Rome*, to adminiſter Juſtice there in the Abſence of *Lucius Anicius*, and *Bæbius*, who, according to *Livy*, were employed elſewhere.

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us Succours againſt Philip, Antiochus, *and* Perſes? *We are not therefore ſurprized, if he takes part in our laſt Succeſſes; his Son and his Troops ſhare the Victory with us. And let him return the Gods thanks in his own Palace! It is neither for his Intereſt nor ours, that he ſhould leave his Dominions, and come and offer Sacrifice in the* Capitol. *His Son ſhall perform that pious Office for him.* After this the greateſt Honours were paid, and many Preſents made, to *Maſgaba* at *Rome*. The Republick ordered a *Quæſtor* to lay out to the Value of a hundred Pounds weight of Silver, in Jewels, for him. All the time that he was in *Italy* he was very ſplendidly entertained; and a *Quæſtor* conducted him to *Puteoli*, and gave him two Gallies, to carry him back to *Africa*. And laſtly, all his Retinue were new cloathed, at the Expence of the State. By ſuch great Liberalities did *Rome* preſerve the Eſteem and Affection of her ſincere Allies.

AND no ſooner was *Maſgaba* gone, but another of *Maſiniſſa*'s natural Sons landed on the Coaſt of *Italy*. This was [10] *Miſagenes*; who, after having ſignalized himſelf in the Army of *Paulus Æmilius*, both by his Prudence and Valour, was returning to *Numidia* with an *African* Squadron. But his Ships were diſperſed by a Storm; that on board which he was, was forced to put in at *Brunduſium*; and being fatigued with the Voyage, and much diſordered in point of Health, the Prince tarried there ſome time. Which was no ſooner known at *Rome*, but the Senate diſpatched the *Quæſtor C. Stertinius* thither, with Orders to take care of the Prince's Recovery, provide him a convenient Lodging, defray his Expences during his Sickneſs, entertain him after his Recovery, make him the ſame Preſents as had been made his Brother, and furniſh him with Gallies to convoy him to *Numidia*. In this manner did the proud Republick diſtinguiſh her true Friends. She laid aſide her Pride, as Times and Perſons required [11].

Val. Max. B. 5. c. 1. §. 1.

In

10 *Valerius Maximus* gives this other Son of *Maſiniſſa* the Name of *Muſicanes*.

11 Towards the end of this Year of *Rome* 585, there aroſe a Diſpute between the Citizens of *Piſa*, and thoſe of *Luna*. The former pretended, that the *Roman Colony* lately ſettled at *Luna*, had ſeized by Violence a part of the Territory of *Piſa*. The new-Comers on the contrary pretended, That the *Triumviri* had put them in Poſſeſſion of it. Both Parties ſent their Deputies to *Rome*, to plead their Cauſe before the Senate; and accordingly the Affair was brought before that Body. The *Conſcript Fathers* had regard to the Complaints of the *Piſans*, who demanded the Reſtitution of a part of their Territory; and ordered, that five Perſons ſhould go to the Place, and there abſolutely ſettle the Limits of the two Territories without Appeal.

At the ſame time the *Roman* People aſſembled in *Comitia*, at the Motions of their *Tribunes*, laid a pecuniary Fine on the *Triumviri*, whoſe Office it was to take their Rounds through all the Quarters of *Rome* in the Night, in order to prevent, or extinguiſh Fires. We have ſpoken of theſe Magiſtrates which the Ancients call *Triumviri Nocturni*, Vol. 2. Thoſe then in that Office had come too late to the *Via Sacra*, where a Fire had done a great deal of Miſchief; and for this Negligence they were fined.

Livy alſo refers to the Year 585, what paſſed between *Caius Popillius* and the *Rhodians*. This Ambaſſador, ſays the Hiſtorian, whoſe Orders were to ſettle a laſting Peace between *Ptolomy* and *Antiochus*, had embarked for *Egypt*. But he was forced to put in at *Delos*, to take care of the *Roman* Gallies, which were ready to ſail for *Macedon*. There he learned the News of the Defeat of *Perſes*, and the Conqueſts of *Paulus Æmilius*. Upon this Report, which was ſoon ſpread in all Parts, the Enemy's Fleet was diſperſed, and the *Romans*, who were Maſters of the Seas, were no longer under any Apprehenſions from a vanquiſhed Enemy. So that *Popillius* diſmiſſed the Ships which the City of *Athens* had ſent to guard him. After this he continued his own Voyage, reſolving to prevent the Match of *Antiochus*, who was preparing to lay Siege to *Alexandria*, the Capital of *Egypt*. The Ambaſſador with his two Collegues coaſted along *Aſia Minor*, and came to an Anchor in ſight of *Loryma*, a Port over againſt the Iſland of *Rhodes*. From thence to the Capital of the Iſland was reckoned to be twenty thouſand geometrical Paces. The *Rhodian* had been lately informed of the Succeſs of the *Roman* Arms, and the Flight of the unfortunate *Perſes*. And they had Reaſon to fear the worſt of Treatment from a formidable Republick, which they had provoked by baſe Proceedings, and by deſpiſing their old Alliance. They could not do too much to merit a Pardon. And this made them earneſt to go and meet *Popillius*. The moſt conſiderable of the Citizens came to *Loryma*, and invited the Ambaſſador into their Iſland. *Vouchſafe, my Lord*, ſaid they, *Vouchſafe to paſs over to* Rhodes. Rome, *to our great Misfortune, has ſuffered herſelf to be prejudiced againſt us, by the falſe Reports that are ſpread abroad to our Diſadvantage. It nearly concerns us, that you ſhould perſonally enquire into our paſt Conduct, and obſerve the preſent Diſpoſitions of the Inhabitants of* Rhodes, *with regard to a Republick, which has honoured us with her Protection.* The Deputies at length complied with the preſſing Inſtances of the *Rhodians*, and conſented to go aſhore at their Capital. At the Requeſt of the Magiſtrates, *Popillius* and his Attendants appeared in an Aſſembly of the Citizens. But their Appearance, inſtead of raiſing the Spirits of the People, only increaſed their Conſternation. The imperious *Popillius* only appeared before the Multitude, to reproach them with their Plots, in favour of *Perſes*, and theſe Reproaches, uttered with a threatening Air, and magiſterial Tone of Voice, doubled the Fright of the Guilty. But *Decimius*, *Popillius*'s Collegue, expreſſed himſelf with more Moderation. *It is not juſt*, ſaid he, *to impute the Crimes of a few factious Men to a whole Nation. The great Fault of the People who now hear us, was their hearkening to the mad Declamations of a Cabal of factious Citizens, who were bent upon a Revolt.* Rhodians, *your Repentance diſarms us. But you know the Authors of the Sedition; and don't*

Year of *ROME* DLXXXV. L. Æmilius Paulus. C. Licinius Crassus, Conſuls. *Faſti Capit.*

In the mean time the *Comitia* were held for the great Elections. *Licinius* preſided in them; and as there was no Glory to be obtained in the *Macedonian* Expedition, it no longer flattered the Hopes of the *Romans*; ſo that the Candidates did not now canvaſs for the *Conſulate* with the ſame Warmth as formerly. The People by their Suffrages raiſed *Q. Ælius Pætus*, and *M. Junius Pennus* to that Dignity; and ſix Perſons were choſen *Prætors*, who had paſſed through the inferior Offices. Their Provinces were aſſigned them by Lot, in this manner. *Q. Caſſius Longinus* was appointed to judge the Cauſes between *Citizens* and *Citizens*; and *Juventius Thalna*, thoſe between *Citizens* and Foreigners. Or rather, properly ſpeaking, the Republick ſeemed for ſome time to have given one of theſe *Prætors* the Inſpection of all Affairs without the City, and the other that of all within it. *Claudius Nero* was appointed *Prætor*, or Governor of *Sicily*; *Manlius Torquatus* [12], of *Sardinia*; *Fulvius*, of *Hither Spain*; and *Licinius Nerva*, of *Further Spain*. The Republick did not think fit any longer to commit the Care of that whole Continent to one Perſon only. She had found the Inconveniencies of it, during the Wars with *Perſes*. As for the other Officers, *Rome* continued them in their reſpective Employments, ſome as *Pro-Conſuls*; others as *Pro-Prætors*. *Paulus Æmilius* continued in *Macedon* with his *Legions*; and only changed his Title from *Conſul*, to that of *Pro-Conſul*, without loſing any part of his Authority. *Anicius* continued *Pro-Prætor* in *Illyricum*; and *Octavius* ſtill kept the Command of the Fleet, with the ſame Title as *Anicius*.

Year of *ROME* DLXXXVI. Q. Ælius Pætus, Junius Pennus, Conſuls.

§. V. The new *Conſuls* began the Exerciſe of their Office, by reconciling two great Magiſtrates. *Tib. Gracchus*, and *C. Claudius*, had been *Cenſors* two Years; and had hitherto kept up a perfectly good Underſtanding with one another. But at length they differed in Opinion, about an Affair of Importance, in relation to the good Order of the Republick; and this put them at Variance. *Gracchus* was tired with ſeeing the Factions of the *Freedmen* prevail in the *Comitia*; and was uneaſy to find, that theſe vile Men got the Aſcendant over the *Tribes*, by their Intrigues. They had formerly been at Liberty to inſcribe their Names, either in the *City-Tribes*, or the *Country-Tribes* [13], as they pleaſed. This Indulgence had cauſed Diſturbances in the Aſſemblies, and theſe Incendiaries had often gained their Point in them. To remedy this Evil, they had all been recalled out of the *Country-Tribes*, and obliged to enter themſelves in one of the four *Tribes* in the City of *Rome*. And the *Cenſor Gracchus* was of Opinion, that even this was giving too much Liberty to theſe vile People. They now created Diſorders in the *City-Tribes*, as they had formerly done among thoſe in the Country. *Gracchus* therefore drew up a *Cenſorial* Decree, by which every *Freedman*, who had not a Son above five Years of Age, or thirty thouſand *Seſterces* a Year * in Land in the Country, was denied the Privilege of being a Member of any of the four *City-Tribes*. By this means a great Number of theſe ſeditious Men would be excluded out of the *Comitia by Tribes*. But though this was in Appearance a wholſome Decree, it was an unjuſt one; and *Gracchus*'s Collegue oppoſed it. *Have the* Cenſors, ſaid he, *a Power to deprive any* Roman Citizen *of the Right of Suffrage? Every* Freedman *has the Right of* Citizenſhip, *by our Laws; and every* Citizen *has a Right to give*

Liv. B. 45. c. 15.

* 242 *l.* 3 *s.* 9 *d.* Sterling. *Arbuthnot.*

delay to waſh away the Injuries done to the Roman *Name in their Blood. The Republick leaves it to yourſelves to puniſh them; but expects that this ſhall be done: It is upon this Condition only, that you are to expect any Favour from the Senate.* This Diſcourſe appeaſed the Inhabitants, whom the Severity of *Popillius* had alarmed; and the City rung with Acclamations. The Citizens alſo immediately ſought for the Offenders, and moſt of them were ſeized, and condemned to Death. Some of them indeed had been ſo cautious, as to ſecure their Eſcape, immediately upon the Arrival of the *Romans*. But others could no otherwiſe eſcape the Hands of the Executioner, than by executing themſelves. Then the Ambaſſadors left *Rhodes*, where they had exerciſed an abſolute Authority during the five Days that they tarried there; and after their Departure, theſe bloody Executions were ſtill continued, and the *Rhodians* were as warm as ever in the Purſuit of thoſe who were accuſed of having perſuaded the People to declare againſt the *Romans*. Theſe Facts have plainly a neceſſary Relation to the Embaſſy of *Popillius*, which *Livy* places in the Year 585, tho' it ought to have been placed in the preceding Year. But this Account was thought to be a falſe one, and therefore it was not inſerted in the Body of the Hiſtory.

12 *Manlius Torquatus* could not go to his Province of *Sardinia*: He was ordered, by a Decree of the Senate, to take Informations of ſome capital Crimes, on the Puniſhment of which the good Order of the Republick in a great Meaſure depended.

13 According to *Dion. Hal.* King *Servius Tullius* had incorporated the *Freedmen* in the four *Tribes* in *Rome*. *Appius Claudius*, about the Year 441, diſperſed them in the *Country Tribes*; and this Innovation continued till the *Cenſorſhip* of *Fabius*, who in the Year of *Rome* 449, incorporated them again into the four *City-Tribes* from which they had been diſmembered.

his Vote in the Comitia. *Shall we then, of our own Authority, deprive the* Freedmen *of a Privilege, which the Republick gives them?* The Diſpute was warm, and laſted long. But at length, in the *Conſulſhip* of *Ælius Pætus*, and *Junius Pennus*, an end was put to it, to the Satisfaction of both *Cenſors*. Each gave up his Pretenſions, and a middle Way was choſen, which was very equitable, and very prudent. The *Freedmen* were all aſſembled, in the Court of the [14] Temple of *Liberty*; and there the *Cenſors* declared to them, That they ſhould for the future be taken out of three of the *Tribes*, and all incorporated in one only, which ſhould be choſen by Lot. Accordingly the Names of the four *Tribes* were thrown into an Urn; the firſt that came out was that of *The Tribe Eſquilina*; and from that time, the *Freedmen* could not enter themſelves of any other. They ſtill preſerved their Right of Suffrage; but after all, this was but one *Tribe* among many, and had but one Vote. Thus the Faction of the *Freedmen* became leſs formidable; which was of ſo great Conſequence, that, according to one of the greateſt Politicians *Rome* ever had, the Republican State could not have continued long, if *Gracchus* had not had the Courage to deſtroy their Inſolence, or reduce it almoſt to nothing.

Year of *ROME* DLXXXVI. Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS, JUNIUS PENNUS, Conſuls.

Cicero L. 1. De Orat.

THUS Concord was re-eſtabliſhed between the *Cenſors*. The Senate congratulated them upon it, and approved of their Expedient; and it appears, that the time of their Magiſtracy was prolonged. We have obſerved, that at the Eſtabliſhment of the *Cenſorſhip*, the Duration of this important Office was fixed to five Years; after which it had been limited to eighteen Months. But it muſt have been again ſettled on the ancient Foot. For *Gracchus* and *Claudius* enjoyed it, from the Year of *Rome* 584, to the Year 589, which was above five Years. They had petitioned the People, that they might have Leave to continue in their Office fourteen Months after their five Years were expired. The Reaſon of their Petition was, that they ſhould want all this time, to raiſe the Taxes that were neceſſary for the Repairs of the publick Buildings, and to finiſh the great Works they had begun. *A Tribune of the People*, named *Tremellius*, oppoſed their Requeſt; but the Aſſembly ſaw, that his Oppoſition proceeded from perſonal Reſentments, and therefore did not regard it. The *Cenſors* had refuſed to inſert his Name in the Liſt of Senators, which they had drawn up.

Faſt. Capit.

Livy, B. 45. c. 15.

WHEN theſe ſlight Storms were blown over, the *Conſuls* drew Lots for their Provinces. But whither could *Rome* ſend her *Conſular* Armies? The Eaſt was ſubdued ſince the Defeat of *Perſes*. *Carthage* did not ſtir in the South. In the Weſt, *Spain* might eaſily be kept in her Duty, by the two *Prætors Rome* ſent thither. And all was quiet from the *Alpes* to the *Ionian* Sea. Nevertheleſs it was ordered, That one of the two *Conſular* Armies ſhould enter *Liguria*, and encamp near *Piſa*; and That the other ſhould go into *Ciſalpine Gaul*. *Rome* immediately treated the *Gauls* and *Ligures* as Enemies, as ſoon as ſhe had finiſhed the War in the diſtant Countries. The Republick began Quarrels with them without Cauſe; and in this her Policy led her to offer Violence to the Laws of Juſtice. It was one of the Maxims of the *Roman* Senate, never to lay down their Arms, but to keep their *Legions* always in the Field, leſt their Valour ſhould degenerate through Idleneſs. Beſides, *Rome* had already formed the Deſign of turning her victorious Arms, ſome time or other, from the Eaſt to the Weſt, and conquering *Tranſalpine Gaul*, when once ſhe ſhould have perfectly ſubdued all the Nations on this ſide the *Alpes*. A boundleſs Ambition, the fatal Effects of which were already felt by her unfortunate Neighbours!

LIGURIA fell by Lot to the *Conſul, M. Junius Pennus*; and *Ciſalpine Gaul*, to *Q. Ælius Pætus*. But they were not in haſte to march into their Provinces; neither were their Armies large. Only two *Legions*, of four thouſand Foot, and two hundred Horſe each, were aſſigned each *Conſul*; and their Expedition conſiſted wholly in ſuch Acts, as may juſtly be called inhuman, conſidering that they were making War in a peaceable Country, where there was no Enemy in the Field. The Territory of the *Ligures* was pillaged, and laid waſte. But for

[14] The Temple of *Liberty* was built on the Hill *Veſtinus*, according to *Livy*, *B.* 24. by order of the Father of *Sempronius Gracchus*, one of the moſt illuſtrious Generals of the *Roman* Republick, during the Wars with *Hannibal*. Afterwards there was added to this Temple a ſort of Porch, in which the *Cenſors* depoſited their Archives.

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what Crime? unleſs for this, that they ſtill preſerved ſome Remains of Liberty; though not ſo much by their Arms, as their Inaction? The *Conſuls*, who could have nothing of Conſequence to do in their Camp, continued in the City as long as they could. And they had the Pleaſure to ſee Princes and Ambaſſadors come thither from all the Nations of the *Levant*: Some to obtain Rewards; others to return their Thanks; others to make Congratulations and Preſents; and laſtly, others to make Apologies for their Conduct.

§. VI. THE firſt foreign Prince, who then appeared at *Rome*, was received with all the Regards due to his Birth, Merit, and the Services he had done the *Conſuls* in the laſt War. This was *Attalus*, the Brother of the King of *Pergamus*. This Prince had more Zeal and Affection for the Republick, than what were barely ſufficient to render him worthy of an Alliance with her. He was become entirely *Roman*, by the frequent Converſations he had had with the *Roman* Generals and Officers, in the Armies in which he had ſignalized himſelf during the War. The ill Example of his Brother *Eumenes*, had not at all leſſened his Affection for *Rome*. Before the Arrival of *Paulus Æmilius* in *Macedon*, the *Pergamian* King had been wavering in his Fidelity. He had like to have been corrupted by the Offers of *Perſes*, and his political Views; and to have openly eſpouſed the Cauſe of the *Macedonian*. At leaſt, his chooſing to ſtand neuter towards the end of the War, had much leſſened the Eſteem and Affection the *Romans* had had for him. But *Attalus* was an accompliſhed Prince. He had more Bravery and Conſtancy than was uſual among the *Aſiaticks*; had conſtantly aſſiſted the *Roman* Republick with his Arms and Advice, and had never deſerted her. He had always refuſed to give the Troops he had brought out of his Country, Leave to return thither, to enjoy the Repoſe, in which his Brother was languiſhing away his Time, contrary to the Fidelity he had promiſed his old Allies. By this means the younger Brother gained a great Aſcendant over the elder, at *Rome*. The Republick had for ſome time taken up a Practice of dethroning Kings, or dividing their Dominions. And now ſhe had nothing to do, but to withdraw her Aſſiſtance; and *Eumenes*, when left to himſelf, would have fallen from the Dignity he poſſeſſed; and the younger Brother would have taken the Place of the elder, upon the firſt Orders of the Senate. Beſides, *Attalus* was not unaffected with the Charms of a Crown. Every thing flattered his Ambition; and his Hopes of reigning were neither vain, nor diſtant. The *Gallo-Greeks* had juſt entered the Kingdom of *Pergamus* with an Army; and upon the leaſt Encouragement from *Rome*, they would have aſſiſted the younger Brother againſt the elder. Beſides, the beſt part of the Provinces, of which the Dominions of *Eumenes* conſiſted, were Preſents from the *Roman* People; ſo that the Senate could, with one Word, take away the Donation, and transfer it from *Eumenes* to *Attalus*. This Prince was full of theſe Thoughts when he came to *Rome*. Indeed he had always kept up ſuch a Correſpondence with his Brother, as ſerved for a Model for all the Courts of *Aſia*. But after all, the Glitter of a Crown might be a Temptation to a Prince, who could eaſily obtain, and deſerved to wear, it. On the other hand, *Eumenes* was juſtly apprehenſive of it, and took proper Precautions, before he would ſuffer *Attalus* to go for *Italy*. He placed about his Perſon one *Stratius* a Phyſician, a Man in whom he could confide, and a very proper Perſon to watch the Steps of his Brother, penetrate into his Deſigns, and prevent them by his Counſels. *Stratius* therefore attended the Prince, and came to *Rome* with him. As ſoon as *Attalus* appeared there, beſides the publick Teſtimonies of Friendſhip, and Marks of Diſtinction which were ſhewn him, the Friends he had made in the Armies of the Republick careſſed him exceedingly. Their Converſation with him chiefly turned upon the Eaſe, with which he might obtain of the Senate a Crown, of which his Brother had rendered himſelf unworthy by his Unfaithfulneſs. And as this Prince was of an eaſy Temper, he complied with the Inſtances of his Friends; and rather accepted the Favour, than ſought it. The Sollicitations of *Attalus*'s Advocates with the Senators, ſoon ſhewed their Deſigns, which were not long hid from *Stratius*; who, though zealous in the Intereſts of his Maſter, was more troubled for the Misfortunes of his Country than for his. The worſt of Conſequences were to be feared from ſo ſudden a Revolution; and a civil War was more formidable than even the *Gallo-Greeks*.

Greeks. To divert the Storm therefore, he firſt applied himſelf to the Prince, and addreſſed himſelf to him in this manner.

Remember, my Lord, that conſtant Friendſhip, the Happineſs of which you and Eumenes *have enjoyed from your Youth, and which the Superiority his Birth-right gave him, has not yet interrupted. Reaſon has yet the Aſcendant in our Royal Family. Both* Eumenes *and You have ever been ſenſible, that Concord is the ſtrongeſt Support of the Kingdom of* Pergamus. *This Monarchy is of late Date, and has not taken deep Root enough, to be immoveable. The leaſt Storm may yet overturn it. Shall then* Attalus *raiſe one, by taking Arms againſt his Brother, and his King? Nay, againſt ſuch a Brother, and ſuch a King, as* Eumenes? *Has he ever acted a double part with you? Has not your Intereſt been ever more dear to him than his own? Have you not ſhared his Authority, and his Treaſures? Have you not reigned to all Intents and Purpoſes, except in this, that you have not ſate upon the Throne, and worn the Crown? And now the time draws nigh, even for that.* Eumenes *is now grown old, and declines; and as he has no male Children, he has no Body to tranſmit the Scepter to, but yourſelf. Will you then ſuffer your Inheritance to be invaded by the barbarous* Galatians? *Or will you a little beforehand hold a part of a Kingdom from the* Romans, *the whole of which will in a little time be your own Right? How glorious will it be for* Attalus, *to have maintained his Brother on the Throne! How much for his Honour, to have ſupported his Intereſts, and thereby kept his own Reputation untainted! But what Hatred, what Contempt will he draw upon himſelf, if by his Artifices he drives* Eumenes *out of his Dominions, and forces him to fly, like* Perſes, *to* Samothrace *for Refuge? Indeed, my Lord, neither* Pergamus, *nor* Aſia Minor, *can imagine this from your paſt Virtues. And if on the contrary you preſerve your Fidelity to your Brother to the laſt; thoſe very People, who now adviſe you to break through it, and are no real Friends to You, but Enemies to* Eumenes, *will extol your Piety and Conſtancy.* Liv. ibid.

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WHEN the faithful *Stratius* aſſured the Prince, that he would infallibly reign after *Eumenes*, he ſpoke his real Sentiments. The *Pergamenſes* did not then know that their King had a Son, whom he concealed from the Sight of his People, and the Knowledge of his Brothers, to keep them Dependent, in hopes of ſucceeding him. *Attalus* was perſuaded, and his Good-Nature prevailed over well grounded Pretenſions, for ſtripping his Brother, of at leaſt a part of his Dominions. The *Roman* Senate were diſpoſed to revenge themſelves on *Eumenes*, and reward the Fidelity of *Attalus*, by giving the one, what they took from the other; and the Prince of *Pergamus* was therefore brought into their Aſſembly. But to their very great Surprize, *Attalus* in his Harangue, only congratulated the Republick on her Victory, gave them a plain Narrative of the Services he had done her, commended the King his Brother, and deſired that Commiſſioners might be appointed to make the *Galatians* put a Stop to their Hoſtilities. Was it natural to expect, that when it was ſo much in his Power to have obtained whatever he pleaſed, he would confine his Deſires to ſo narrow Limits? However it muſt be owned, that *Rome*, how much ſoever diſpleaſed with *Eumenes*, and how well inclined ſoever to Prince *Attalus*, could not but give the latter the Praiſes due to his Moderation; which charmed all the Senators. They paid him great Honours, highly extolled his Virtue, and made him many Preſents. After this [15] he left *Rome*, in greater Eſteem there, for having preferred the Purſuit of Virtue to the Indulgence of his Ambition, than he would have been, had he raiſed himſelf upon the Ruins of his Brother. And why then did not the Diſintereſtedneſs and Probity of the *Aſiatick* Prince deſerve the ſame Praiſes from the Hiſtorians, which they often ſo laviſhly beſtow on the moſt virtuous *Romans?*

§. VII. AFTER *Eumenes*, the Ambaſſadors of *Rhodes* came, and made a very different Appearance in the City, which ſo narrowly watched their Steps. In the firſt

[15] According to *Polybius*, *Attalus* had demanded of the Senate the Inveſtiture of *Ænum* and *Maronea*, two Cities of *Thrace*, ſituated towards the Mouth of the *Hebrus*, on the Coaſts of the *Ægean* Sea. They had formerly been conquered by *Philip* King of *Macedon*, the Father of *Perſes*, when he was at War with the *Romans*. And the Senate promiſed to put the Prince in Poſſeſſion of theſe two Places. But after *Attalus* was gone, the *Conſcript Fathers*, for political Reaſons, thought fit to revoke that Promiſe. So that *Ænum* and *Maronea* were declared free and independent Cities, by a Majority of Voices in the Senate.

Place,

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Livy, and *Polyb. in Legat. N.* 93.

Place, the Ceremonial embarraſſed them. During the War with *Perſes*, they had declared themſelves in favour of the Enemy of the *Romans*. Nevertheleſs their Friend had been vanquiſhed and taken. In point of Decency therefore they could not appear at *Rome*, on any other Account, but to congratulate her on her Victory. And in what Habits could they appear in publick? They were ſenſible that they had been guilty of Unfaithfulneſs, and conſidered in that Light, a negligent Dreſs would beſt become them. But it was to be feared, that *Rome* would put an ill Conſtruction on this kind of Mourning, and interpret it as worn, on Account of their Grief for the Misfortunes of *Perſes*. Beſides, was it proper to make Congratulations in a mourning Dreſs? In ſhort, the *Rhodians* determined rather to conform themſelves to the publick Joy that reigned in *Rome*, than appear in the Dreſs of Criminals, who ſued for Mercy. They appeared very finely dreſſed in the *Comitia*, near the Temple, where the Senate was aſſembled, and there waited for the Anſwer to their Demand, of being introduced into it. The Company of the *Rhodians* was numerous. Their Republick had ſent two Deputations to *Rome*, immediately after one another. *Philocrates* was at the Head of one; and *Philophron* and *Aſtymedes*, of the other. As ſoon as the Senators had determined, that the *Rhodians* ſhould neither be treated with Hoſpitality, nor admitted to an Audience, the *Conſul Junius* left the Aſſembly, to bring them the News. The Ambaſſadors advanced ſome Paces towards the *Conſul*, and aſſured him, That they were come only to teſtify to the *Romans* their Joy at their Conqueſt, and efface the Suſpicions which might have been entertained of their Republick. But *Junius* put on an Air of Severity, and addreſſed himſelf to them thus. *We deſire no Congratulations from a People, whoſe Fidelity we ſuſpect. Go, and condole with* Perſes. *We admit none within the Walls of* Rome, *or into the Senate, but the Ambaſſadors of Nations which are our Friends. And are you ſo? Did you even preſerve the Appearances of Friendſhip during the laſt War?* The *Rhodians* were Thunderſtruck at theſe Words, fell proſtrate with Tears in their Eyes, and intreated the *Conſul*, to have more Regard to the Services they had ſo long done *Rome*, than to the ill Conduct into which they had been ſeduced for ſome Years. But *Junius* was inexorable.

THEN the *Rhodians* behaved themſelves like Criminals, and changed their Habits. They ran from Houſe to Houſe, in a negligent Dreſs, to raiſe the Compaſſion of the *Roman Citizens*. Though they could not be admitted into the Senate, they hoped to have found ſome Protection among the People. They every where intreated them not to condemn them without a hearing, and at length had an Opportunity of ſpeaking in the Senate. The *Prætor Juventius Thalna* had taken it into his Head, to get the aſſembled *Tribes* to declare War with the *Rhodians*. Not that he had any perſonal Hatred to this unfortunate People; but his only Aim was to get himſelf nominated by the People, General of the Expedition againſt the *Rhodian* Republick. With this View he haſtily drew up his Petition in the following Words, without conſulting the Senate, or *Conſuls*. *Does it pleaſe the* Roman *People to declare War with the* Rhodians; *and to ſend to* Rhodes *one of the Magiſtrates for the time being to begin Hoſtilities againſt them?* Without doubt *Juventius* had privately carried on Intrigues to obtain this glorious Commiſſion; though after all, his Proceedings were contrary to Rule. But Ambition is blind. He thought to have prevailed on the People to declare War, unknown to the Senate and the *Conſul*; and was much ſurprized to ſee two *Tribunes of the People*, *Antonius* and *Pomponius*, oppoſe his Motion. Indeed the Proteſt of the two *Tribunes* was as irregular as the Proceedings of *Juventius*. According to the uſual Forms, no Oppoſition was to be valid, but ſuch as was made at the inſtant that a Law was debated in the *Comitia*; when private Perſons had Leave to ſpeak freely to the aſſembled People, either for, or againſt it. By which means it often happened, that they who were moſt bent on paſſing, or rejecting a Law, altered their Minds. Whereas, now both the *Prætor* and the *Tribunes* had equally neglected the uſual Forms, through Precipitation; and their Conduct was entirely irregular on all Hands. Nay, the *Tribune Pomponius* had made uſe of Violence. He had cauſed the *Prætor Juventius* to be carried away by Force, from *The Tribune of Harangues*, when he was ready to harangue the People in favour of his Motion.

ALL theſe Diſputes and Conteſts forced the *Romans* to admit the *Rhodian* Ambaſſadors into the Senate, and give them Leave to ſpeak in their own Vindication. *Aſtymedes* was their Mouth, and he ſpake thus. *You now ſee us at your Feet*, Conſcript Fathers, *in a very different Condition from that in which we have hitherto appeared, in this Sanctuary of Juſtice. We have hitherto come hither, only to receive your Approbation, or Thanks, for the good Offices we had done your Republick. But how much is our Condition now altered! We at preſent appear before this Tribunal, only as Criminals, who are indulged the Favour of being heard in their own Defence. Though we do not yet know, whether we are guilty or not, we have choſen to humble our ſelves before our Judges, and appear only as Suppliants. We formerly were lodged in a ſtately Palace at your Expence, and were conducted from thence in form, to receive a gracious Audience from the Senate. But now we come from a poor Cottage, in the extreme Parts of the Suburbs, to bear your Reproaches, and ſubmit to your Deciſions. During the Wars with* Philip *and* Antiochus, *we were treated in* Rome *with a Magnificence equal to our Services. But ſince the Defeat of* Perſes, *we have ſcarce been able to hire a miſerable Lodging, without the Walls, at a very great Price. There was a time, when we were ſuffered to mount the* Capitol, *in ſolemn Proceſſion, to offer Sacrifice there. But now we are brought to the Temple as Victims, to be ſacrificed ourſelves, to the Rage of the People. You formerly gave us* Lycia, *and* Caria. *But you now threaten to deprive us of our own Iſland. Will you then*, Conſcript Fathers, *treat us with more Rigour, than the* Macedonians *and* Illyricans, *your avowed Enemies? It is ſaid, that you grant them their Liberty; and yet you would enſlave us. Their Puniſhment is a real Benefit to them. Yet they bore Arms againſt you. But* Rhodes *cannot reproach herſelf with having been guilty of any Acts of Hoſtility; and you incline to oppreſs her. Will you make no other Difference between a quiet People, who contented themſelves with ſtanding neuter, and a vanquiſhed Enemy, than to deſtroy the former, and gratify the latter? Not that we envy others the Happineſs you grant them. We only deſire to partake of your Clemency, which does you more Honour than your greateſt Exploits. All the Wars you have undertaken in the Eaſt have been founded on Juſtice.* Philip *had ſided with* Hannibal, *and aſſiſted him with Troops and Money.* Antiochus *had ſtirred up* Ætolia *againſt* Rome. Perſes *had waged War with your Allies, and made himſelf odious by the Aſſaſſinations of more Kings than one. And the Juſtice of your Cauſe was crowned with Victory. But as to the* Rhodians, *what have they to reproach themſelves with, more than with being peaceable? Is then their Inaction a ſufficient Reaſon for you to treat them as Enemies? Indeed in the laſt War, we did not ſerve the Republick with the ſame Zeal, as formerly. Our Ships did not join yours, under the Command of a* Roman *Admiral; did not, as formerly, put the Enemy to flight, off* Samos *and* Pamphylia; *nor did our* Rhodians *die the Sea with their own Blood, and that of the vanquiſhed* Syrians. *By which I would not be underſtood*, Conſcript Fathers, *to reproach you with our paſt Services; you have rewarded us for them. We only renew the Remembrance of them, to raiſe your Compaſſion. If* Perſes *had conquered you, would the* Rhodians *have had any Right to have demanded a Reward of him? Had we done ſo, his Anſwer would no doubt have been this. You have neither aſſiſted me with your Arms nor Money. What Service have your Ships or Land Forces done me? If none, what Reward have you deſerved at my Hands? So that by having endeavoured to reconcile* Rome *with* Macedon, *we are reduced to this Condition, that* Perſes *would have had no Reaſon to thank us; and you have Thoughts of puniſhing us. But after all,* Perſes *would have had a juſt Objection to us, which you*, Conſcript Fathers, *have not. You know, that in the beginning of the War,* Rhodes *ſent Ambaſſadors to you, to offer you all her Forces. You heard them intreat you to accept of the Aſſiſtance of her Troops and Ships; and you refuſed it. Is it juſt then to blame us for this? Are we reſponſible for your Contempt of our Offers? If not, what is our Crime? Is it that we ſuffered ſome Declaimers at* Rhodes *to inveigh againſt* Rome? *I don't deny the Fact. In the beſt regulated Republicks, there are always ſome Madmen, who will abuſe their Liberty of Speech, and run into great Exceſſes. One* Dino *and one* Polycrates *took the Freedom to inveigh againſt the* Roman *Republick; and their Diſcourſes were applauded, by a ſmall Number of bad Citizens. We therefore offer to bring you theſe Orators, and deliver them up to Juſtici.*

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Livy, B. 45. c. 22.

Liv. ib. c. 23.

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fice. Punish the Criminals yourselves; but don't impute their Licentiousness to the whole Nation. What Republick is entirely free from indiscreet, or seditious Men? Rome herself has brought up some. Why should it then be expected, that Rhodes *should be miraculously delivered from so general a Contagion? One of our Ambassadors indeed was so audacious, as to make an haughty Speech in your august Assemblies. But every Nation has its Faults. The* Athenians *are bold, the* Lacedæmonians *slow, the* Asiaticks *vain-glorious; and the Vice of the* Rhodians *is Vanity and Imperiousness. The Ascendant we had gained over our Neighbours, had accustomed us to assume such haughty Airs, as were, no doubt, very unseasonable at* Rome. *But then those imprudent Words were sufficiently punished by your Answers. Weak Men are offended at an arrogant Discourse; but the wise despise it, and laugh at it. Will you then destroy a whole Nation, for the imprudent Sallies of an Ambassador?*

Livy, ibid. *Supposing his Words were Marks of Contempt, which it very ill became a* Rhodian *to use towards* Rome; *yet it is certain no body ever yet thought that the Insolence*

Livy, ibid. *of an Inferior to a Superior, deserved to be capitally punished. Nay, we daily see some People blaspheme the Gods, and yet never heard of any one that was struck dead with Lightning for it. As then you are our Gods on Earth, imitate the Moderation of the Gods of Heaven.*

AND now what remains, but that I endeavour to efface a Prejudice, which is but too deeply rooted in your Minds? It is believed, that we were more inclined to favour Perses, *than the* Roman *Republick. You dive into the Secrets of our Hearts, and are divided about the manner of punishing them. Some would have us utterly destroyed for our bare Wishes for* Perses. *But others are of Opinion, that bare Wishes, never put in execution, ought not to be punished with the utmost Rigour. We therefore return our Thanks to those, whose Equity inclines them to Clemency, and readily offer to submit to the Vengeance of the most severe, if it can be made appear, that all the* Rhodians *were well affected to the* Macedonian. *There is no Question, but that the greatest and most solid part of the* Rhodians, *not only had, but shewed, a sincere Attachment to* Rome. *Is it not then more just, that so great Numbers of your Friends should incline you to favour the few Guilty, than that a small Number of Offenders should involve your Friends in the same Punishment as themselves! Besides, these Friends of* Perses *are now no longer among us. Some of them have killed themselves; and others have gone into voluntary Exile: So that they have punished themselves. And the few of them that are left among us, shall be delivered up to you, that you may punish them as you please. Will you then destroy us, who observed a perfect Neutrality, upon a bare Presumption, that* Rhodes *wished to see the* Macedonian *victorious? Have not all the* Greek *Cities in* Europe *and* Asia *wished for the same thing? Has not the Power of the* Roman *Republick been dreaded there? Are we the only People who have been afraid of having you for our Masters? Had not* Perses *some Friends in all the Eastern Nations? Why then should we only be threatened with speedy Destruction? If it is a Crime to wish well to ones self, it is such a Crime as many others are guilty of, as well as we. Must then we only suffer Punishment for it? We, who have sent you more powerful Succours, than all* Greece *together? We, whose Vows have at least been divided, between You and* Perses? *Not that we ask any new Favours from you. All we contend for is, that since we assisted you in the Wars with* Philip *and* Antiochus, *and only stood neuter in the third with* Perses, *our Services in the two former, ought at least to induce you to forgive our Inactivity in the latter. Our Submissions, and our Repentance will, we*

Liv. ib. c. 24. *hope, at least prevent our utter Ruin. I say utter Ruin, for as to a War we will have none with* Rome. *If you send any Troops, they shall enter our Dominions without Resistance; and we will submit to your Hostilities, without Opposition. Perhaps our Submission may affect you. But if that does not appease your Anger, we will all, Men, Women, and Children, go on board our Ships, embark our Money, Moveables, and other Effects with us, come to* Rome, *throw down all at your Feet, and surrender up our Estates, Lives, and Liberty into your Hands. Judge then whether we are your Enemies.*

§. VIII. THIS was a long Speech; but could *Astymedes* say less, to save his Country from utter Ruin? As soon as he had finished it, the Ambassadors and

Livy, B. 45. c. 25. their Retinue all fell prostrate a second time, and held out Branches of Olive in their Hands, as a Token of their suing for Peace. Then they were raised up, and withdrew;

withdrew; after which the *Conſcript Fathers* debated about this new War, in which the *Prætor Juventius* would have engaged *Rome*. Such of the Senators as had borne Arms in *Macedon*, in quality of *Conſuls*, *Prætors*, or Lieutenant-Generals, voted warmly againſt the *Rhodians*. They had been exaſperated by the *Rhodians* having refuſed them Succours; and this was their chief Excuſe, when they were reproached with not having utterly deſtroyed *Perſes*. And at length, the famous *Cato* came to vote in his Turn; and notwithſtanding his great Age, ſpoke in favour of the *Rhodians*, with all the Vivacity of a young Orator, the Authority of an old *Cenſor* and *Conſul*, and the Eloquence of a conſummate Maſter of the Art of Perſuaſion. His [16] Speech was in being, in the time of the Emperor *Adrian*; and we will give it the Reader as entire as we can make it, from the Fragments that now remain of it. There is nothing in it of the Artifice of a Declaimer, whoſe Buſineſs it is to defend his Client; but it is full of the Gravity of an old Magiſtrate, whoſe Age and Employments authoriſe him to ſpeak naked Truths. *It were to be wiſhed*, ſaid he, *that the Affair of the* Rhodians *had been brought before us, at a time, when our Minds had been leſs warmed with the inſolent Joys of Victory. We are yet intoxicated with our Succeſs, and have forgotten even the Principles of Reaſon, and the firſt Rules of Equity. O that the Gods may therefore diſpel this Stupefaction, which may in the end corrupt our Manners, and bring great Calamities upon us! How ſhameful a thing is it, that we ever once deliberate whether we ought to make War with the* Rhodians! *How mad is it in us to have ever ſuffered any to vote for the utter Deſtruction of the* Rhodian *Republick! Has then our Proſperity blinded us ſo much, as that we ſhould ſuffer any Acts of Injuſtice to be committed in this Aſylum of Equity? What are the things laid to the* Rhodians *Charge? Theſe two; Secret Thoughts, and proud Words. Their moſt zealous Accuſers bring no heavier Accuſation againſt them. They neither charge them with any Acts of Hoſtility, nor with having ſent any Succours of Men or Money to our Enemies. All that is ſaid is, that theſe Iſlanders were inclined to favour* Perſes; *and they are condemned for the Sentiments of their Hearts. O ye immortal Gods, ſhall we then uſurp your Rights! Shall we ſearch into Mens Thoughts and Conſciences, to condemn them as Enemies, when they have not declared themſelves ſo? I readily grant, that the* Rhodians *did not very heartily rejoice, at the entire Defeat and Captivity of* Perſes. *And I will allow, that their Concern did not ſo much proceed from Compaſſion, as from Notions of Self-Intereſt. But is it then unlawful for a Man to wiſh for Liberty?* Rome *is a powerful State, and capable of ſwallowing up all the Eaſtern Countries.* Macedon, *the only Bulwark againſt her, was deſtroyed. The Inundation drew near them; and hence their Fears and Alarms. Did they then hate you? No; but they loved themſelves. Which of us would not be uneaſy to ſee a formidable Neighbour join his Land to ours? Would we not do any thing to get rid of ſuch a Neighbourhood? And we know, that any Means, but thoſe of Violence, are lawful. Which was the very Caſe of the* Rhodians. *They wiſhed that* Perſes *might not be deſtroyed, and thereby the Mole that kept us from them, deſtroyed. And what is there criminal in this? If it be a Crime to deſire to avoid Slavery, all the Nations of the* Levant *have been guilty of it. Beſides, are bare Wiſhes puniſhable? Which of us has not deſired to enjoy a greater Quantity of Land, than the Law allows him? Our Deſires, which we offer up to the immortal Gods are not unlawful, unleſs we fix them upon unlawful Objects. No Infractions of the civil Laws are puniſhable, till they have gone from the Heart, and appeared in overt Acts. But it is alſo ſaid, that the* Rhodians *ſhewed their Pride by their Words. And indeed one of their Ambaſſadors did drop ſome very arrogant and haughty Expreſſions. But what can be inferred from thence, more than this; that there is a Nation in the World, which are more proud and imperious than the* Romans? *Is a Bravado Crime enough, to deſerve to have a Country, which was formerly in Friendſhip with us, deſtroyed with Fire and Sword? Is an indiſcreet Expreſſion ſo highly criminal, that it ought to be expiated with Rivers of Blood? This Republick,* Conſcript Fathers, *has even been honoured for her Clemency;*

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Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic. B. 7. c. 3.

16 *Livy* does not mention the Speech which *Cato* made in favour of the *Rhodians*. He ſays, it was in the fifth Book of the *Origines*, a Work then in every one's Hands. *Aulus Gellius* has collected ſeveral Fragments of this Harangue, which he defends againſt the Remarks made upon it by *Marcus Tullius Tiro*, *Cicero's Freedman*.

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mercy; which has contributed more towards the enlarging our Limits, than our Arms. What then will be the Conſequence of an unjuſt Severity but Inſurrections, among the timorous Nations, and Revolts, or Diſtruſts at leaſt, among our Allies? The Nations will fear us more, but they will love us leſs. The artful Greeks *will privately form Plots; and we ſhall find it the more difficult to guard againſt them, in that their Fears will oblige them to take the more Care, to keep them ſecret. Let us not then,* Conſcript Fathers, *loſe the Fruits of our Benefactions. The* Rhodians *have not carried their Ingratitude to exceſs.* Perſes, *when in his greateſt Glory, could not ſeduce them ſo far, as to prevail on them to take up Arms againſt us: And the Aſcendant the Republick has ſince gained, gives her leſs Reaſon to ſuſpect their Conduct for the future. I therefore vote for rejecting the Motion of the* Prætor Juventius, *and leaving the* Rhodians *in peaceable Poſſeſſion of their Iſland.*

THE Advice and Repreſentations of *Cato* had their Effect on the Majority of the Senators, and War was not declared againſt *Rhodes*; which was the capital Point. The Senate only renewed the Decree they had formerly made; whereby the *Rhodians* were deprived of all Dominion over *Lycia* and *Caria*, two Provinces, which *Rome* had formerly given them. After which *Philocrates*, one of the Ambaſſadors, returned into his own Country; but *Aſtymedes* continued at *Rome*, to guard againſt any freſh Attempts, and give his Republick Notice of them. The News which *Philocrates* brought to *Rhodes* was received there with inexpreſſible Joy; inſomuch, that the *Rhodians* ſcarce thought of the Loſs of *Lycia* and *Caria*.

Polyb. in Legat. n. 33.

As for *Greece*, ſhe ſaw her Fears on all ſides vaniſh. The Clemency of the *Romans* gave her Confidence. Nevertheleſs, moſt of the *Greek* Nations were diſpleaſed with the Speech of *Aſtymedes*. *Why did he bring us into their Quarrel?* ſaid they. *What Neceſſity was he under, of telling the* Roman *Senate, that we were inclined to ſerve* Perſes? *Could not he have juſtified himſelf without accuſing us?* So that the Name of *Aſtymedes* became odious in the *Levant*, and he had no

Polyb. Ibid.

longer any Credit, any where but at *Rhodes*. The *Rhodians* now made it their whole Buſineſs to regain the Affection of the *Romans*. The Alliance they had formerly entered into with *Rome*, was not complete; there were ſome Clauſes in their Treaties, that weakened their Engagements to each other. *Rhodes* would never yet ſubmit to be obliged to have no other Enemies or Friends but thoſe of *Rome*. She had reſerved to her ſelf a Liberty to make Alliances, with any Kings or independent States that ſhe pleaſed, whether in *Europe*, or *Aſia*. But now the Times were changed. Since the Conqueſt of *Macedon*, there was no Power in all the Eaſt to be feared, or courted, but the *Roman* People. And therefore the *Rhodian* Republick were now deſirous of entering into a ſtricter Alliance with *Rome*. In

Liv. B. 45. n. 25.

order to obtain it, a Crown of Gold was ordered to be made at *Rhodes*, of [17] great Value. It was put into the Hands of *Theodotus*, who commanded the Fleet, and the Admiral was ordered to carry it to *Rome*, and there [18] negotiate this new Alliance. Nevertheleſs, as the *Rhodians* were very vain-glorious, they forbad *Theodotus* to offer his Petition in writing. They were afraid, that in caſe his Requeſt was not granted, it might be conveyed down to Poſterity, and be a ſtanding Monument of Reproach to them. The Admiral ſet ſail, came to *Rome*, and made his Preſents. But as for the Alliance which he deſired by Word of Mouth, *Rome* made his Republick ſollicit it a great while, before it was granted. She would not honour *Rhodes* with it till ſome Years after; and took Pleaſure in humbling that proud Republick. And indeed, though *Rome* had taken from thoſe

17 The *Roman* Hiſtorian fixes the Value of this rich Crown at twenty thouſand of thoſe pieces of Gold, which the *Romans* called AUREI. But *Polybius* reckons it to have been worth but ten thouſand. The *Aureus* * among the *Romans* was worth twenty five *Attick Drachmæ*, or twenty five *Denarii*, according to *Dio Caſſius*, *B.* 45. AUREUM *vero id nomiſma quod viginti quinque Denarios valet.* It weighed two Drams and an half. Suppoſing then that in the Ages of the Republick, the Proportion of Gold to Silver, was as ten to one, which we have Reaſon to infer from ſeveral Paſſages, this piece of Gold could not be worth leſs than twenty five Drams, that is, twelve *Livres*, ten *Sols*, *French*. *Pollux* fixed the ſame Proportion between Gold and Silver. Add to this, that we have already obſerved, after *Pliny the Naturaliſt*, *B.* 33. that the *Romans* did not begin to coin Gold, till about the Year 546, under the *Conſulſhip* of *Caius Claudius Nero*, and *Marcus Livius Salinator*.

* [illegible] *Hiſt.*

18 According to *Polybius*, the renewing this Alliance with *Rome* was committed to the Care of another Ambaſſador, whom the *Greek* Hiſtorian calls *Rhodopho*. But a little lower, he gives him the Name of *Theetetes*. He was eighty Years of Age, and died at *Rome*, before he could finiſh his Negotiation.

Iſlanders

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Iſlanders *Lycia* and *Caria*, two Provinces on the Continent of *Aſia*, they revenged themſelves by open Force, on ſome Cities, which they again brought into Subjection to them. They ſeized *Caunus* [19], *Mylaſa* [20], *Euromus* [21], and *Alabanda*, whoſe Territory was very fruitful. How could the *Rhodians* live in a dry and [22] barren Iſland, without the Aſſiſtance they drew from the Continent? Be that as it will, the *Romans* took theſe [23] Places from them again, and forced them to draw out their Garriſons from them.

§. IX. WHEN the *Romans* had finiſhed the Affair of the *Rhodians*, their next Buſineſs was to receive the Compliments of all the Nations of the Eaſt. There was no King, or Republick, or free City, which did not congratulate the Conquerors on their Victory. The firſt that appeared at *Rome*, on that Account, were the *Athenians*, whoſe Intereſt brought them thither. They demanded the Reſtitution of *Delos* [24], and *Lemnos*, which the Republick readily gave them. Theſe Iſlands had long [25] belonged to them. But the *Romans* were ſurprized to hear the *Athenians* inſiſt on the Demolition of *Haliartus* [26], one of the moſt ancient Cities of *Bœotia*. Did it become ſo wiſe a Senate as that of *Athens*, to demand the Deſtruction of a Place, which they ought to have protected? Was there any Neceſſity of depriving ſo many unhappy Citizens of the very Hopes of ever ſeeing their native Country? It is highly probable that *Rome* was not ſo mercileſs as to ſacrifice *Haliartus* to the Ambition of the *Athenians*.

Polyb. in Legat. N. 94, 95, 96, 97, 98.

AFTER them *Numenius*, the Ambaſſador of the two Kings of *Egypt*, was introduced into the Senate. His Commiſſion was not confined to the complimenting *Rome* on her Succeſs; his chief Buſineſs was to thank her for the Peace that reigned in *Egypt*, through the wiſe Advice of *Popillius*. This *Roman* had forced *Antiochus* to drop his Deſign of beſieging *Alexandria*, and had reconciled the two Brothers. Nor was this all. He had alſo, by his Advice and Entreaties, obtained a Pardon for a *Lacedæmonian*, named *Menalchidas*, a ſelfiſh Man, who during the Troubles had imbezzled the Finances of the Kingdom, which were committed to his Care.

BUT *Pruſias* carried his Flattery farther than any other of the Eaſtern Kings. He was not content with ſending an Embaſſy to *Rome* to congratulate her; he came thither himſelf, and left his own Dominions, ſervilely to make Court to the prevailing Republick. Indeed he had for ſome [27] Years entruſted the *Romans* with the Education of his Son *Nicomedes*; and the Deſire of ſeeing this Son, was the Pretence with which he covered the Shame of his Journey. He alſo diſhonoured himſelf by his Conduct at *Rome*. The Republick ſent the *Quæſtor Scipio* [28] as far as *Capua* to meet the King, with Orders to defray his Expences, and conduct him to the Capitol. As ſoon as he appeared there with a numerous Train of Attendants, great Multitudes of People crowded about him. It was a new Sight to them. The King of *Bithynia* had ſhaved his Head, taken the Habit and Sandals of

Livy, B. 45. *c.* 44.

Polyb. Legat. N. 97.

19 *Caunus* was a maritime City of *Caria*, in *Aſia Minor*, near the Mouth of the River *Calbis*. *Caſtaldus* calls it *La Roſſa*. It is now only a ſmall Place, ſubject to the *Turks*, about twenty Miles diſtant from the Iſland of *Rhodes*.

20 *Mylaſa* alſo belonged to *Caria*. It is now *Melaſſo*, a little City, about twelve Miles diſtant from the *Ægean* Sea.

21 *Euromus* likewiſe depended on the ſame Province, as well as *Alabanda*, which was one of the richeſt and moſt conſiderable Cities in this Country.

22 *Rhodes* is indeed a ſandy Soil, and ſurrounded with Mountains. Nevertheleſs it bears all ſorts of Fruits.

23 Beſides theſe Places from which *Rome* forced the *Rhodians* to withdraw their Garriſons, *Polybius* tells us, that the Senate alſo took from them *Stratonice*, another City of *Caria*.

24 We have ſpoken of theſe Iſlands already. The firſt was famous for the fabulous Birth, and Oracle of *Apollo*. The *Italians* call it *Sdili*, as well as the neighbouring Iſland. *Lemnos*, now *Limni* and *Lemno*, is an Iſland in the *Ægean* Sea, between Mount *Athos*, and the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*.

25 We are told by *Herodotus*, and *Cornelius Nepos*, that the *Athenians* had conquered *Lemnos*, under the Command of *Miltiades*.

26 There were formerly two Cities in *Greece* called *Haliartus*. One mentioned by *Pauſanias*, ſituated in *Peloponneſus*, on the Borders of *Meſſenia*, near Mount *Lycæus*, and on the Frontiers of *Arcadia*. According to *Niger*, it is now called *Neocaſtro*. The other, which is here ſpoken of, was a City of *Bœotia*, near the Lake *Copais*. *Homer*, in his *Iliad*, joins it with *Coronæa*, not only on account of their Proximity, but alſo becauſe they were ſaid to be founded by the two Brothers, *Coronæus* and *Haliartus*.

27 According to *Livy Pruſias* came to *Rome*, with his Son *Nicomedes*, to congratulate the Senate on the Conqueſt of *Macedon*. But the Reader may have obſerved already, through the whole Courſe of the Hiſtory, that the young Prince was then at *Rome*, and that he came thither ſome Years before his Father.

28 This *Lucius Cornelius Scipio* was the Son of *Scipio Aſiaticus*. *Valerius Maximus* is miſtaken in giving this *Quæſtor* the *Prænomen* of *Publius*.

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Macedon, and wore one of thoſe [29] *Pilei*, which Slaves wore after they had obtained their Freedom. In this odd Dreſs, *Pruſias* advanced towards the *Forum*, ſtopped at the Tribunal where the *Prætors* uſed to adminiſter Juſtice; and there declared with a loud Voice, that he had croſſed the Seas, on Purpoſe to return Thanks to the *Roman* Divinities, and congratulate the *Romans* on their late Victory. Then the Arrival of the King was notified to the aſſembled Senate; and the *Conſcript Fathers* inſtantly ſent Deputies to receive him, and introduce him into the Senate. Upon which the vile Monarch ſhewed the Meanneſs of his Spirit, in the ſtrongeſt Point of Light. *I have taken the Habit and Appearance of one of your* Freedmen, ſaid he to the Deputies. *What am I better than a* Roman *Slave, ſet at Liberty by your Favour?* They asked him, whether he would be introduced into the Senate immediately; and he deſired two Days firſt, to ſee the City, and Temples, and viſit his Friends. On the third Day he was introduced, and ſhewed a Baſeneſs of Mind unworthy of the Rank and Title that he bore. When he entered into the Hall, he kiſſed the Threſhold of the Door; treated the Senators as viſible Deities, Saviours, and Deliverers; then recounted the Succours he had ſent *Rome* during the War with *Perſes*; and concluded his Speech, with deſiring the Protection of the *Romans* for himſelf, and the Continuance of her Care and Good-will to his Son. Whence it is eaſy to judge how much ſuch mean Submiſſions from a famous Potentate flattered the Pride of the *Romans*. After this, his Petition was read, which contained two Articles. The firſt was, That he might have leave to offer up ſome of the largeſt Victims on the *Capitol*, and as many more at [30] *Præneſte*, by way of Thankſgiving to *Jupiter* and *Fortune*, for the Succeſs of the late War. The ſecond, That the Republick would give him the Grant of a Territory, which formerly belonged to *Antiochus*, and which the *Galatians* had ſeized without the Conſent of the *Romans*. The Senate were diſpoſed to oblige *Pruſias*, who was ſupported by thoſe Senators, who had borne Arms in *Macedon*; and the Anſwer given him was this. *We give the King of* Bythinia *leave to offer Sacrifices at* Rome *and* Præneſte; *and hereby order, that the Expences of the Victims, and all other things for the Sacrifices, ſhall be defrayed by the Publick, as in the Caſe of our own Magiſtrates. As to the Territory which he deſires, we will ſend Commiſſioners to the Place, who ſhall judge of the Affair, after both Parties have been heard.* By this Determination the Senate ſhewed their Equity, and their Inclinations to gratify the King of *Bythinia* at the ſame time. They alſo aſſured him, That they would take the ſame Care of the Education of his Son, as they had done of that of *Antiochus*, and the *Ptolomies*, whom the Republick looked on as her Pupils. And laſtly, *Rome* made *Pruſias* Preſents in Money to the Value of a hundred thouſand * *Seſterces*; and beſides the Silver Vaſes of fifty Pounds weight which ſhe gave him, ſhe preſented him with the two hundred and twenty five Barks, which had been taken from *Gentius* in *Illyricum*. The Republick alſo extended her Bounties to young *Nicomedes*. She made him the ſame Preſents as had been made to *Maſgaba*, the Son of the King of *Numidia*. And then *Pruſias* left *Rome*, embarked at *Brunduſium*, and ſet ſail with a Squadron of twenty Gallies, which conducted him to the Fleet, which the Republick had given him.

* 807 *l.* 5 *s.* 10 *d. Arbuth.*

Polyb. in Legat. n. 97.

AND no ſooner had *Pruſias* ſet ſail, but News was brought to the Senate, that the King of *Pergamus* was ready to land at *Brunduſium*; which embarraſſed the *Conſcript Fathers*. What part could they act with regard to a King, with whom they were diſpleaſed, and had a Mind to diſſemble their Reſentment? *Eumenes* had long been a Friend to the *Romans*, and the moſt faithful of all their Allies in the *Levant*. But he had forgotten himſelf in the laſt War, and deſerved to be puniſhed for his Coldneſs. Nevertheleſs *Rome* would neither openly revenge her ſelf upon him, nor hear his Vindication. To puniſh him as ſeverely as he had deſerved, would have been taxing herſelf with Imprudence, in having made ſo

29 We have already ſpoken of the *Pileus* worn by the *Freedmen*, as the Mark of their Liberty.

30 We have already ſpoken of *Præneſte*, a City in *Italy*, now known by the Name of *Paleſtina*; and ſhall not here repeat what has been ſaid in the preceding Volumes, of the Temple which the *Præneſtini* erected to *Jupiter*, under the Title of IMPERATOR; or of the Image of this God, which *Titus Quintius* removed to the *Capitol*, after the Conqueſt of this City, about the Year of *Rome* 375; or of the Temple of *Fortune* there; or of the *Lots* which People came thither to conſult, from all Parts of *Italy*.

bad

bad a Choice of an inconſtant Friend. And on the other hand, to forgive him his Fault, was to betray the Cauſe of Juſtice, and give a Sanction to Unfaithfulneſs. What then could they do? The Senate found out this Expedient, which extricated them out of the Difficulty. They made a Decree, forbidding all Kings in general to come to *Rome*, unleſs ſent for. The Pretence for this Decree was, that it put the Republick to too great Expences, to be continually defraying the Charges of their Receptions, ſince their Viſits were become frequent. As ſoon therefore as the Arrival of *Eumenes* in *Italy* was regularly notified, a *Quæſtor* was ſent to acquaint him with the Decree, and to know his Buſineſs with the Senate. And this Proceeding ſhocked *Eumenes*. He gave the *Quæſtor* no Anſwer at all, but immediately embarked again, and returned to his own Dominions. By this means *Rome* indirectly revenged herſelf on him, in ſuch a manner, that ſhe incurred no Odium by it. The *Galatians* were then making War on the King of *Pergamus*; and as ſoon as News was brought into *Aſia*, of the Contempt *Rome* had ſhewn him, this gave his Enemies new Courage, and moſt of his Friends deſerted him. Thus did the Favour, or Diſcountenance of the *Romans*, incline the Balance for, or againſt, the Kings, in all the Courts of the World.

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§. X. WHEN the Senate had diſpatched the Affairs of the different Embaſſies that came to *Rome* from all Parts, they applied themſelves to ſettle thoſe of the Republick; and Religion was always the firſt Concern of the *Romans*. Lightning had fallen on a Temple of the *Dii Penates*, in the Quarter of the City called *Velia*. The Thunder had tumbled down a Gate, and a part of the Wall of the City of [31] *Minervium*. At *Anagnia* [32] the Wind had raiſed a great Whirl of Duſt; and a ſhining [33] Meteor had appeared at [34] *Lanuvium*. Which was enough, for an Order to be given to the *Decemviri* to conſult the *Sybilline* Books; and they ordered publick Prayers for one Day, commanded that fifty Goats ſhould be ſacrificed in the *Forum*, and purified the City by Luſtrations. And laſtly, by a Decree of the Senate, the ſame Preſents were made to the Gods, and the ſame Number of Victims offered up to them for the Victories in *Illyricum* and *Macedon*, as had been offered for the Defeat of *Antiochus*. *Livy, B.* 45. *c.* 16.

AFTER Religion, the next Affair at *Rome* was to ſettle the State of the two Kingdoms newly conquered. *Illyricum* and *Macedon* were no longer ſubject to Kings. Theſe two fine Countries were entirely in the Power of the *Romans*. The Senate were perfectly at Liberty to ſettle any kind of Government there, which would be of moſt Advantage to the Conquerors. And it is eaſy to judge, that the victorious Republick would not be inclined to ſuffer the monarchick State to ſubſiſt among Nations, whoſe Sovereigns had ſo often oppoſed them: So that the whole Debate turned on two Points, which were thought the only Methods to be taken. The firſt was, whether *Illyricum* and *Macedon* ſhould be made *Roman Provinces*, as *Sicily* and *Sardinia* were, and be governed by *Prætors* ſent thither annually, to govern them under the Authority of the Senate and People of *Rome*. The ſecond, whether thoſe Countries ſhould be made free, and turned into two Republicks, which ſhould be tributary, and conſequently ſo far dependent, on the

31 *Turnebius* thinks that by the Name of *Minervium*, *Livy* meant a Quarter of the City of *Rome*, near Mount *Cœlius*. *Varro* ſpeaks of this Quarter, *B.* 4 *De Ling. Lat.*; and *Ovid*, *Faſt. B.* 3. Nevertheleſs it is certain, that the ancient Geographers, and *Roman* Hiſtorians, mention a City of *Calabria*, called *Minervium*. The Natives now call it *Caſtro*. It took its Name from a famous Temple, which the People of the Country had conſecrated to *Minerva*. According to *Velleius Paterculus*, it became a *Roman Colony* about the Year of *Rome* 629, under the *Conſulate* of *Caius Caſſius Longinus*, and *Caius Sextius Calvinus*.

32 We have ſpoken of *Anagnia*, which is now in the *Campagna di Roma*, and ſtill retains its firſt Name, *Vol.* 2.

33 *Livy*'s Words in relation to this luminous Body are theſe. *Lanuvii Fax in Cælo viſa eſt.* Theſe *Phænomena*, which the ignorant Vulgar took for Prodigies, were not unknown to the ancient Philoſophers. *Ariſtotle* ſpeaks of them in the fifth Chapter of his firſt Book of Meteors. He gives this luminous Body the Name of a *Goat*, when by its irregular Motions it ſeems to dance about, and bound from Place to Place, if I may ſo ſpeak, as Goats do. If the Meteor is of an oblong Form, and is carried from one part of the Heavens to another, with an irregular Motion, then the ſame Philoſopher diſtinguiſhes it by the Name of *A Beam*. Theſe are natural Effects, which are renewed at certain times, and which now ſurprize no Body but the Ignorant. See what we have ſaid, *Vol.* 1. of the pretended Prodigies related by the *Roman* Hiſtorians.

34 See *Vol.* 2. of the City of *Lanuvium*, which the *Italians* now call *Civita-Lavina*. It is not above ſix or ſeven Leagues from *Rome*. We have ſpoken of the Worſhip its Inhabitants paid to *Juno* under the Title of *Soſpita*, Vol. 3.

predominant

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predominant Republick. And the latter part was choſen; but upon what Motives we cannot now gueſs, the Hiſtorians having ſaid nothing of them.

As ſoon as it was determined, that the *Illyricans* and *Macedonians* ſhould have their Liberty, the next thing was to appoint the uſual Deputation of a certain Number of Senators to go to the *Levant*, there to repreſent the Senate of *Rome*, and ſettle the new Governments. The two Generals, *Paulus Æmilius*, and *L. Anicius* were ſtill, one in *Macedon*, and the other in *Illyricum*. Theſe two Conquerors were to be the Heads of the Commiſſions; and the Senators which were to be ſent to them, were only appointed to aſſiſt them with their Counſels. The Senate choſe 35 five Commiſſioners for *Illyricum*; and ten 36 for *Macedon*; among whom there were Men of great Rank, diſtinguiſhed by their having filled the higheſt Poſts in the Republick with Honour. But though the Republick had an entire Confidence in their Prudence, ſhe thought fit to draw up a Plan of the new Government, which they were to ſettle in their Provinces. This was a kind of Sketch of the Regulations the two Generals, *Paulus Æmilius*, and *L. Anicius* were to make among the Nations they had ſubdued; and this Sketch, as the Ancients have tranſmitted it to us, is as follows.

1. *THE* Illyricans *and* Macedonians *ſhall enjoy perfect Liberty, and ſhall be free from any Subjection to any King, that it may appear that* Rome *does not enſlave free Nations, but delivers from Servitude thoſe that are enſlaved.* 2. *The* Illyricans *and* Macedonians *ſhall for ever preſerve the Liberty they ſhall have recovered, under the Protection of the* Roman *Senate and People.* 3. *The Tributes on the Metals which the Mines of* Macedon *produce ſhall be aboliſhed, as well as the Contracts made with the* Farmers *of that Revenue for collecting it; ſince the Liberty of no Nation can be perfect, as long as Impoſts are demanded and* Publicans *ſettled in it.* 4. *The* Macedonians *ſhall never exerciſe the Office of* Publicans, *ſince they cannot diſcharge it, without Vexation to themſelves, and Trouble to the People.* 5. *A General Diet ſhall be eſtabliſhed in each of the two Provinces; and the Diet ſhall take care, that private Perſons don't abuſe the Liberty* Rome *ſhall have given them, by plotting.* 6. Macedon *ſhall be divided into four Cantons, each of which ſhall have its own Diet.* 7. Illyricum *and* Macedon *ſhall not pay the* Romans *more than half the Tribute they paid their Kings.* 8. *The Senate leaves the Regulation of all other things to the Prudence of the Generals and Commiſſioners.*

Liv. B. 45. c. 18.

§. XI. With theſe Inſtructions the fifteen Commiſſioners embarked for the *Levant*; whilſt the *Conſuls* for the Year ſet out for their Provinces, one for *Liguria*, and the other for *Ciſalpine Gaul:* Where we will leave them languiſhing away their time in Idleneſs, and attend only to the Affairs of the Eaſt. Before the Commiſſioners arrived, *Anicius* in *Illyricum*, and *Paulus Æmilius* in *Macedon*, had pacified the two Kingdoms. As to *Illyricum*, after the Defeat and Captivity of *Gentius*, his Conqueror continued ſome Days at *Scodra* 37, the Capital of his Kingdom. Afterwards he went from thence, and left *Gabinius* to be Governor of that City. *Anicius* had alſo given the Government of *Rhizon* 38 and *Olzinium* 39,

Liv. B. 45. c. 26.

35 *P. Ælius*, who had already been *Conſul*, *Caius Cicereius*, and *Cn. Babius Tamphilus*, who had both been *Prætors*, *P. Terentius Fuſcivicanus*, and *Publius Æmilius*, were the five Commiſſioners, whom the Senate choſe to ſettle the Government of *Illyricum*, jointly with *Anicius*, who had ſubdued it.

36 Nine of the Deputies which the Senate ſent to *Macedon* were, *Aulus Poſtumius Luſcus*, and *Caius Claudius*, who had been *Cenſors*, *Caius Licinius Craſſus*, the Collegue of *Paulus Æmilius*, *Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus*, *Servius Cornelius Sulla*, *Lucius Junius*, *Caius Aetiſius Labeo*, *T. Numiſius*, and *Aulus Terentius Varro*; but *Livy* or his Copyiſts have dropped the Name of the tenth.

37 *Scodra* is now called *Scutari*. We have ſpoken of it already.

38 *Rhizon*, or *Rhizana*, or *Rhizinum*, according to *Pliny* and *Ptolomy*, ſtood, according to *Polybius*, on the Banks of a River of the ſame Name. Some modern Geographers place it between *Epidaurus* and *Liſſus*. *Le Noir* thinks he finds it in the Place where now ſtands *Rizano*, a Town in *Dalmatia*, ſituated on an Eminence. *Volaterran* confounds it with *Cataro*. But this laſt Situation cannot be reconciled with *Polybius*, who expreſly ſays, that the City of *Rhizon* was an inland Town, pretty far from the Sea. Nevertheleſs there are ſome who place it on the Coaſt of the *Adriatick* Sea, near *Melanto Picolo*, at a little Diſtance from *Raguſa*. And it is eaſy to reconcile theſe two Opinions, by diſtinguiſhing with *Ptolomy* the two Cities of *Dalmatia*, one of which was called *Rhizinum*, and the other *Rhizana*. He ſays the firſt was a maritime City, and the laſt an inland one. In this Caſe *Rhizana* will be the ſame City that *Polybius* mentions in this Place.

39 *Olzinium*, which *Ptolomy* calls *Ulcinium*, is ſtill in being near the Mouth of the *Drin*, on the Coaſts of the *Adriatick* Sea, twenty four Miles Weſt of *Scutari*. It is now called *Dulcigno*. *Pliny* obſerves, that in the moſt early Ages it had the Name of *Colchinum*, a Term borrowed from a Colony of the People of *Colchis*, which had followed the Fortune of *Jaſon* and *Medea*.

two Cities of Importance, to *C. Licinius*. From thence he had gone into *Epirus*, a Country which, during the War, had ventured to declare openly for the *Illyrican* Party, and ſhake off the *Roman* Yoke. All the Places there ſubmitted to the Conqueror, except four of the beſt fortified Cities. *Paſſaro* [40], among others, was a ſtrong Place to which *Theodotus* and *Antinous*, the two Heads of the Inſurrection, fled for Refuge: and they, who were afraid of themſelves, perſuaded the Inhabitants to ſhut their Gates, and ſtand a Siege. But another *Theodotus*, who had more Prudence than the Heads of the Revolters, perſuaded his Countrymen to ſurrender to the *Prætor*. They hearkened to him; and the two Authors of the Sedition endeavouring in a deſperate manner to force their Way through the *Legionaries*, periſhed in the Attempt. *Tecmon* [41], another Place in *Epirus*, made ſome Reſiſtance at firſt, at the Inſtigation of one *Cephalus*, a Man of Credit in the Country. But the Inhabitants afterwards ſuſpected *Cephalus*, and ſurrendered to the *Romans*. And this Example terrified the reſt of *Epirus*. *Horreum* [42] and *Phylace*, two conſiderable Fortreſſes, opened their Gates to the *Roman* Troops, and then all the Country was quiet. Nevertheleſs the *Romans* had a ſevere Puniſhment in reſerve for theſe faithleſs Allies.

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Livy B. 45. *c.* 26

But at preſent the *Prætor* had nothing to do, but to return to *Scodra*, and put himſelf at the Head of the five Commiſſioners *Rome* had ſent thither. This Council thought it proper to ſummons an Aſſembly of all the conſiderable Men in the Kingdom; and in that Aſſembly *Anicius* declared to them the favourable Reſolutions of the *Roman* Senate. Liberty was proclaimed to the whole Nation, by an Herald. They were promiſed, That *Rome* would immediately withdraw her Garriſons out of all the Places they poſſeſſed; and That the *Romans* would hereafter demand of *Illyricum*, no more than half the Tribute they paid to their Kings. The Commiſſioners alſo determined, That a certain Number of Cities and Provinces, which had voluntarily ſurrendered to the *Romans* before the Defeat of *Gentius*, ſhould be for ever excuſed from all Taxes. And laſtly, They divided the Kingdom of *Gentius* into three Cantons. The firſt contained *Illyricum* [43], ſtrictly ſo called; the ſecond, all the [44] Country of the *Labeates*; and the third, the Provinces of the *Agravonitæ* [45], *Rhizonitæ* [46], and *Olciniatæ*. This Diviſion [47] long continued. *Pliny* mentions the three Parts of *Illyricum*, when he ſpeaks of the Diſtricts of the *Salonites* [48], *Scardonites* [49], and *Naronites* [50]. As ſoon as *Anicius* had finiſhed this great Work, he went to ſpend the Winter at *Paſſaro*, in *Epirus*, and wait there till recalled to *Italy*.

Plin. B. 3. *c.* 21, 22.

§. XII. Thus all things were ſettled in *Illyricum*, but *Macedon* did not yet know its Fate. The ten Commiſſioners which were to compoſe a ſupreme Court, which was to regulate the new Government of this conquered Province, were daily expected; and in the mean time, *Paulus Æmilius* took Advantage of the fine Wea-

Livy, *B.* 45. *c.* 27.

40 The City of *Paſſaro* ſtood in the Country of the *Moloſſi*.

41 *Stephen of Byſantium* places *Tecmon* in *Theſprotia*. Others bring it near to the Canton of the *Caſſiopæans*, towards the Banks of the River *Arachtus*.

42 It is difficult to ſay in what part of *Epirus* theſe two Fortreſſes ſtood.

43 *Illyricum*, *properly ſo called*, contained that Tract of Ground, that lies between the *Drin* and the *Naro*. It is now the moſt inland Part of *Dalmatia*.

44 The Country of the *Labeates* contained the Territory of *Scutari*, and the Neighbourhood of a Lake of the ſame Name near *Macedon*.

45 By the Name of *Agravonitæ*, *Livy* is ſuppoſed to mean a People, who inhabited a Canton of *Illyricum*, next to *Epidaurus*, on the Coaſt of the *Adriatick* Sea. Others think this People inhabited the City of *Aſcrivium*, and the neighbouring Country, on the ſide of *Caſtel Nuovo*.

46 The *Rhizonitæ*, and *Olciniatæ*, were ſpread round about *Rizano*, *Cataro*, and *Dulcigno*.

47 From this Diviſion it is eaſy to conclude, that the ancient Kingdom of *Gentius* contained thoſe Provinces of *Illyricum* and *Dalmatia*, which reach from the River *Titius*, or the *Kerka*, which diſcharges itſelf into the *Adriatick* Sea, to Mount *Scardus*, now called *Maranai*, and the *Ceraunian* Mountains in *Albania*. And at this rate it muſt have been ninety or a hundred Leagues long, and about twenty five broad, at moſt.

48 The *Salonites* derive their Name from the City of *Salona* their Capital, which gives its own Name to a neighbouring River. It was formerly one of the largeſt and moſt populous Cities in *Dalmatia*. Since it was deſtroyed by the *Sclavonians*, only ſome Ruins of it are remaining. Near them has ſince been built a little Fort, which is alſo called *Salona*, five Miles from *Spalato*.

49 The *Scardonites* inhabited the Territory of *Scardona*, a City on the Confines of *Dalmatia*, and *Liburnia*, near the Mouth of the River *Titius*. It is now buried in its Ruins. *Ptolomy* alſo gives the Name of *Scardona* to one of the two little Iſlands which are near *Illyricum*. The firſt is called *Scherda*, and the ſecond *Scherdiza*.

50 The *Naronites* were ſo called from an ancient City of *Dalmatia*, which *Pliny* calls *Narona*, and *Ptolomy Narbona*. The River and the City both now bear the Name of *Narenta*. It is ſunk from what it was formerly.

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ther in Autumn, to pay a friendly Viſit to the fineſt Provinces in *Greece*. His chief Motive to this, was a Deſire to promote the Intereſt of *Rome*; but it was partly founded in Curioſity. The Accounts which the Poets and Hiſtorians then gave of the Magnificence of the *Greek* Cities, made him deſirous to ſee them; and after he had cauſed [51] ſome rebellious Places in *Macedon* to be taken and ſacked by his Troops, he took the Road to [52] *Theſſaly*, in order to enter into the Heart of *Greece*. His Guard was not conſiderable, but he ordered Abundance of Chariots to follow him, loaded with vaſt Spoils which he had taken from *Perſes*, whoſe Magazines the *Roman* had found full of them. Theſe *Paulus Æmilius* diſtributed, in a moſt liberal and bountiful manner, in all the Places where he came. Among the reſt he went to the Temple of *Delphi*, ſo famous for its Oracles. When he ſaw that fine ſquare Pillar which *Perſes* had erected there, with a Deſign to place his Statue upon it, he ſaid, *It is but juſt that the Vanquiſhed ſhould give way to their Conquerors:* and the *Roman* General put up his own Statue on the Pillar, and left at *Delphi* ſome fine Monuments both of his Glory, and his Piety.

From thence the *Proconſul* went into *Bœotia*, and came to a ſubterrancous Temple [53], dedicated to *Jupiter* ſurnamed *Trophonius*, in the City of *Lebadea*. This Place had taken the Name of the Architect, who had dug this Sanctuary in a Rock, where the artful Workman had long uttered Oracles. The Fame of the Temple drew

51 The City of *Agaſſæ*, after it had voluntarily ſurrendered to the *Romans*, declared openly a ſecond time in favour of *Perſes*. *Paulus Æmilius* was informed of it, and immediately ſent his Son *Quintus Fabius*, lately returned from *Rome*, at the Head of a Body of Troops, to puniſh the Inhabitants. The City was given up to be plundered; as was alſo *Æginium*. The Citizens of the latter believing that the News of the Defeat of *Perſes* was founded on falſe or uncertain Reports, had cut ſome *Roman* Soldiers in pieces; and *Fabius* revenged the Maſſacre, in a manner capable of keeping in Awe the Cities, which yet declared for the King of *Macedon*. Add to this, that the *Æginium* here ſpoken of belonged to *Macedon*. So that it was a different Place from another City of that Name, which ſtood above the Springs of the River *Ion*, in *Æſtiotis*, near *Pelagonia Tripolitis*. *Livy* adds, that *L. Poſtumius* came, by order of *Paulus Æmilius*, in ſight of *Ænia*, a City in the North part of a Province of *Macedon*, which reached towards the Banks of the River *Axius*, near *The Thermaic Gulph*. For this Reaſon the Country was called *Paraxia*. The City which is thought to be the ſame with the preſent *Moncaſtro*, was delivered up to the Fury of the Soldiers, by way of Puniſhment, for her obſtinately refuſing to ſubmit to the *Roman* Dominion.

52 *Paulus Æmilius* gave the Command of the *Roman* Army, during his Abſence, to the famous *Caius Sulpicius Gallus*, who was not only an able General, but alſo a learned Aſtronomer, as we have already obſerved, on occaſion of the Eclipſe of the Moon, which preceded the Battel of *Pydna*.

53 *Paulus Æmilius* was attended in his Journey, by his own Son, *Publius Cornelius Scipio* ſurnamed *Æmilianus*, and *Athenæus*, the Brother of the King of *Pergamus*.

One of the moſt famous Oracles in *Bœotia* was that of *Trophonius*, which was the Name the ancient Pagans gave to one of their Heroes. He was ſaid to be the Son of *Apollo*, and ranked among the firſt and moſt famous Architects of *Greece*. *Pauſanias* makes him to have been Brother to *Agamades*, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his extraordinary Skill and Judgment in all parts of Architecture. *Cicero*, *Tuſcul.* B. 1. ſays, That theſe two great Men, who were united in ſtrict Friendſhip, jointly built the famous Temple of *Delphi*. After they had finiſhed their Work, they addreſſed themſelves to *Apollo*, the tutelary God of the City, and new Temple; and deſired as a Reward for their Pains and Zeal, that he would give them what was moſt advantageous for a mortal Man. And three Days after, adds *Cicero*, they were found dead, to ſhew that Death is in ſome Senſe the greateſt of all Goods, becauſe it is the end of all Evils. But *Pauſanias*'s Account is very different; and indeed ſuch a one, as is not very favourable to the Memory of the two Architects. But that ſignifies little; the *Greeks* ranked *Trophonius* among their Gods, paid him religious Worſhip, and to his Honour inſtituted *Games*, which from his Name were called *Trophonia*. The Oracles he uttered, ſoon brought the God into Credit among the Nations. *Pauſanias* had conſulted him himſelf, and could therefore ſpeak of him upon Knowledge. And as he has given us an ample Deſcription of the Oracle of *Trophonius*, we cannot refuſe the Reader an exact Summary of it. This Account is not foreign to a Hiſtory which is of ſo vaſt an Extent, as to be in ſome meaſure the Hiſtory of all Countries and Nations.

The Oracle of *Trophonius* was placed on an Hill, which was ſurrounded with a Wall of white Stones, caſed over with Marble. The Wall which was about Breaſt-high, ſupported ſeveral Obeliſks of Braſs. Within this Wall there was a Cave dug by Art, the Mouth of which was about four Cubits wide. There was no going down into it, but by a little Ladder. At the furtheſt part of the Cave there was a Den, or ſecond Cave, the Entrance into which was very low and ſmall. All who went into it, were obliged to ſtoop down to the Ground, and carried in their Hands Cakes made with Honey. As ſoon as they put their Feet into the Mouth of this Den, they were immediately carried down to the Bottom of it, as it were by ſome inviſible Power. They who reſolved to be carried into this dark Place, were obliged to obſerve ſeveral odd Cuſtoms, ſome of which were more extravagant than others: And to omit any of them, was to be guilty of Irreligion. In the firſt Place they were confined for a certain Number of Days to a ſort of Sanctuary, conſecrated to *Good Fortune*, and *Good Genius*; and this time was ſpent in Purifications, and Expiations of all ſorts. The Water of the River *Hercynna* was appropriated to theſe Uſes. Several Victims were ſlain, and particular Sacrifices offered up in honour to *Trophonius*, and his Children, *Apollo*, *Saturn*, *Jupiter* ſurnamed *King*, *Juno*, and one *Ceres* called *Europa*, the Nurſe of the pretended God. The Novitiates during theſe Days of Probation, lived only on the Fleſh

drew the *Roman* General that way; and after he had offered Sacrifices there, in Honour to *Jupiter*, and *Hercinna* 54, one of the Companions of *Proserpine*, he came to *Chalcis*. The Desire of seeing the *Euripus*, and its Reflux, and the Island of *Eubœa*, was what brought him thither. It was a Novelty to him to see a Bridge over an Arm of the Sea, joining an Island to the Continent. And then *Aulis* 55 was too near *Chalcis*, for him to neglect going to a Port so famous in Fable. It was there that *Agamemnon* offered up his Daughter *Iphigenia*, to procure good Winds for his Fleet. The *Roman* there paid his Homages to *Diana*, who had a Temple in *Aulis*; and from thence he came into *Attica*. The first Object worthy of his Curiosity here, was the Temple of 56 *Amphiaraus*. The Situation of the Place, which was watered by a great Number of fine Fountains, and the Appearance of this very ancient and famous Sanctuary, were an agreeable Sight to the General. But after all, nothing charmed him more than the City of *Athens*; where he found collected together all the most beautiful Works of human Art. The most perfect Productions of the Pencil and Chizel were here to be seen, both in the Temples, and

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flesh of the Sacrifices; as did the Priests who presided at these Ceremonies. Nor was this all. Some Diviners, whose proper Office it was, carefully consulted the Entrails of the several Victims that were sacrificed. They thereby pretended to be assured of the Consent of *Trophonius*, who would not suffer every Body to go into his Cave. Nevertheless, tho' the Entrails of the Animals were not so favourable, that went for nothing. But those of a Ram finally determined the Affair. If these gave the desired Answer, the Suppliants were led near the Banks of the River *Hercynna*; and there two young Children, not above thirteen Years of Age at most, washed him, and rubbed him all over with Oil After this, the Priests led the Novitiates to the Head of the River, and some Water was drawn out of two Fountains, one of which was called *Lethe*, and the other *Mnemosyne*. The Water of the former was thought to have the Quality of effacing out of the Mind all prophane Ideas; and those of the latter helped the Person to retain the Remembrance of all things which he should see or hear in the Cave. After they had undergone all these Tricks, they came to a Place in which there was the Statue of *Trophonius*, made, as was said, by the famous *Dedalus*. No Person was admitted to a Sight of this Image, who was not so qualified. The Person that was, had his Head covered with a Linen Robe, adorned with Fillets, as soon as he had ended his Prayer; and then he went to the Oracle, and descended into the fatal Cave, in the dead of the Night. There future Things were revealed to him, by Visions, or articulate Words; and then he came out at the same Opening, or rather was thrust out by some secret Power, with his Feet foremost, as he went in. From thence he was brought back, quite senseless, to the Chapel of the *Good Genius*, was placed on the Throne of *Mnemosyne*, or *Memory*, and made to give an Account of what he had seen or heard. And in the last place, he was obliged to write down on Tablets all the Secrets which *Trophonius* had revealed to him. Then the Initiated, by degrees, recovered his Senses. The Horrors which had seized him wore off, and being delivered from all his Frights, he could venture to laugh freely. In the midst of all these terrible Appearances the most resolute would have trembled. Hence the proverbial Saying then in Use, *That such one was a Man who had consulted the Cave of* Trophonius, to signify a thoughtful and melancholy Person. But whether these Sorts of Oracles were the Work of the Devil, or of a Company of Priests who were Impostors, and made use of their Ministry to seduce the People, is not our Business to discuss. It is sufficient for us, as Historians, to say that the *Greeks* ascribed the Answers that were received in the Cave of *Trophonius*, to one of those superior Genii, whom the Pagans placed among the Gods of the second Class.

Add to this, that the Name of *Jupiter*, which *Livy* joins with that of *Trophonius*, was a Title of Honour which the Pagans gave their favourite Gods, as we have elsewhere observed. The Inhabitants of *Lebadea*, a City of *Bœotia*, between Mount *Helicon* and *Cheronea*, consecrated to this God a Temple, and a Grove which they had planted round it.

54 According to *The Scholiast of Lycophron*, *Hercinna* was the Daughter of *Trophonius*; and he says she was the first Person that paid her Father divine Honours. From her, the River *Hercynna*, spoken of in the preceding *Note*, took its Name.

55 *Aulis* was a City and Port of *Bœotia*, over-against *Eubœa*, and at a little Distance from *Chalcis*. *Strabo* says that this Port would hold five hundred Galleys. *Livy*, upon the Credit of *Homer*, says that the thousand Ships of which *Agamemnon*'s Fleet consisted, were secured there.

56 *Amphiaraus* was one of those Heroes whom the Vanity of the *Greeks* placed among the Gods. He was said to have been the Son of *Apollo* and *Hypermnestra*. As he was deemed to have received from Heaven the Gift of foreseeing future Things, he avoided going to the War of *Thebes*, and joining his Arms with those of *Adrastus*, King of *Argi*, against *Eteocles*, the Brother of *Polynices*. He foresaw that this War would prove a fatal one, and that he would infallibly perish in it. And therefore he chose to hide himself, to get out of the Way of *Adrastes*. But his Wife, whose Eyes were dazzled with a Gold Necklace which was shewn her, proved unfaithful to him, and discovered where he was. So that the unfortunate *Amphiaraus* was forced to take up Arms, and appear before *Thebes*, which was besieged by *Polynices*. But before he set out, he charged his Son *Alcmeon* to revenge the Treachery of *Eriphyle*: And this Son, too obedient to the Orders of a mad Father, was not afraid to take away the Life of his own Mother. He killed her, after he heard the News of the Fate of *Amphiaraus*, who was swallowed up alive, with his Chariot, near *Thebes*. However, the *Greeks* immortalized his Name, and honoured him as a God. At *Oropos*, a City of *Attica*, situated on the Confines of *Bœotia*, the Citizens erected a Temple, and a Marble Statue, to his Honour. The People believed that he uttered Oracles by Dreams; and in this Persuasion, they came from all Parts to his Temple. Before they consulted him, they offered up a Sheep to him, skinned the Victim, spread the Skin upon the Ground, and slept upon it, expecting to receive the Answers to their Enquiries in some decisive Dream. After they had had their Answer, they went to the Side of a Fountain, called also *Amphiaraus*, in which they were not suffered to wash; but they threw several Pieces of Gold and Silver into it, by way of Tribute. See *Strabo*, *Pausanias*, and, among others, *Diodorus Siculus*.

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in private Houſes. The Citadel of *Athens*, in which ſtood the fine Temple [57] of *Pallas*, from whence the City took its Name, was much admired. Its three [58] Ports which were ſo finely built, put Spectators in mind of the many illuſtrious Generals who had ſailed out of it to make War, and ſignalize their Virtue, in ſo many different Places. But what *Paulus Æmilius* moſt admired was the long Chain of thick Walls which joined the Port to the City, and were admirably built. After he had paid his Duty to the Goddeſs worſhiped at *Athens*, the *Roman* went from thence, and came, in two Days, to *Corinth*. He was there ſurprized at the prodigious [59] Height of the famous Mountain ſurrounded with Walls, on which the *Corinthians* had built their Citadel. He with great Delight beheld a vaſt Number of Rivulets running down from the Top to the Foot of the Mountain, and falling down into the Streets, like Caſcades, to water them; and the Sight of the *Iſthmus* was likewiſe a very agreeable Entertainment to him. That two Seas ſhould be divided by only a little Neck of Land, was a kind of Prodigy to him. Then he left this charming Place, and came firſt to *Sicyon*, and then to *Argi*. In this ancient City, which is ſo much celebrated by the Poets, the illuſtrious Traveller found many Novelties and Curioſities; but nothing ſtruck him more than the Statue of [60] *Jupiter Olympius*, in the City of *Olympia*. This Maſter piece of Art was the Work of the famous *Phidias* [61], an inimitable Sculptor, whoſe Fame will never die. The Sight of the God filled *Paulus Æmilius* with Admiration, and a religious Awe. *This is the true* Jupiter *of* Homer, cried he; *the Prince of Poets, and the firſt Sculptors in the World, were the only Perſons that could give us ſuch a Repreſentation of the King of the Gods, as ſhould anſwer our Ideas of him.* And he there offered a more pompous Sacrifice at *Olympia*, than he had done any where elſe. It was performed with the ſame Ceremony and State, as if he had been to offer Sacrifice on the *Capitol*.

To which we muſt add, that the *Roman* General ſignalized himſelf in his Travels, by great Prudence, Juſtice and Liberality, wherever he came. He would not make any Enquiry after thoſe Citizens of the Cities thro' which he paſſed, who had declared for *Perſes*. He treated the ſecret Enemies of *Rome* with as much Reſpect as her old Friends.

57 In this Temple ſtood that Statue of *Minerva*, which was one of the Maſter-pieces of the famous *Phidias*, and one of the fineſt Productions of the Ancients.

58 Ancient Authors give theſe three Ports the Names of *Pyræeus*, *Munychiſa*, and *Phalerum*. The firſt, now *Pyreo*, was at the Mouth of the *Cephiſus*. The ſecond, now called *Mancina*, lay at the Mouth of the River *Iliſſus*. *Themiſtocles* encloſed both theſe within the City of *Athens*, by a Wall of Circumvallation. And as for the Port of *Phalerum*, it belonged to the City, ſo early as in the *Trojan* War. *Diana* had a moſt famous Temple, in the ſecond; which was the moſt common *Aſylum* of thoſe who were proſecuted for Debt.

59 We have elſewhere ſpoken of the Citadel of *Corinth*, which was called *Acro-Corinthus*, on account of its Height.

60 Nothing was more ſtately than the Temple that was built in Honour to *Jupiter Olympius*. *Pauſanias* has given us an ample Deſcription of it. The Oracles that were uttered there, and the Fame of the *Olympick Games*, brought almoſt all the People of *Greece* and *Aſia* to make their Offerings in it. As for the Statue of *Jupiter*, which was then thought one of the Wonders of the World; the Author laſt quoted ſpeaks of it with Admiration. This ſtately *Coloſſus*, ſays he, is made of Gold and Ivory. It is ſixty Foot high, and repreſents the King of the Gods ſitting on a Throne which is enriched with Gold and Ivory, as well as the Figure itſelf. He has upon his Head a Crown of Gold, wrought in the Form of Olive Branches. In his right Hand he holds an Image of *Victory*, which alſo wears a Crown of Gold. In his left, he holds a Scepter made of a Mixture of all Sorts of Metals, and ſurmounted with an Eagle. The Sandals of the God are maſſy Gold, as well as the Drapery of the Statue, which the Sculptor has adorned with Flower-de-luces artfully diſperſed about, and the Figures of ſeveral Animals. The Throne is enriched with precious Stones, and charged with *Bas-reliefs*, and various Figures of an exquiſite Taſte. On the Baſe of the Statue is this *Greek* Inſcription. Φιδίας Χαρμίδου υἱὸς Ἀθηναῖος μ' Ἐποίησε. That is, MADE BY PHIDIAS OF ATHENS, THE SON OF CHARMIDOS. They who would know more of it, may turn to *Pauſanias*. He mentions ſeveral other Particulars, which have no Relation to the *Roman* Hiſtory. Nevertheleſs, we muſt not forget *Strabo*'s Remark upon this enormous Statue. It was ſo high, ſays he, that it could not have ſtood upright without breaking thro' the Roof of the Temple.

61 *Phidias* gained himſelf the greateſt Reputation of any of the Statuaries of the Ancients, for the Beauty of his Works. Being countenanced with the Protection of *Pericles*, the Magiſtrates of *Athens* made him Surveyor of their Buildings. But this new Office, and all his Merit together, could not ſecure him againſt the Malice of thoſe that envied him. He was unjuſtly accuſed of having appropriated to his own Uſe a Part of the Gold that had been given him for the Statue of *Minerva*, which was one of his greateſt Maſter-pieces; and he was caſt into Priſon. And there he died of Grief; or as others, of Poiſon, which his Enemies put into the Meat which was ſent him. But ſome of the Ancients give us a different Account of his Death. They pretend, That the *Athenians* baniſhed him; and That he went from *Athens* to *Elis*, where he was killed, after he had put the laſt Hand to the famous Statue of *Jupiter Olympius*. See what *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Pericles*, *Pauſanias*, *Suidas*, and *Pliny*, have collected, concerning the Life, Works, and Death, of this incomparable Sculptor. He had a Brother named *Panenus*, who was one of the greateſt Painters among the Ancients.

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By that Means he avoided giving any new Alarms, and kept the People in their Duty. *Paulus Æmilius* alſo diſtributed Oil and Bread to thoſe who wanted it. As he was on the Road from *Demetrias*, thro' which he paſſed, on his Return from *Greece* to *Macedon*, he ordered to be brought before him a Company of *Ætolians*, who were in mourning Habits, and making great Lamentations. They told him that they had been ill uſed, and turned out of their City, by *Bæbius*, who commanded in the Country for the *Romans*, in quality of *Preſident*. This was, doubtleſs, an Office of late Inſtitution, at that time; none ſuch having yet been ſeen under the Republick. But we ſhall find them more common under the Emperors. *Bæbius* had inveſted the Senate of the *Ætolians* with his Troops, killed ſeveral of their Senators, and baniſhed the reſt. But *Paulus Æmilius* gave theſe unfortunate Men Hopes that he would do them Juſtice. When the *Roman* drew nigh to *Amphipolis*, he was ſurprized to ſee *Perſes* coming to meet him, accompanied with a ſmall Guard; and he received him graciouſly. But when he came to his Camp, he reprimanded *C. Sulpicius*, to whom he had left the Command of his Army, during his Abſence.

§. XIII. At length, the ten Deputies which were to repreſent the *Roman* Senate in *Macedon*, arrived in the *Levant*; and as ſoon as the *Roman* General was informed that they were landed at *Apollonia* [62], he went to meet them, and conducted them to *Amphipolis*, where this auguſt Council was to ſit. The firſt Buſineſs of *Paulus Æmilius* was to put *Perſes* under more cloſe Confinement. He committed him, and *Philip* his eldeſt Son, to the Care of *Aulus Poſtumius*. As for the youngeſt Prince, and the Princeſs his Siſter, he brought them from *Samothrace*, where they had continued. And laſtly, the General publiſhed an Order throughout the Kingdom, for the Heads of the ten chief Cities to come to *Amphipolis*. Thither alſo were brought the publick Regiſters, the Papers belonging to the Crown, and the remaining Part of the Letters which *Perſes* had received, during his Negotiations with the Kings and Republicks of the Eaſt. At the opening of the Sittings of the Council, there was a prodigious Multitude of *Macedonians* aſſembled together, from all Corners of the Kingdom, to hear their Fate determined; and tho' they were uſed to ſee the State of their Kings, the Novelty of this Sight ſurprized them. A *Pro-Conſul* ſeated on his Tribunal, ſurrounded with ten grave Senators, the Company of *Lictors* armed with their *Axes* and *Faſces*, the Guard which kept off the Crowd, and the Multitude of *Roman* Officers, were a terrible Appearance, eſpecially to a vanquiſhed People. An Herald proclaimed Silence, and *Paulus Æmilius* ſpake only theſe few Words, in *Latin*. *You are going to be told*, Macedonians, *in what Manner it has pleaſed the* Roman *Senate, and Myſelf, to ſettle the new Government of this State*. The *Prætor Octavius*, who commanded the *Roman* Fleet, and had a Seat in the Council, was ordered to repeat in *Greek*, what the *Pro-Conſul* had ſaid in *Latin*. The Attention given was exceeding great; and then Proclamation was made, as follows.

1. *ALL the Nations of* Macedon *ſhall be put into Poſſeſſion of their Liberty; their Cities ſhall be free from Subjection to any Perſon whatſoever; and they ſhall annually chuſe their own Magiſtrates.* 2. *Every private Perſon ſhall keep Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate in Land, and of his Effects.* 3. *The whole Nation ſhall pay the* Romans *but half the Tribute they paid their Kings.* 4. *The whole Kingdom ſhall be divided into four Cantons. The firſt ſhall contain, the Country lying between the Rivers* [63] Strymon *and* [64] Neſſus; *all the Cities, Towns and Caſtles, beyond the* Neſſus, *Eaſtward, which belonged to* Perſes, *except the Cities of* Emos, Maronea, *and* Abdera [65]; *and beyond the* Strymon, *Weſtward, all* Biſaltica, *and* Heraclea, *which is called* Sintice. *The ſecond ſhall contain all the Eaſtern Part of the Country which is*

Livy, B. 45. c. 29.

Livy, ibid.

62 The City of *Apollonia* here ſpoken of, ſtood in *Macedon*, between *Amphipolis* and *Theſſalonica*, on the Banks of the River *Chabrius*. Modern Geographers now call it *Eriſſo*.

63 The River *Strymon*, which *Plutarch* alſo calls *Conozus*, riſes in Mount *Orbelus*. From thence it runs thro' the moſt Eaſtern Part of *Macedon*, and diſcharges itſelf into that Gulph in the *Ægean* Sea; which is now known by the Name of *Golfo di Contiſſa*. According to *Sophian*, this River is the ſame which is now called *Stromona*. *Bellonius* calls it *Marmora*.

64 The River *Neſſus*, or *Neſtus*, divides *Macedon* and *Thrace*. The ancient Geographers ſpeak of ſome other Rivers of this Name that ran in *Illyricum*, *Theſſaly*, and *Upper Myſia*. That here ſpoken of, is now called *Neſto*, according to *Sophian*. But *Bellonius* calls it *Caraſon*.

65 *Abdera* was formerly one of the moſt famous Cities in *Thrace*. It ſtood at the Mouth of the River *Neſtus*.

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is watered by the Strymon, (*except* Heraclea, Sintice, *and* Biſaltica;) *and all the Weſtern Part, to the River* [66] Axius, *incluſive of* Pœonia. *The third ſhall reach from the River* Axius, *Eaſtward, to the River* Peneus, *Weſtward, and to the Valleys of Mount* [67] Bora, *Northward. To which ſhall be added, that Part of* Pœonia *which lies to the Weſt of the River* Axius, *together with* [68] Edeſſa, *and* [69] Beroea. *The fourth Canton ſhall reach from Mount* Bora, *to the Confines of* Illyricum *and* Epirus. 5. *Theſe four Cantons ſhall each depend on its chief City.* Amphipolis *ſhall be the Capital of the firſt Canton*; Theſſalonica, *of the ſecond*; Pella, *of the third*; *and* Stobos [70] *in* Pelagonia, *of the fourth. In theſe Capitals, ſhall be held the particular Diets of each Canton; and there the Magiſtrates ſhall be elected, and the Tribute-Money paid.* 6. *No Perſon ſhall be ſuffered to marry, or purchaſe Lands, or Houſes, out of his own Canton.* 7. *No* Macedonian *ſhall be ſuffered to work in the Gold and Silver Mines; but they may in thoſe of Copper and Iron.* 8. *No* Macedonian *ſhall make uſe of the Salt brought from another Country.* 9. *We decree, that* Pœonia, *which is cultivated by the* Dardani, *as one of their ancient Dependencies, ſhall enjoy a perfect Liberty; but we give the* Dardani *Leave to carry on a Salt Trade with the* Macedonians, *and erect Warehouſes for it at* Stobos. 10. *We forbid the* Macedonians *to cut, or to ſuffer Foreigners to cut, any Wood fit for building Ships.* 11. *We give the Provinces which border upon foreign Countries Leave to have Garriſons, and keep them in their Frontier Towns.*

These Regulations made different Impreſſions on different Minds. The *Macedonians* were charmed with recovering their Liberty, and with the leſſening of their Taxes. But what made them uneaſy, was the Prohibition to marry Wives out of their own Canton, or change their Habitations. *Then is* Macedon *diſunited,* ſaid they. *Alas! muſt we, for the future, be a divided Country, whoſe Members are not bound together by the common Ties of Society!* As if every Part of the new Diviſion was not large enough for a Man to make Alliances to his Satisfaction. But theſe were ſlight Murmurs, and the *Romans* little regarded them.

§. XIV. And now, the Commiſſioners had nothing more to do, but to give Audience to the Heads of the *Greek* Nations, which they had ſummoned to appear

Neſtus. Apollodorus and *Stephen of Byſantium*, ſay it was founded by *Hercules*, who gave it the Name of *Abdera*, in Memory of *Abderus*, one of his Companions, who was devoured by *Diomedes*'s Horſes. Afterwards a Colony of *Clazomenians* endeavoured to make new Settlements there; but they could not hold out againſt the frequent Attacks of the Natives of the Country. The *Teians* were more happy. They ſettled in this City, without any Oppoſition, on the Part of the *Thracians*. The *Abderitani* are famous in ancient Hiſtory, for the different Deſolations which laid waſte their Territories. According to moſt of the Ancients, the Air here was contagious, and gave the Inhabitants a kind of Phrenzy. The Paſtures and Waters were alſo fatal to the Cattel. What ſeveral of the Ancients ſay of the burning Fever with which the *Abderitani* were ſeized, after they had been preſent at the playing of the *Andromeda* of *Euripides*, has all the Appearance of a Fable. But be that as it will, they were certainly thought a dull ſtupid People. Hence that Expreſſion in *Martial*,

Abderitanæ pectora plebis habet,

to ſignify a Man that had no Wit. And they were no leſs famous for their Cruelty, if they really did devote to Death, on certain ſtated Days, for the Safety of their Country, ſome one of their Countrymen, whom they ſtoned. Nevertheleſs, *Abdera* gloried in having been the Birth-place of *Democritus*. Which made *Juvenal* ſay of this Philoſopher,

——————*Cujus prudentia monſtrat*
Summos poſſe viros & magna exempla daturos
Vervecum in patria, craſſoque ſub aere naſci.
Sat. 10.

The Poet means by it, That there is no Country, how ungrateful, or how much defamed ſoever, which has not had its great Men. *Abdera* has now ſeveral Names. *Sophian* calls it *Polyſtilo*; *Niger*, *Aſperoſa*; and *Nardus*, *Aſtrizza*.

66 The River *Axius*, which waters a Part of *Macedon*, is now known by the Name of *Vandari*. We have ſpoken of it already.

67 We know of no Mount *Bora* in *Macedon*, unleſs *Livy* means Mount *Orbelus*, which divides that Kingdom from *Mœſia*.

68 *Edeſſa* ſtood in *Emathia*, a Province of *Macedon*, near *Pella*, and *Beræa*, on the Banks of the River *Erigon*. *Molet* gives it the Name of *Vodena*. *Caranus*, the firſt of the *Macedonian* Kings, made himſelf Maſter of it, by the Help of a Flock of Goats which a violent Storm drove back into the City. He and his Company entered it with them; and he forced the Inhabitants to obey him. This Adventure verified the Anſwer of the Oracle which had foretold that ſome Goats ſhould pave the Way for him to aſcend a Throne. This Prince fixed his Reſidence there. But afterwards, his Succeſſors removed to *Pella*. *Edeſſa*, according to *Juſtin*, was the Burial-place of the Kings of *Macedon*. *Caranus*, after his Conqueſt, changed the Name of this City into that of *Ægea*, a *Greek* Term, which alluded to the Manner of his getting Poſſeſſion of it. But *Ptolomy* is not of *Juſtin*'s Opinion. He makes *Ægea* a different Place from *Edeſſa*. There was alſo a City of *Edeſſa* in *Meſopotamia*, which we ſhall treat of in its proper Place.

69 *Beræa*, as well as *Edeſſa*, belonged to *Emathia*, according to *Pliny*, and *Strabo*. It ſtood on the Banks of the River *Ludias*. *Holſtenius* places it at the Foot of Mount *Bernius*, between the *Axius* and the *Haliacmon*. *Cedrenus* ſays it was repaired by the Empreſs *Irene*; and from thence it was called *Irenopolis*.

70 We have ſhewn the Situation of all theſe Cities in the Courſe of this Hiſtory.

before their Tribunal. The *Ætolians* were first admitted. They renewed, before the Council of Ten, the Complaints they had made of the President *Bæbius*, to *Paulus Æmilius*. But upon a strict Enquiry it appeared, that the *Ætolian* Senators had been put to Death for having openly espoused the Cause of *Perses*; and the Council passed a Decree against them. It was declared, That they who were executed, suffered justly; and That the Exiles deserved their Banishment. Only *Bæbius* was blamed for having employed the *Roman* Soldiers in an Execution which had no Relation to military Affairs. All the *Greeks* were impatient to know this first Decision of the *Roman* Deputies; and when it was divulged, it struck a general Terror into all such as were conscious of having been guilty of favouring the *Macedonian*. The Partizans of *Rome* assumed an Ascendant upon it, to which they set no Bounds. In all the Republicks and free Cities of *Greece*, they usurped all Authority, and all Offices. Such was the Issue of the Parties that had divided the *Greek* Nations, during the War.

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THERE were there different Factions among the *Greeks*, while *Perses* kept the Victory in Suspence, between the *Romans* and himself. The first, and doubtless the largest, was that of the *Persеites*; the second that of the *Romanites*; and the third that of *The Indifferents*. The latter, whose Faction was least numerous, because it consisted of prudent Men, were neither for *Perses*, nor *Rome*. They were afraid that either would destroy their common Liberty; and their Concern was to preserve their Country from Tyranny from any Hands, whether *Macedonian*, or *Roman*. And as they had acted prudently in the Measures they had taken, they were not in Dread of the Vengeance of the *Romans*. The Anger of the Commissioners first fell on the *Persеites*. The *Romanites* took Care to have them accused before the Council of Ten. The Partisans of *Rome* were come to *Amphipolis*, from *Bœotia*, *Achaia*, *Peloponnesus*, and all the other Countries of *Greece*. They persuaded the Commissioners, that *Rome* had many utter Enemies in *Greece*, besides those that had openly declared for *Perses*. They did not except those who had appeared to stand neuter, and affected not to run in with either Party; but remonstrated, That the *Romans* would never have their Authority quietly settled in the *Levant*, till they had utterly destroyed both the *Persеites*, and *The Indifferents*. The most warm of these Accusers was one *Callicrates*, an *Achæan* of great Authority in his own Country, and whose ambitious Views had kept him immoveably fixed to the *Roman* Party. He gave in a List of a great Number of *Persеites* and *Indifferents*, in *Acarnania*, *Epirus*, and *Bœotia*; and *Paulus Æmilius* ordered all those who were accused, to follow him to *Rome*, there to give an Account of their Conduct. But as to the *Achæans*, whom *Callicrates* accused in great Numbers, it was thought proper to judge them upon the Spot, and send two of the chief Members of the Council into *Achaia*, to try them there. So that *C. Claudius*, and *Cn. Domitius*, set out for *Achaia*. There were three Reasons that induced the Commissioners to send them. The first was, because the *Achæans* were the most mutinous of all the *Greeks*. The second, because they had not found any of their Letters among *Perses*'s Papers, tho' he had not more of his Party in any Country than there. And the third, because it was necessary to guard the Informer *Callicrates* against the Violences of his Countrymen. Nor was the Punishment of the Friends of *Perses* confined to *Greece* in *Europe* only, it reached also to *Asia*. *Antissa* [71], a strong City in the Island of *Lesbos*, was razed, and its Inhabitants transplanted to *Methymna* [72]. Two of the chief Citizens, *Andronicus* and *Neon*, were beheaded; one for having borne Arms against the *Romans*; the other for having sold his Country to the *Macedonian* Party. By these Executions it is easy to judge what Sort of an Authority the *Romans* assumed in the *Levant*. According to their own Account indeed, they gave the Nations they had subdued perfect Liberty. But *Rome* reserved to herself a Right of Life and Death over them, and the least Mutiny or Insurrection was punished capitally.

Polyb. in Legat. N. 105.

Livy, B. 45. c. 31.

AFTER he had settled Order among the Eastern Nations, partly by Lenity, and partly by Fear, *Paulus Æmilius* prepared for his Departure, and had Thoughts of

71 *Antissa* formerly stood in the North Part of the Island of *Lesbos*; and it was for some time divided from it by a small Arm of the Sea. But afterwards this little Channel was filled up with Sand, and it was again joined to the Island.

72 *Methymna* was the second City in the Island of *Lesbos*, of which *Mitylene* was the Capital.

carrying

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carrying back his *Legions* to *Rome*. He had nothing more to do, but to put the laſt Hand to the new Government in *Macedon*. To this End, he aſſembled a general Diet, of the four Cantons of the Country; and read in the Aſſembly the Liſt of the Magiſtrates he himſelf had choſen, to make up the particular Diets of each Canton. Then he publiſhed a Regulation, which at firſt ſeemed ſevere; but at Bottom tended only to the Advantage and Tranquillity of the new Republick. The Purport of it was, That all thoſe who had any Share in the old Government ſhould be driven out of *Macedon*; not only the Miniſters of State, but the Officers of the Exchequer, the Generals of Armies, Admirals, Governours of Provinces, and Frontier Cities, the Perſons employed in Embaſſies, and laſtly, all the Courtiers which the King had honoured with his Favour and Confidence. This unexpected Blow raiſed the Compaſſion of the People, and cauſed ſome Murmurings. But afterwards they conſidered the Characters of the Perſons *Rome* had baniſhed; and found that moſt of them were vile Slaves of Fortune, abſolutely devoted to the Will of the old King; and who by baſe Compliances with his Pleaſure had obtained a Right of tyrannizing over their Fellow-Subjects. Some were exceeding rich; others with moderate Eſtates, lived at a vaſt Expence, which they found Means to ſupport, by their Extortions. So that, all things conſidered, *Macedon* thought herſelf well rid of theſe diſhoneſt Men, who owed all their Splendor to the Countenance given them at Court, and their Rapines. The Decree was heard with Joy, which baniſhed them from *Macedon*; commanded them, under pain of Death, to go into *Italy*; and put it abſolutely out of their Power, to form Cabals. As to the new Senators, the *Pro-Conſul* gave them ſuch Rules of civil Law to act by, as were ſo very prudent and rational, that Time itſelf, the ſevereſt Judge of Laws, never weakened the Force of them. As certain a Proof, ſurely, as can be given, that they were founded on the pureſt Dictates of Equity!

Plut. Life of *Paulus*. *Livy*, *B.* 45. *c.* 32.

§. XV. But before he left a Country which upon its Conqueſt was now become entirely *Roman*, *Paulus Æmilius* had a mind to ſee one of thoſe Diverſions which were the Delight of all *Greece*. This was one Show conſiſting of ſeveral Shows joined together, called by the Eaſtern Nations, *The Great Games*, and of which they were exceſſively fond. The *Pro-Conſul* choſe *Amphipolis* for the Place where the Feſtival was to be kept. He had, in his Journey thro' *Greece*, perſonally invited the Nations to come thither. And as to the Places which he did not viſit in Perſon, he wrote to the chief Magiſtrates of the Republicks, and to the Kings, at leaſt to ſend their Deputies thither. The Preparations for theſe *Games* were very great. *Paulus Æmilius* ſpared no Expences to bring to *Amphipolis* all the Perſons in *Europe* and *Aſia*, that could help to increaſe the Magnificence of them. It muſt be owned, That the Shows of the *Romans*, in their *Circus*, Amphitheatres, and on their Stages, were at firſt but very imperfect Sketches of the Elegance, Politeneſs, and Magnificence, of the *Greeks*. And, on this Occaſion, the *Pro Conſul* employed all the greateſt Artiſts, the moſt famous Actors, *Athletæ*, Poets, Muſicians, the moſt renowned Coachmen for Chariot-Races, and the moſt celebrated Riders of Horſe-Races, in all *Greece*. He bore the prodigious Expence of all this with *Perſes*'s Treaſures. There was ſomething ſurprizing in the Order that was obſerved in *Amphipolis*, which was crowded with ſuch Multitudes of People. Decent Lodgings were provided; the Deputies of all foreign Courts, Republicks, and free Cities, had each his Apartment aſſigned him, ſuitable to his Rank and Dignity; and the General had taken ſo much Care to prevent Offence, that not one complained of Want of Reſpect to his Character. The Plenty alſo that reigned in the City, and the coſtly Treats that *Paulus Æmilius* gave, added new Pleaſures to the Solemnity. Every one had his proper Place aſſigned him at the different Shows; and the whole was performed, without Trouble or Confuſion. After all kinds of Entertainments had been preſented in the *Arena*, and on the Stage, which might have ſatisfied the moſt boundleſs Curioſity, the *Pro-Conſul* made a new Sort of Bonfire. He ordered to be placed in an Heap, but in a fine Order, all thoſe Spoils with which the *Romans* would not burthen their Ships. There were Bucklers, Bows, Quivers, Arrows, Javelins, Darts, all placed in the Form of Trophies, and in ſhort, Arms of all Sorts. The *Pro-Conſul*, attended by the chief Officers of the Army, took a Flambeau in his Hand, and ordered them to do the ſame. Then he pronounced a proper Form of Conſecration,

Liv. *B.* 45. *c.* 33.

tion, by which he dedicated to *Mars*, *Minerva*, and the Goddeſs *Lua* 73, theſe Remains of the Fruits of his Victory. After which he ſet Fire to one ſide of the Heap, whilſt the *Legionary Tribunes* did ſo to the others; and the Ceremony was performed, with the Acclamations of an infinite Multitude of the People of the Eaſt. Year of *ROME* DLXXXVI. Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS, JUNIUS PENNUS, Conſuls.

BUT theſe firſt Shows were not the fineſt, though the moſt glaring and noiſy. By order of the *Pro-Conſul*, all the precious Moveables that had been found in the ſeveral Palaces of the Kings of *Macedon*, and of the Noblemen of the Kingdom, and in the conquered Cities, were ſet apart in a Place by themſelves; and there was no where to be ſeen a greater Collection of Riches and Curioſities. The Statues of all ſorts of valuable Metals, of the moſt exquiſite kinds of Marble, and of the fineſt Ivory, made a ſort of an Aſſembly of Divinities, Heroes, Kings, and Queens, which ſeemed to want nothing, but the Power of ſpeaking. A great Number of Pictures, by the fineſt Hands among the Ancients, were expoſed to publick Sight, beautifully ranged. The People admired the Veſſels of Gold, Silver, Braſs, and valuable Stones, which were almoſt infinite in Number, and in point of Value, ineſtimable. And when the Spectators had had time to gratify their Curioſity, the *Roman* Admiral ordered them to be put on board his Ships, in order to their being carried to *Rome*. What then was *Paulus Æmilius*'s Deſign, in all this? Was it to make an oſtentatious Shew of his Booty, and give more Luſtre to his Victory? No; he was the moſt modeſt of Men. His Intention was to dazzle the Eyes, and ſtrike Terror into the Minds, of theſe Multitudes of People, who were aſſembled from ſo many Countries in the Eaſt. Every one carried home with him a reſpectful Dread of the *Romans*, whoſe Friendſhip it was neceſſary for him to cultivate, if he would avoid falling a Prey to them. In ſhort, theſe Eaſtern People at parting, readily owned theſe two things. 1. That this Show of the *Pro-Conſul*'s was more to be admired than any other they had ever ſeen. And *2dly*, That no Man but a General, of *Paulus Æmilius*'s Prudence, Foreſight, and Liberality, was capable of celebrating a Feſtival in ſo perfect a manner, as was done at *Amphipolis*.

THE Riches the *Roman* General had collected together in *Macedon*, were immenſe; but he did not apply the leaſt part of them to his own private Uſe. Nor would he ſuffer his Sons, or Sons-in-Law, to receive any other Benefit from them, than what came from the military Rewards they received, for having ſignalized themſelves in Battel. Only he permitted *Fabius* and *Naſica* to take ſome Books out of the Library of *Perſes*; which were things of little uſe to the Republick, but very valuable to young Heroes, who were brought up to a Taſte for Letters. It is ſaid indeed, That he gave himſelf a little Looſe with regard to *Tubero*, one of his Sons-in-Law; and That in the Diſtribution of the military Rewards, he made him a Preſent of a ſilver Cup of five Pounds weight: A Preſent, which was much for the Honour of the Family from which *Tubero* deſcended. It was as ancient as *Rome* itſelf; and yet the Luxury, which was become ſo common in the Republick, had not yet infected it. They had not yet had any Silver Veſſels, even for their domeſtick Sacrifices, or any Gold or Silver Jewels for the Women. And therefore the Father-in-Law, was willing to give his Son-in-Law, as a Monument of his Valour, the firſt Veſſel of any Value, which had ever been ſeen in his Family. *Paulus Æmilius* had the ſingular Pleaſure of having ſettled his Daughter in a Family, which yet retained the ancient Simplicity of the firſt *Romans*. *Plut.* Life of *Paulus*.

§. XVI. AT length the time was come for carrying back the *Roman* Army into *Italy*; but whilſt *Paulus Æmilius* was preparing for his Departure, he received Letters from the Senate of *Rome*, with Orders to go into *Epirus*, firſt plunder the Cities of this rebellious Country, and then raze them. The Miſery of ſo many unfortunate People drew Tears from his Eyes; but he muſt obey. He was forced to execute the Vengeance of *Rome*, without Mercy; however, he did it at leaſt with Prudence. For fear of terrifying the *Epirots*, and cauſing Inſurrections among them, he did not communicate his Orders to any one Perſon. He diſmiſſed the Ambaſſadors, exhorted the *Macedonians* to preſerve Peace at *Liv. B.* 45. *c.* 33.

73 See what we have ſaid of the Goddeſs *Lua*, Vol. 2. *Dempſter* has very improperly confounded her with *Luna*.

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Home and with *Rome*, left *Amphipolis*, and came and encamped a Mile from the City. The next Day he marched from thence, and came in five Days to *Pella*. Then, without making any Stay in this Capital, he continued his March to *Spelæum* 74, and there halted two Days. From *Spelæum* he detached *Naſica* and *Fabius*, with part of his Troops, to finiſh the Ravage of *Illyricum*. Theſe two Officers had Orders to repair to *Oricum* a maritime City of *Chaonia*, and there wait for the General. As for him, he took the Road to *Epirus*, and after fifteen Days March, appeared before *Paſſaro*. The *Prætor Anicius* was encamped there, and kept *Illyricum* in Awe with his victorious Army. The *Pro-Conſul* commanded him to continue in his Poſt, and not to be ſurprized at the new Execution which was going to be made. And then he firſt declared to his Officers, that *Epirus* was, by order of the Senate, to be given up to be plundered. However, he took prudent Precautions to ſave the beſt part of ſo rich Spoils, from the Hands of the greedy Soldiers.

EPIRUS was yet a Stranger to the Fate that hung over her Head. The *Roman* General ſent ſeveral Battalions to the chief Cities in the Country, under the Command of *Centurions*. The Troops diſperſed themſelves in the chief Cities of *Epirus*, and were very graciouſly received, in hopes that they were going immediately to proclaim the ſame Liberty for the *Epirot* Nation, which *Rome* had granted to *Macedon*. In the mean time *Paulus Æmilius* aſſembled together the ten Chiefs, which were diſperſed in the different Provinces, and governed all *Epirus*; and before they came from Home, they received Orders from him to bring to his Camp, all the Gold and Silver they had in their reſpective Diſtricts. The General was obeyed; and he thereby kept out of the Hands of his Soldiers, what was moſt valuable in *Epirus*, in order to put it into the Hands of the *Quæſtors*, for the publick Treaſury. All the reſt, that is, Moveables, Utenſils, and the Money of the Inhabitants, were given up as a Prey to the greedy Soldiers. The Country was pillaged in all Parts with a wonderful Order and Diſcipline. Though the *Conſular* Troops were cantoned in different Places, the Execution was made the ſame Day and Hour. All the great heavy Spoils were put together, and Money enough was raiſed by the Sale of them, to give every Foot Soldier two hundred *Denarii* *, and every 75 Horſeman four hundred †, not reckoning the Money that aroſe from the Sale of the hundred and fifty thouſand Souls who were made Slaves, and ſold to the beſt Bidder, for the Benefit of the Republick. Nor was this all. *Paulus Æmilius* diſmantled all the Cities he had plundered. A ſevere Treatment. But the *Epirots* had deſerved it, by their Revolt, and Adherence to *Perſes*, after the repeated Oaths they had taken, to be faithful to the *Romans!* And after all, the *Legionaries* were not ſatisfied with ſo conſiderable a Booty. They would have had the *Roman* General have given them all; and were againſt the Republick's ſharing the Prey with them. Indeed, during the Campaign, *Paulus Æmilius* had kept them under ſtrict Diſcipline; and they now complained both of his Severity, and Oeconomy. But the time was not yet come for ſhewing their Diſcontents. They reſerved their Reſentment for the *Comitia*, in which they would have an Opportunity of revenging themſelves, in the Heart of *Rome* itſelf, for the Reſtraints they had been kept under in the Camps. They followed *Paulus Æmilius* to *Oricum*, where he embarked for *Italy*. In the mean time, *Anicius* tarried in *Illyricum* for the return of the Ships which tranſported the Army from *Macedon*, and made his Stay uſeful to *Paſſaro*. He there aſſembled the chief Men of *Epirus* and *Acarnania*, and kept the greateſt Offenders with him, deſigning to carry them to *Rome*, to be tried there.

§. XVII. ALL the Eaſt was now in Peace, except the Kingdom of *Pergamus*; and the *Romans* ſeemed to approve of the Ravages that the *Galatians* had begun to commit there. *Rome* had lately taken a malicious Pleaſure, in ſeeing *Eumenes*

* 61. 9 s. 2 d. *Arbuthnot.*

† 12 l. 18 s. 4 d.

* 7 s. 5 d. *Arbuthnot.*

74 By the Name of *Spelæum*, *Livy* means a Place in the Territory of *Pella*, a City of *Macedon*.

75 Two hundred *Roman Denarii* were worth a hundred *French Franks*, at the Rate of ten *Sols* for each *Denarium*, according to our Way of reckoning. *Plutarch* ſays, that each Soldier had only eleven * *Attick Drachmæ*. But it is not at all credible, that *Paulus Æmilius* ſhould give the Companions of his Victory ſo very ſmall a Reward out of the immenſe Riches he took in *Macedon*. The Text of the *Greek* Hiſtorian muſt therefore have been altered, through the Negligence or Ignorance of the Copyiſts.

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embark in a diſadvantageous War with barbarous Neighbours, whoſe Hoſtilities ſhe could eaſily have put a Stop to. But at laſt the Senate were prevailed on by Prince *Attalus* to favour the King his Brother. The *Roman* Republick ſent two Ambaſſadors to *Pergamus*, whoſe Inſtructions were only to put an end to the Differences between the *Galatians* and *Pergamenſes*. At their Arrival in *Aſia*, the Ambaſſadors found the King much out of order. So that *Attalus* was the only Perſon who was in a Condition to command the Armies of his Brother; and the *Roman* Deputies followed him. The return of the Spring had already brought the Armies of the *Gallo-Greeks* out of their own Country. They were marching towards *Pergamus* by way of *Phrygia*, and were already arrived at *Synnada* [76], under the Command of one of their Kings, named *Solovettius*. The Army of *Pergamus* was encamped under *Sardis*, waiting for the return of the Enemy; and upon the Report of their March, *Attalus* decamped, and made haſte to come up with the *Galatians*, near *Symnada:* not ſo much to give them Battel, as to apprize them of the Orders of the *Roman* Senate and People, by the Ambaſſadors. As ſoon as the two Armies were within reach of each other, the *Pergamian* General ſent to demand an Interview with the *Galatian*; and *Solovettius*, puffed up with his late Succeſs, inſiſted, that the Conference ſhould be held in his Camp. This was treating the *Pergamenſes* as a vanquiſhed People; and *Attalus* did not think it proper to comply: not out of Pride, but for fear of breaking off the Negotiation, by Diſputes which might create ill Blood. He thought it more judicious, that one of the *Roman* Deputies ſhould go by himſelf to the *Galatian* Camp. Accordingly *P. Licinius*, the chief of the Ambaſſadors, had a Conference with *Solovettius*. As *Licinius* was inveſted with the whole Authority of his Republick, he hoped to have appeared as formidable to a little King of an inconſiderable Canton of *Galatia*, as *Popillius* had been to the King of *Syria*. But he found that a Prince of *Gallic* Blood, had a more noble and exalted Mind than the *Aſiatick* Kings. *Solovettius* proudly deſpiſed the Orders *Rome*, ſent him ſo far, and notified to him with ſo much Haughtineſs; and the *Roman* Hiſtorians relate the Story with Admiration and Surprize. What Compariſon was there, ſay they, between *Antiochus*, and *Solovettius*; or the Dominions of *Syria*, and a little Corner of *Galatia?* However, after theſe firſt Bravadoes, the *Galatians* thought proper to ſend to *Rome* to appeaſe her, and avert her Menaces; and the Senate granted their Requeſt. They were again reinſtated in the Poſſeſſion of their Privileges and Laws; but upon Condition, that they ſhould never more march beyond their Boundaries to make War. Thus the *Romans*, out of Policy, pacified the leaſt Differences that aroſe between Kings, and the free Cities of the *Levant*. *Rome* looked on all theſe Nations, and their Sovereigns, as ſo many Subjects; and thought all their Quarrels ſo many civil Wars in her Dominions. She made it her whole Buſineſs, to keep all foreign Kingdoms, in a kind of Equality; and if any one of them aſſumed a Superiority over another, it was immediately ſuſpected by theſe Republicans, who were very jealous of any growing Power. Hence proceeded their conſtant Endeavours, to ſtifle the firſt Sparks of ſuch Contentions.

ROME had never been advanced to a higher Pitch of Glory, or enjoyed more Tranquillity, than after the Conqueſt of *Macedon*; and ſhe waited for the return of *Paulus Æmilius*, who had ſailed from *Epirus* for *Oſtia*, with great Impatience. The Fleet ſeparated; and the Ships which brought the two captive Kings, *Gentius* and *Perſes*, with their Families, arrived ſome Days before the *Pro-Conſul*. This firſt Sight made the *Romans* inclined to celebrate the Arrival of the Conquerors of *Macedon* and *Epirus*. When they had put the two Kings under a very ſtrong Guard, they ſaw land after them, all the Captives of Conſequence which had been taken in the *Levant*, and a prodigious Number of *Macedonian*, *Greek*, *Illyrican*, and *Epirot Lords*, who were brought to *Rome*, either to be tried there, or ſold to the beſt Bidder. There was a ſurpriſing Multitude of them; becauſe the *Romans* had not only brought from *Macedon* and *Illyricum* thoſe whom they found engaged in

Livy, B. 45. *c.* 34. *Polyb. in Legat. n.* 100.

[76] *Synnada* was long one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in *Great Phrygia*. *Strabo* boaſts of the Marble-Quarries, that were near it. It ſtill retains its old Name, though it is almoſt buried in its Ruins.

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dition, or ſuſpected. They had alſo brought from the neighbouring Kingdoms, ſuch of the conquered Nations, as had fled for Refuge into foreign Countries, and whom they did not think it ſafe to ſuffer to return into their own. But the landing of ſo many Men, who were formerly rich and powerful in their own Countries, did not take up much time; and ſoon after, *Paulus Æmilius* himſelf appeared at the Mouth of the *Tyber*, on board a ſtately Galley of ſixteen Ranks of Rowers, which he had taken from King *Perſes*, in one of the Ports of *Macedon*. Whilſt he was advancing in great State up the River, an innumerable Multitude of People lined the Shore; and to give them ſome feint Idea of the immenſe Riches he had brought from the *Levant*, the *Pro-Conſul* had adorned the outſide of his Galley with the fineſt Bucklers he had taken from the Enemy, and the richeſt Tapeſtry he had found in the Palaces of the *Macedonian* Kings. But this was only a Specimen of thoſe rich Spoils, which the *Prætor Octavius* was to bring on board his Fleet. And at length, *Anicius* the Conqueror of *Illyricum*, and the Admiral *Octavius*, arrived together at the Port of *Oſtia*.

§. XVIII. None at firſt doubted but the three Generals, who landed with ſo much State, would have each his Triumph. *Paulus Æmilius* had been the Soul of the War that had been ſo ſucceſsfully ended. *Anicius*, though with leſs Glory, and leſs Difficulty, had vanquiſhed the King of the *Illyricans*, and made him Priſoner of War. *Octavius* had inveſted the Iſland of *Samothrace* with his Fleet, and given the laſt Stroke to *Perſes* and *Macedon*. The two latter were *Prætors*, and the *Prætors* made War under their own *Auſpices*: So that the Advantages they gained, were imputed to themſelves, and qualified them for Triumphs. Nevertheleſs there was no Compariſon to be made, between the Victory and Services of *Paulus Æmilius* during the Campaign, and thoſe of *Anicius* and *Octavius*. And yet the Honours of a Triumph were not diſputed with the latter; but the People were upon the Point of denying them to the former. Whence then could proceed ſo extravagant a Step? Shall we ſay, with an ancient Hiſtorian, that Envy moſt readily attacks the moſt ſhining Virtues, and ſpares or neglects vulgar Merit? If we do, we muſt at leaſt allow, that Jealouſy was not the *only* Cauſe of the Affront, which the People were going to offer to the greateſt Man then in the Republick. *Sulpicius Galba*, who had ſerved in *Macedon*, in quality of *Legionary Tribune*, purſued *Paulus Æmilius* with the utmoſt Fury, after his return to *Rome*, purely out of Envy. And after all, the unjuſt Reſentments of the *Roman* Soldiers againſt their General, were the chief Cauſe of the Injuſtice that was going to be done the Conqueror of *Perſes*. It is true, the Relation of ſo unexpected an Event would be incredible, if it was not warranted by all the *Roman* Hiſtorians; and we may at leaſt obſerve from it, how much popular Governments obſtruct the Glory of the greateſt Heroes.

Plut. Life of *Paulus*.

The *Legionaries* were all taken out of the *Roman Citizens*; and for ſome time the *Conſuls* who commanded them in the Field, paid court to them, to the Prejudice of Order and Diſcipline. If the Generals were at all ambitious, and aſpired at new Honours, they were afraid, that after their return, theſe *Citizens* would revenge in the *Comitia*, the Treatment they had had in the Camp. Hence the Relaxation of military Diſcipline, which had been but too viſible in *Macedon*, under the two preceding *Conſuls*. Whereas *Paulus Æmilius*, who had no Intereſt at Heart but that of his Country, had reformed the Licentiouſneſs of the *Roman* Soldiers. He had retrenched a great deal of that Republican Liberty, which the Generals had too long connived at. He had not communicated his Deſigns to his Soldiers, but accuſtomed them to be only the Executioners of his Will. Their Obedience had been forced, out of regard to the Laws of War. Though on ſome Occaſions he had given them leave to plunder; he had always reſerved the beſt part of the Spoils for the publick Treaſury. So that he had inſiſted upon their Diſcharge of their Duty; tho' without being extreamly rigorous. For after all, the Soldiers could not complain of any too hard Orders, or any violent Execution. And as their Murmurs were only founded on ſlight Grievances, they had no Thoughts at firſt, of carrying their Plots any great Length. They only agreed among themſelves, not to appear forward in the *Comitia* to promote the Glory of their General.

THE Senate had already, without Oppoſition, decreed the Honours of a Triumph for *Paulus Æmilius*; and nothing remained, but for the People to confirm and authorize this Decree by their Suffrages. The Soldiers of the Army lately come from *Macedon*, had a Right to aſſiſt each in his *Tribe*, at the *Comitia*, which were to ratify this Determination of the Senate; and *Sulpicius* ſeized this Opportunity to purſue the Dictates of his Jealouſy. He took Advantage of the Diſpoſitions of the Soldiers, and invited them all to come to the Aſſembly. *We have now an Opportunity*, ſaid he, *of revenging the Severity of an imperious General, who was continually vexing us, and turning our Fatigues to his own Glory. But he was very frugal of his Benefactions to us. Shall we then ſuffer military Honours to be profuſely ſquandered away upon him? Nothing is more eaſy than to rob him of a Triumph. Let us diſperſe our ſelves in our* Tribes, *and give the People ill Impreſſions of the General who commanded us. They will believe us, if we all agree in our Accounts. Let then this rigorous General be made to know, that if he could at that time hinder us from making our Fortunes; we can now obſtruct the Glory he expects! It is wholly in our own Power. Shall we then ſuffer him to enjoy it, without oppoſing it?*

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THESE Words encouraged the few Soldiers that were in the Court of the *Capitol*, where theſe *Comitia* had been aſſembled; but *Sulpicius* ſaw that his Party was not yet ſtrong enough. He therefore made it his Buſineſs to get the Deciſion of the Affair poſtponed to the next Day, reſolving then to bring all the Troops to the Aſſembly. The Artifice he made uſe of to compaſs it, was this. It was cuſtomary for any that would, to harangue the People, as long as they pleaſed, when the People were to paſs any Decree. The *Tribune Sempronius* had already declared for a Triumph for *Paulus Æmilius*, and the thing was thought ſo indiſputable, that no body appeared to oppoſe it. But at length *Sulpicius* ſurprized the People with demanding to be heard, and ſaying theſe Words. *It is already ſo late, that I cannot have time enough, before Night, to tell the People all that I think my ſelf obliged to repreſent to them, concerning the Conduct of* Paulus Æmilius *in* Macedon. *I therefore earneſtly entreat the* Tribune of the People, *who preſides in the Aſſembly, to defer Judgment till to morrow. The whole Day that I Petition for, will ſcarce be ſufficient, to explain all the Reaſons I have to urge, againſt ſuffering that General to triumph.* *Sempronius* ſaw through the Artifice of *Sulpicius*'s Requeſt; but nevertheleſs he gave the Declaimer the reſt of the Day to make his Oppoſition; and the latter made a long Diſcourſe which laſted till Night. He ſpoke of the General's having impoſed Labours upon his Troops, which were not ſo neceſſary as dangerous. He equally exclaimed againſt the Severity, and the Oeconomy, of *Paulus Æmilius*. *He inſiſted*, ſaid he, *on all kinds of Duty from the Soldiers with Rigour; but was very ſparing of his Rewards. What will become of the* Roman *Soldiers under Generals ſo covetous, and of ſo little Compaſſion? How preferable is the Condition of the* Macedonian *Soldiers, to that of our* Legionaries! *The Conquered are left in Poſſeſſion of their Goods; and the Conquerors were not ſuffered to enrich themſelves at the Expence of the Nation they ſubdued. The time will not ſuffer me now to open my Complaints fully to the Aſſembly. But to morrow I ſhall explain my ſelf to a more numerous Audience. Let all thoſe among you who aſpire at the Command of Armies repair hither at that time, and they ſhall be taught to pay Reſpect in* Rome, *to the Troops they have treated ill in the Country.*

THESE Menaces made it reaſonable to fear ſome ſeditious Deſign was to be carried on, the next Day; and indeed the Soldiers which had heard the Orator, crowded round him. As he had commanded in quality of *Tribune*, in one of the *Legions* returned from *Macedon*; and as he was likewiſe of a Rank to pretend to the *Conſulate*; what he had ſaid had made an Impreſſion upon them.

THEN he told the *Legionaries* what Steps they were to take to accompliſh their Revenge; and the Night following, or at leaſt long before Day, they came in Crowds to the *Capitol*, and ſeized all the Avenues to it. There was ſcarce room enough for ſome *Citizens* of their own Faction, which they deſired to have among them. So that the *Legionaries* engroſſed to themſelves alone, a Right which belonged to every other *Roman*, who had a mind to come to the *Comitia*. Every Soldier went to his own *Tribe*; and the firſt *Tribe* named, entered the Encloſure to give its Suffrage. It voted, without Scruple, for refuſing the Conqueror of

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Macedon a Triumph; and it is eaſy to imagine, that this firſt Succeſs, which put the other *Tribes* in Motion, was followed by great Shouts and Applauſes from the ſeditious Aſſembly. In the mean time, the reſt of the People, who were ſhut out of the Aſſembly, were full of Rage; and exclaimed ſo loudly againſt the Injuſtice of theſe Proceedings, that the Senators were informed of it. And then ſome of the wiſeſt and moſt eſteemed of this auguſt Body went, and forced their Way through the Multitude; aſcended the *Capitol*; addreſſed themſelves to the *Tribunes of the People*, who preſided in the *Comitia*; and by their Entreaties and Remonſtrances, prevailed on them to ſuſpend the Suffrages of the *Tribes*; till ſuch time as a Remonſtrance was made to theſe prejudiced Men, of the Shamefulneſs of their Proceedings, and the Injuſtice of their Determinations. The *Tribes* conſulted with one another, and at length ſubmitted to the Authority of the Senators; among whom there was an Orator who deſired to harangue the People immediately, in favour of *Paulus Æmilius*. It is in ſuch Circumſtances as theſe that Eloquence triumphs. The Subject was ſublime and affecting. The Buſineſs was to juſtify one of the greateſt Generals the Republick had ever bred, to appeaſe a Company of common Soldiers who were enraged againſt their General, to make them lay aſide the Prejudices they had imbibed, and to prevail on thoſe very People to grant *Paulus Æmilius* a Triumph, who gloried in refuſing him that Honour. *M. Servilius* undertook the Affair without Preparation; but he was a Man of great Authority, and made a moſt excellent Speech. He had been *Conſul*, and *General of Horſe*. He mounted *The Tribune*, and ſpoke thus.

§. XIX. *Have I need of any other Proof in favour of* Paulus Æmilius *than the Conduct of his own Soldiers? In what a licentious Manner have you behaved yourſelves*, Legionaries, *ſince your return to* Rome? *And yet in* Macedon *you obeyed the Orders of your General without Reſiſtance. With you he conquered* Perſes, *and ſubdued the moſt powerful Kingdom in the Eaſt. I am not ſo much ſurprized at his Victories, as at the Diſcipline he made you obſerve in the Field. To conquer with a ſeditious Army, is the greateſt Maſterpiece of the greateſt Generals. The Succeſs of the War may be imputed to* Fortune; *but this Obedience to which he reduced the untractable, can only be aſcribed to the Prudence of the Commander. The more ſeditiouſly you act on the* Capitol, *the more you magnify the Glory of the General, who governed you with Moderation enough, to bring you back victorious. And what a time has* Sulpicius, *the chief Author of your Plots choſen, to accuſe* Paulus Æmilius, *and impeach his Character? If he had reſolved to ſhew his Eloquence, by decrying the greateſt Man in* Rome, *ſhould he have choſen to do it at the very inſtant when the Senate had judged him worthy of a Triumph? Could he not have waited till theſe firſt Honours had been paid him, before he attempted to leſſen his Merit? If he had been diſcreet, he would certainly have ſuffered this firſt Flaſh of Eſteem, with which* Rome *is prejudiced in favour of the Conqueror of* Perſes, *to have abated; and not attacked* Paulus Æmilius, *till after he had been returned to a private Life, and he could have fought him upon even Ground. But are Jealouſy and Malice capable of Reflection?* Sulpicius *had rather gain his Point by unworthy Artifices, than revenge himſelf in a prudent and regular Manner. All he aims at, is only to irritate diſcontented Soldiers, againſt a Man who is become his perſonal Enemy; becauſe he had no conſiderable Objection to make to him. Nevertheleſs he yeſterday declaimed againſt* Paulus Æmilius, *for full four Hours together. The moſt copious Orator would have laid open the whole Life of the greateſt Profligate in leſs time. And what did he ſay in ſo long an Invective? He vented his Malice in general Accuſations, which, when rightly underſtood, tend only to the Glory of the Accuſed. But what could he lay to his Charge? Let us ſuppoſe for once, that* Sulpicius *had been to have brought his Complaints before two different Aſſemblies, one of the* Roman *People, and the other of Soldiers, who had ſerved under* Æmilius *in the Eaſt; and ſee what the Subſtance of his Accuſations would have been.*

IN the firſt Place, what would he have ſaid to Citizens *who were free from all Paſſion, and impartial Judges? Would he have complained; That the General had taken care that Guard ſhould be kept in his Camp, with the greateſt Vigilance; That he had himſelf gone the Rounds, to ſee whether the Centinels did their Duty; That he had the ſame Day commanded a March, and then immediately led his Troops againſt*

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againſt the Enemy; That, after the Defeat of the Phalanx, *he choſe rather to purſue it, than return and take his Repoſe in his Tent; That he choſe rather to enrich the publick Treaſury with the Spoils of* Macedon, *than give them all up to gratify the Covetouſneſs of his Soldiers? If ſo; of what Weight would theſe Objections have been, with a Body of prudent and diſintereſted* Citizens? *Theſe* Romans *would not have been ignorant, that we owe all our Conqueſts to our ſtrict Diſcipline. They would not have been miſled, by the Eſteem their Fathers formerly had for one* Minucius, *who had like to have ruined every thing, by encouraging a neglect of Diſcipline. We now do Juſtice to the exact Severity of* Fabius Maximus, *who recovered the Republick, only by Delays: So that upon the whole, the imprudent* Sulpicius *would only have brought Diſhonour upon himſelf, and increaſed the Glory of his Adverſary among the People.*

AND as for you, Legionaries, *what has, or what would* Sulpicius *have, ſaid to you, that would not have turned to his Confuſion and your own? Would he have charged your General with extravagant Paſſion, Inſolences, or any Acts of Cruelty and Barbarity? No; You would in that Caſe have diſproved the Accuſer your ſelves. The whole would have amounted to no more, than an Attempt to make you regret the Loſs of the Booty he refuſed to give you, and complain of the Rigour with which he kept you to Duty. But if you had* Roman *Hearts, you would think your ſelves amply recompenſed for your Labours, and pretended Loſſes, by the Glory of having conquered. And here I can enlarge with Pleaſure, ſince I am ſpeaking to brave Men, who have a reliſh for Sentiments of Honour. I am an old Warrior as well as your ſelves, have undergone the ſame Fatigues, and run more Dangers. I have killed twenty three Enemies with my own Hands, in ſingle Combats, to which I was challenged. The Scars that remain in my Body ſhew, that I have not ſhunned Fighting. Not one of my Limbs is ſound; and by the Fatigues of riding too much, I have brought upon my ſelf incurable Diſorders. Can your* Sulpicius, *the Head of your Cabals, ſay as much? In this Inſtance, I with Confidence claim the Aſcendant both over him, and you. It is deceiving you, and it is bringing Diſhonour upon you,* Legionaries, *to ſtir you up againſt a General ſo univerſally applauded. Except* Perſes, *and your ſelves, there is not a Man in the World that does not wiſh that* Paulus Æmilius *may enjoy the Honours of the moſt magnificent Triumph. Is he leſs worthy of them than the two* Scipio's *formerly were, one for having conquered* Hannibal, *and the other* Antiochus; *or than* Flamininus, *for having ſubdued* Philip; *or* Lutatius, *for having finiſhed the firſt* Punic *War? The Conqueſt and Captivity of a King, the Reduction of a flouriſhing Nation, and the making the Patrimony of* Alexander the Great *entirely* Roman, *are not ſuch obſcure Facts, as are capable of being leſſened by Envy. The whole World rings with them. And what a Stain would it then be upon* Rome, *to refuſe to give the uſual Rewards to the Author of ſuch great Benefits?* Athens *has much leſſened her Glory, by her Ingratitude to her Heroes. And with regard to us, what Shame did our Forefathers bring on themſelves, by baniſhing* Camillus! *Yet he had not then cleared* Rome *of the* Gauls. *What a laſting Reproach is it to us, to have forced the Great* Scipio *to retire, and chooſe to be buried at* Liternum? *Shall our great Men always fall Victims to our Paſſions? Who can ſay that* Paulus Æmilius *has not equalled the greateſt of our Heroes, both in point of Valour, and Conqueſt? Shall we then ſuffer him likewiſe to be diſhononred in his Turn? No; it is the Intereſt of the Publick, that it ſhould not be ſo. Which of us will trouble himſelf about conquering, if he is not to enjoy the Honours of the Victory? What, but the Glory of a Triumph, could have been* Paulus Æmilius's *private Motive, to leave his ſweet Repoſe, to ſacrifice the Remainder of his Life to our earneſt Entreaties? What Profit has he or his Children received, by this fine Conqueſt? He is above Covetouſneſs; and muſt be expect to be deprived of military Honours too? Nay, ſuppoſe you were mad enough to bring Diſgrace on your General; will you carry your Paſſion ſo far, as to envy Your ſelves the Glory which you ought to ſhare with him? Triumphs were not inſtituted among us, purely in honour to the Leaders of our victorious Armies. They are deſigned as much for the Glory of* Rome *her ſelf, and the Honour of the other Officers, and the Soldiers, as thoſe of the Generals. The Glory of the triumphant Victor rebounds on the* Legions *which attend him. His Soldiers are on*

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that Occaſion adorned with the Rewards of their Valour, crowned with Laurel, and march on in good Order, amidſt the Acclamations of all the People. To have borne a part in a Triumph, is Matter of boaſting for a Man's whole Life. And therefore nothing is more mortifying to our Troops, than to be obliged to continue in the Enemy's Country, when a Triumph is granted to their Commander. Nay, ſeveral of You would have already retired to your Tribes *in the Country, if you had not conceived hopes of aſſiſting at a Triumph.*

WILL you then only be the Spectators of thoſe fine Proceſſions, and bear no part in one yourſelves? Can you be eaſy to ſee Anicius *and* Octavius *ride in Chariots, attended one by his Army, and* Gentius *in Chains; and the other by his Marines and Rowers; whilſt* Paulus *is not ſuffered to enter* Rome, *with any Guard, or in any Proceſſion? Shall not* Perſes *and his two Sons be ſhewn to the* Romans? *Shall the immenſe Spoils that have been brought from* Macedon, *be buried out of Sight? No;* Anicius *and* Octavius *themſelves cannot bear ſo unjuſt a Preference. If from their Chariots, in the midſt of all their State, they were to ſee* Paulus Æmilius *mixed with the common Herd, they would be equitable enough to cry out to him, Triumph; Come and take a Poſt which you have better deſerved than We? And in this they would act agreeably to the Wiſhes of all* Rome. *Every* Citizen *expects to ſee the triumphant Proceſſion of the Conqueror of* Macedon, *and the famous* Perſes *led before his Chariot. Will you then incur the Odium of depriving us of this Sight? You know what a Pleaſure your Fathers formerly took, in ſeeing* Syphax *mournfully attend the Proceſſion of his Conqueror* Scipio. *But what was a King of* Numidia, *in Compariſon of a King of* Macedon *and Succeſſor of* Alexander the Great? *You then are not endeavouring to deprive* Paulus Æmilius *only, of the Honour which is due to him; but you are likewiſe robbing your ſelves, the Republick, and in ſhort all the* Roman *People, of the Pleaſure of a moſt agreeable Sight. Nay, what is ſtill worſe, your Plots are alſo offenſive to the Gods themſelves. We begin, and we end, all our Enterpriſes with Acts of Religion. Our* Conſuls *put on their military Habits, at the Feet of the Altars; and they come back to the* Capitol, *to return* Jupiter *Thanks for their Succeſs. Our Triumphs were inſtituted in honour to the Gods. Thence it is, that Victims, properly adorned, always march before the triumphant Victor, and are afterwards offered up in Sacrifice. Thence comes the ſacred Repaſt, which is prepared in the Temple itſelf on ſuch Occaſions, of which the Senate partakes, and with which the whole Ceremony ends. Will you then carry your Reſentments to your General ſo far, as to be ungrateful to the Gods? To whom are you indebted for this almoſt incredible Succeſs! To* Sulpicius, *whoſe good Plight ſhews that he never bore any great part in your Labours? No; but to* Paulus Æmilius, *and the Protection of Heaven. Yet you are for robbing the one of his Triumph, and the other of its lawful Offerings. Go,* Legionaries, *I will detain you no longer. Enter the Voting-place in your* Tribes, *and efface, by your Suffrages, the Shame of your firſt Vote. I will follow you; narrowly obſerve thoſe who are moſt mutinous, and moſt ungrateful; and then I ſhall at laſt know who they are, who would have no Generals at their Head, but ſuch as are too indulgent.*

This Diſcourſe, which has been tranſmitted to us by two Hiſtorians of different Languages, is ſo much the ſame in both, that it ſeems to have been copied by them from one Original. But be that as it will, this at leaſt is certain, that it had the Effect the Orator aimed at in it. All the *Tribes* that were yet to vote, agreed in decreeing *Paulus Æmilius* a Triumph. The Day fixed for it was the laſt of *November*. The Senate alſo decreed, that on the Day of the Triumph the triumphant Victor alone ſhould give Orders in the City; which Privilege was likewiſe extended to the *Prætors, Anicius* and *Octavius*. And whilſt Preparations were making for the Proceſſion of *Paulus Æmilius*, which was to precede the two others, *Fortune* made him ſenſible, that ſhe ſometimes reſerves her moſt fatal Strokes for the moſt ſhining Parts of Life. He had had two Sons by his ſecond Wife; and he promiſed himſelf the Satisfaction of ſhewing them to the People, in the ſame Chariot with himſelf. But they both fell ſick. The elder, who was but fourteen Years of Age, died five Days before his Father's Triumph; and the younger ſurvived his Brother but eight Days. Theſe two Children were the Delight of their Father, and the only Heirs of his Name. His two Sons

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Sons by his firſt Wife, were adopted into other Families. However, he bore his Grief with the Inſenſibility of a *Stoick*; and ſaw the Tears of his Relations and Friends flow, without ſhedding one himſelf. Tho' more affected with his Loſs, than with the Honours deſigned him, he ſeemed wholly intent on ſatisfying the Deſires of the People. Every thing was ſettled in relation to his Entry into *Rome*; and it was concluded that his Triumph ſhould laſt three Days, in Conſideration of the many Sights that the Conqueror of *Macedon* had to ſhew the People. But nothing pleaſed the Multitude more, than the Expectation of ſeeing *Perſes*, his Sons, and the Lords of his Court, dragging heavy Chains, and marching on with ſlow Pace, before the Chariot of the General who had conquered them. And on the other hand, the King of *Macedon* dreaded nothing more, than being expoſed to the Shouts and Inſults of the *Romans*. He therefore ſent from his Priſon to entreat *Paulus Æmilius* to ſpare him the Confuſion of appearing in publick, on a Solemnity which was more grievous to him, than his Captivity. To which the Conqueror anſwered the Meſſenger, *Tell* Perſes, *that it long has been, and ſtill is, in his own Power, to rid himſelf of our Chains.* Which was telling him plainly enough, that only Poiſon, or a Ponyard, could preſerve him from the Infamy he feared. But the Love of Life, or perhaps ſome Remains of Hope, determined *Perſes* to prefer the moſt ſhameful of all Indignities, to what the Pagans thought an honourable Death. And by this ſingle Act of Cowardice, the captive King was thought to have deſerved all the Calamities that overwhelmed him.

§. XX. AT length the appointed Day came for the firſt Proceſſion of the fineſt Triumph *Rome* had yet ſeen. Early in the Morning, Scaffolds were built in the *Circus's*, *Theatres*, publick Places, and Streets, through which it was to paſs. All the People appeared dreſſed in White, in Teſtimony of their Joy. The Populace, who could get no Seats in the Amphitheatres, lined the Streets; and ſome *Lictors*, armed only with Rods, went from Place to Place, to keep off the Crowd, and clear the Way. On the firſt Day were ſhewn the vaſt Number of Statues and Pictures, which *Paulus Æmilius* had brought from *Macedon*, and the *Greek* Cities that had joined with *Perſes*. There entered through *The Triumphal Gate* a long Train of two hundred and fifty Waggons, on which theſe incomparable Works of the greateſt Painters, and beſt Statuaries in *Greece*, were placed in an artful Manner; and as the Horſes moved but ſlowly, the People had time to examine and admire theſe Maſterpieces of Art.

Plut. Life of *Paulus*. *Vell. Paterc.* *B.* 1. *c.* 9. *Florus*, *B.* 2. *c.* 12.

ON the ſecond Day, there were two different Shows. Firſt appeared on Waggons the Arms that had been taken from the ſeveral Nations which had fought for *Perſes*, or which had been found in the King's Magazines, and in the Fields of Battel: All theſe Inſtruments of War, Pikes, Helmets, Bucklers, Javelins, Quivers, Sabres, and Swords, were ranged without Confuſion; but with an Air of Negligence, which is often the Effect of Art. Upon the leaſt Motion, theſe Arms beat againſt one another, and made a claſhing Noiſe, like that of Armies engaged. Whence it is eaſy to judge, how pleaſing this Sight and this Noiſe muſt be, to a People who breathed nothing but War. The Mixture of the Arms of *Cretans*, *Thracians*, *Epirots*, and *Greeks*, with thoſe of the *Macedonians*, made an agreeable Variety; and convinced the *Romans*, who had time enough to ſatisfy their Curioſity, how many different Nations their General had had to conquer.

AFTER this Show, which was wholly martial, came another, which was yet more entertaining. Three thouſand Men, divided into Fours, carried Biers, laden with Urns of all ſorts of Metal, more valuable for their Workmanſhip, than their Materials, and full of the Money that had been brought from the *Levant*. Each [77] Veſſel contained eighteen thouſand * *Drachmæ*, according to *Plutarch*. Nevertheleſs, as to the Value of all the Sums ſhewn to the People in this firſt Proceſſion, the Hiſtorians [78] are by no means agreed. But this at leaſt is certain, that *Rome*

* 581 *l.* 5 *s.* *Arbuth.*

77 Theſe Vaſes were ſeven hundred and fifty in Number, according to *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Paulus Æmilius*. Supposing then with him that there were eighteen thouſand *Attick Drachmæ*, or three *Talents* in each Vaſe, the Value of the whole Sum contained in the ſeven hundred and fifty *Urns*, will amount [a] to ſix millions ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand *Livres*.

[a] 425937 *l.* 10 *s.* *Arbuth.*

78 *Valerius of Antium* had reckoned up all theſe Sums, and made them amount to the Value of a

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Rome was ſo much enriched 79 with all theſe valuable Spoils, that ſhe had no Occaſion to lay any Tax on the People, from the time of *Paulus Æmilius* to that of 80 *Auguſtus*. Beſides theſe Urns, which could only be carried on Hand-Barrows, there were alſo a great Number of Men, who carried on their Heads, Cups, Goblets, and Flagons, of various ſorts, made of the richeſt Metals, and adorned with precious Stones.

But all that was ſeen on the two firſt Days of the Proceſſion, was only the Prelude to what was expected on the third: So that the Curioſity of the People was then greater than before, and their Numbers increaſed. At the Head of the Proceſſion came a great Number of Horns and Trumpets, which made the Air ring, not only with the Tunes uſually played on Marches, but with the Din that animated the Soldiers in an Engagement. This military Muſick was followed by a hundred and twenty fat Oxen, crowned with Feſtoons, and adorned with Garlands. Theſe were the Victims that were to be ſlain on the *Capitol*, and which were led each by a Sacrificer, carrying an Ax on his Shoulder, and wearing a very fine embroidered Girdle. Some young Children, very neatly dreſſed, carried after the Sacrificers, the Veſſels proper for catching the Blood of the Victims; and after this numerous Train of Miniſters, followed ſeventy ſeven new Urns (each borne by four Men) which held all the Gold that had been taken. It is ſaid, that each Urn contained the Value of * three [81] *Talents* of Gold. After the Urns came Men on Foot, who ſhewed the People the ancient Cups which the *Antigonidæ* [82], and *Seleucidæ* uſed, and other pieces of Plate made by *Thericles*, a Goldſmith of great Reputation. Then followed *Perſes*'s *Buffet*, with all his Gold and Silver Plate; and after it, the Chariot in which that Prince uſed to ride. In his Chariot was placed his Armour, and royal Diadem, the ſad Remains of his Grandeur. At ſome

Plut. Life of *Paulus.*

* 5812 *l.* 10 *s.* *Arbuthnot.*

hundred and twenty thouſand *Great Seſterces*, or, which amounts to the ſame, to a hundred and twenty Millions [b] of *Little Seſterces*. And ſince then, this little piece of Money was taken among the *Romans* for the fourth part of a *Denarius*, which was worth ten *Sols*, as we have elſewhere obſerved, we muſt conſequently underſtand it to be equivalent to the eighth part of twenty *Sols*. And conſequently a hundred and twenty *Millions*, divided by eight, will produce fifteen *Millions* of *French Livres*. Nevertheleſs, *Livy* accuſes *Valerius of Antium* of much diminiſhing the Number and Value of the Sums brought from *Macedon*, both Gold and Silver. The *Roman* Hiſtorian judges of this prodigious Quantity of Money, by the Multitude of the Waggons that carried it during the Triumph; for he does not mention either the three thouſand Men, or the ſeven hundred and fifty Vaſes, which were carried by four Men each, according to *Plutarch*. *Velleius Paterculus* alſo joins with *Livy*. He ſays that *Paulus Æmilius* put into the publick Treaſury to the Value of two hundred and ten Millions [c] of *Little Seſterces*, which when reduced to *French* Money, amount to near twenty ſix millions two hundred and fifty thouſand *Livres*. Whereas *Suidas* does not reckon more than ſix thouſand *Talents* [d], which make about eighteen Millions of *Livres*. Whilſt *Pliny* ſtill improves upon the Authors before quoted. He values theſe Sums at three hundred Millions of *Little Seſterces* [e]; that is thirty ſeven Millions five hundred thouſand *Livres*.

[b] 968750 *l.* *Arbuth.*

[c] 1695312 *l.* 10 *s.* *Arbuth.*

[d] 1162500 *l.* *Arbuthnot.*

[e] 24218[illegible]5 *l.* *Arbuthnot.*

79 The Gold and Silver Money was the leaſt part of the Riches which *Paulus Æmilius* brought from *Macedon*. The Republick heaped up immenſe Sums, out of the Produce of ſo many valuable Spoils.

[f] 447562 *l.* 10 *s.* *Arbuth.*

80 *Cicero* and *Plutarch* are our Authorities for a Fact ſo remarkable, and ſo glorious for the Memory of *Paulus Æmilius*. This Great Man, adds *Cicero*, *De Offic. B.* 2. was content with having made his fellow Citizens happy, and gained nothing to himſelf or Family from all thoſe Riches, but the eternal Glory of having taken them from the Enemy. *At hic nihil aliud in domum ſuam intulit præter memoriam nominis ſempiternam.* And *Plutarch* ſays, that from the Conqueſt of *Macedon*, to the *Conſulate* of *Hirtius* and *Panſa*, the *Roman Citizens* alone were diſcharged from paying any Tribute: So that the other People who were dependent on the Republick, and had not the Right of *Citizenſhip*, were not exempt from it. *Rome* found more than ſufficient Supplies in the Provinces ſubject to her Dominion. Beſides, the vaſt Conqueſts the *Romans* made in all the Countries of the old World, were an inexhauſtible Fund for the Republick, during the hundred and twenty five Years, which paſſed between the time of *Paulus Æmilius*, and that of *Auguſtus*. We know that the Conquerors of old *Rome*, made it a Rule to ſtrip the Nations that were newly ſubdued, of every thing valuable among them, to magnify the Pomp of their Triumphs, and enrich their own Country. Theſe triumphant Victors, which are ſo much boaſted of, were really but ſo many illuſtrious Robbers, who gloried in their Robberies, and the Miſeries of Mankind.

* 6713431 *l.* 15 *s.*

81 If a *Talent* of Gold was equal in weight to an *Attick Talent*, the *three Talents* of Gold contained in each of the ſeventy ſeven *Vaſes*, were worth thirty *Attick Talents* of Silver. We have already obſerved, in the Courſe of this Hiſtory, that among the ancient *Romans*, the Proportion of Gold to Silver, was as one to ten: So that *A Talent of Gold* was worth ten *Talents of Silver*. And according to this Computation, the ſeventy ſeven *Vaſes* contained as much Gold Money, as was worth two thouſand three hundred and ten *Attick Talents* of Silver [f], that is, ſix Millions nine hundred and thirty thouſand *Livres*. And if we ſuppoſe the Proportion to have been as one to fifteen, as it is now [in *France*] all theſe *Talents* of Gold will amount to the Value of ten Millions three hundred and ninety five thouſand *Livres* [g].

82 The ancient Kings of *Macedon*, who carried up their Pedigrees to *Seleucus* and *Antigonus*, the Succeſſors of *Alexander the Great*, were therefore called *Antigonidæ*, and *Seleucidæ*.

Diſtanc

Year of ROME DLXXXVI. Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS, JUNIUS PENNUS, Conſuls.

Diſtance from his Chariot marched the young Princes §3 his Children, three in Number; *Philip* the elder, *Alexander* the younger Son; and a Daughter, whoſe Name the Hiſtorians have not preſerved. Theſe Princes were ſo young, that they ſcarce ſeemed ſenſible of their Miſery; but their Præceptors and Governors who conducted them, directed them to ſtretch out their little Hands to the People, to raiſe their Compaſſion. And this Sight ſo much affected the Spectators, that they ſcarce thought of looking on *Perſes*, who followed his Children. This unfortunate King, who was dreſſed in Mourning, and wore *Macedonian* Sandals, ſeemed equally tranſported with Rage and Deſpair. In his Walk, and Looks, he diſcovered an Aſtoniſhment, little ſhort of Stupefaction; which is no uncommon Effect of Grief, when it is extreme. His Friends and Courtiers which attended him, wept as they went; and as they kept their Eyes continually fixed upon him, they ſeemed more affected with his Misfortunes than their own. After an Army of Captives of different Nations, and particularly of the Subjects of *Bitis*, the Son of the King of the *Odryſians* in *Thrace*, there were carried in Proceſſion the four hundred Crowns of Gold, with which the Cities in Alliance with *Rome* had preſented *Æmilius*, by way of congratulating him on his Victory. And laſt of all the pompous Chariot, in which the triumphant Victor rode, advanced with ſlow Pace. His fine Mien, and the Purple he wore, attracted all Eyes. He carried in his Hand a Branch of Lawrel, as a Token to the Spectators, that the Victory of *Pydna* was his own Work, and that he had not ſhared the Succeſs of the Campaign with any other Perſon. His Age improved the majeſtick Air which was natural to him; and perhaps the Death of one of his Sons, and the Sickneſs of the other, helped as much to make him ſerious and penſive, as the Philoſophy he profeſſed. He had by his Sides, his two Sons *Fabius* and *Scipio*, who were finely mounted, and headed the *Roman* Cavalry. All the Infantry followed, each *Legion* under its own proper Colours, and marched on in good Order. In this manner they at length arrived at the *Capitol*; and there *Paulus Æmilius* made an Offering to *Jupiter*, of a Vaſe of Gold of the Weight of ten §4 *Talents* [a], which he had got made in *Greece*. After which the Ceremony was ended with the Bounties he diſtributed among his Soldiers. He ordered a hundred *Denarii* [b] to be given to every Foot Soldier, two hundred to every [c] *Centurion*, and three hundred to every [d] Trooper. And it was generally believed, that he would have doubled

[a] *Worth* 600001. *Sterl. at* 4 *l. per Ounce.*
[b] 3 *l.* 4 *s.* 7 *d.*
[c] 6 *l.* 9 *s.* 2 *d.*
[d] 9 *l.* 13 *s.* 9 *d.*

Silver.

§3 Time has yet preſerved an authentick Monument of the Triumph of *Paulus Æmilius*; that is a Medal, on the reverſe of which there is a Trophy (erected to the Honour of the Conqueror) and the triumphant Victor himſelf, in a *Toga*. The King of *Macedon*, whoſe two Sons are before him, is repreſented under the Figure of a Captive, whoſe Hands are tied behind him. The *Latin* Term TER on the Medal ſhews, that *Paulus Æmilius* triumphed three times. Once over the *Ligures*, whom he had defeated in his firſt *Conſulſhip*. A ſecond time over *Spain*, which he governed in quality of *Pro-Prætor*. And a third time over King *Perſes*, and *Macedon*. The Medal agrees in that Particular with *Velleius Paterculus*. Nevertheleſs *Livy*, and the Author of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men*, mention only the firſt and laſt Triumphs. Or perhaps the Word TER may have been put to ſignify the *three* Days which the Triumph laſted. However an ancient Marble dug up in *Rome*, in the Place where the *Comitia* were formerly held, atteſts the three Triumphs of *Paulus Æmilius*. The Inſcription on it is this. L. ÆMILIUS. L. F. PAULLUS Cos. II. CENS. AUGUR TRIUMPHAVIT TER.

Add to this, that the Glory of the Conqueror did not terminate in theſe tranſient Honours. The Author of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men* affirms, that the Senate and People unanimouſly granted him the extraordinary Privilege of appearing at *The Games of the Circus*, in the triumphal Robe.

84 The *Talent* conſidered as a Weight, weighed a hundred and twenty five Pounds, as we have obſerved, *Vol.* I.

theſe

Year of *ROME* DLXXXVI. Q. Ælius Pætus, Junius Pennus, Conſuls. *Plut.* Life of *Paulus*. *Liv. B.* 45. *c.* 40.

theſe Sums, if he had been ſatisfied with the Conduct of his Soldiers; or rather, if they had received in a thankful manner, the Preſent he made them.

§. XXI. And now, the illuſtrious *Conſul* had nothing more to do, before he returned to a private Life, but to harangue the People as uſual, and give them an Account of his Expedition. However, he firſt waited for the Death of his ſecond 85 Son, and paid him his laſt Offices. After which he deſired Leave to mount *The Tribune*, and harangued the People in the following Manner, with an Air of Modeſty, which never left him. *None of you*, Romans, *are ignorant of what I have done in* Macedon; *nor are you Strangers to the two fatal Strokes which* Fortune *has given me in my Family. Nevertheleſs, in order to comply with ancient Cuſtom, and allay my Grief, I will tell you what I have performed in* Macedon, *as a General, and what I ſuffer as a Father. You put me at the Head of one of your Armies. I embarked at* Brunduſium, *arrived ſafe at* Corcyra, *without the Loſs of one Ship, and from thence paſſed on to* Delphi. *After I had paid my Duty to the God that is worſhiped there, I arrived in the* Roman *Camp in five Days, and took upon me the Command of the Army. I found* Perſes *entrenched on the Banks of a River of* Theſſaly; *and his Trenches impregnable. I therefore thought it neceſſary to try to open a Paſſage into* Macedon; *and entered it with great Difficulty. The Enemy had then fortified themſelves under the Walls of* Pydna. *I gave them Battel, and You conquered. The Conſequence of which Victory was no leſs than this, That all* Macedon *was ſubdued, and the Gods themſelves delivered up her King. We took him from the Feet of the Altars to bring him to* Rome. *But then I could not but continually reflect on the Viciſſitudes of human Affairs, when your Glory was increaſed to the higheſt Pitch. The greateſt Proſperities, ſaid I to my ſelf, are often followed by the moſt direful Calamities. Nevertheleſs I embarked to return to* Italy; *and much feared the Dangers that were to be run at Sea, by your Fleet which was laden with ſo much Riches. However, the Gods ſpared us at Sea, as well as favoured us by Land. And then indeed my Anxieties revived again. I again ſaid to my ſelf, Surely it is not poſſible that* Fortune *ſhould always lay aſide her Inconſtancy, only in favour of* Rome. *Perhaps ſhe now exalts her, only to humble her the more in a ſhort time. Turn on me, Great Gods! Turn on me and my Children, the Misfortunes you deſign for the Republick! And my Prayers were heard. I have loſt my dear Children, and with them all Hopes of continuing my Name in my Family. Even the Fate of* Perſes *is to me Matter of Envy. Indeed he has ſeen his Children walk before him in Chains; but ſtill they live, and leave their Father ſome Glimmerings of Hope. But I, in the midſt of your Applauſes, have ſeen the laſt of my Sons expire. I went from the triumphal Chariot to the funeral Pile. But ſtill, whatever it coſts me to appeaſe the Gods, I ſhall ſtill have great Conſolation, if their Anger reaches only to me. Be happy,* Romans; *though it be at my Coſt.*

Paulus Æmilius was too well known, to be thought capable of Diſſimulation in his Harangue; and all admired his true Magnanimity, and diſintereſted Love for his Country. Inſomuch, that he received the ſame Applauſes in the *Comitia*, as had been given him on the Day of his Triumph. Crowds of People conducted him to his Houſe, to which he confined himſelf, there to wait for his Diſſolution. But *Rome* did not ſuffer him long to enjoy the Repoſe his Philoſophy taught him to love, in his private Family. Being looked on as the Hero of his Age, and the Father of his Republick, he was even, in his Retirement, the Soul of all Deliberations, and his Advice paſſed for a Law. Though he was poor, after he had gained ſo much Riches for *Rome*, he was as much honoured in his Retreat, as he had been eſteemed at the Head of Armies. He was a zealous Partizan for the Nobility, and never demeaned himſelf ſo much as to flatter the People. He was an equitable Protector of the People, and never ſacrificed them to the Intereſts of the Nobility. Such was the *Paulus Æmilius*, whom we muſt now leave for a time, but ſhall bring him again on the Stage.

§. XXII. The Day after the Conqueror of *Perſes* had triumphed, the *Pro-Prætor Octavius* triumphed in his Turn. The Difference of their Merit made a Difference in their Honours, and Proceſſion. On the firſt Day of *December*, *Octavius* made

85 *Plutarch* here contradicts *Livy*. The latter pretends, that the ſecond Son of *Paulus Æmilius* died at the Age of twelve Years, five Days before his Father's Triumph; and that the eldeſt, that fourteen, died three Days after the Proceſſion.

his Entry through *Rome*, without much State. He had neither Spoils nor Captives before him. His whole Proceſſion conſiſted of ſome Officers of Marines, Rowers, and Sailors, all on Foot. The triumphant Victor gave ſeventy five *Denarii* to every common Seaman in his Fleet, a hundred and fifty to every Pilot, and three hundred to every Captain of a Galley. And perhaps it was in Gratitude for the Honour which the Republick had done him, that *Octavius* built that fine Portico which was called *Porticus* [86] *Octavia*, and [87] *Corinthia*, becauſe the Pillars were of the *Corinthian* Order.

THE Triumph of the *Pro-Prætor Anicius* alſo followed, but a little late. There were three Months between his Proceſſion, and that of *Paulus Æmilius*. Perhaps *Anicius* was not diſpleaſed to have the Remembrance of the firſt Triumph, and its Grandeur, a little forgotten. The Day of *The* [88] *Quirinalia*, or the Feaſt of *Romulus*, was fixed for his triumphant Entry. Indeed it did not equal that of *Paulus Æmilius*, but it was ſuperior to moſt of thoſe that had yet been ſeen. There were ſhewn ſome Standards taken from the Enemy, ſome Spoils brought from *Illyricum*, and all the Goods of the conquered King. But the greateſt Ornament of this Triumph, were King *Gentius*, with his Wife, Children, his Brother *Caraventius*, and ſome Lords of his Court. The Victor had carried before him twenty ſeven Pounds † weight of Gold, and nineteen [89] of Silver *, excluſive of three thouſand ‡ *Denarii*, and a hundred and twenty thouſand pieces of *Illyrican* Money. In a Word, there was as much Difference between the Triumph of *Paulus Æmilius*, and that of *Anicius*, as there had been between *Macedon* and *Illyricum*, or *Perſes* and *Gentius*. The Senate determined the Fate of the captive Kings. *Gentius*, and his Wife, and Children, and Brother, were ſent firſt to *Spoletum*, and upon the Refuſal of the Inhabitants to receive them, then to [90] *Iguvium*. *Perſes* and his Son *Alexander* were confined in [91] *Alba*, in the Country of the *Marſi*, where he was ſhut up in a cloſe Priſon, and periſhed with Hunger. As to *Bitis*, the Son of King *Cotys*, *Carſeoli* [92] was his Priſon; but his Captivity was not long. The King of the *Odryſians*, his Father, ſent a Deputation to the Senate, to demand the Deliverance of his Son, and pay his Ranſom. The Ambaſſador juſtified, as well as he could, the Engagements his Maſter had been forced to enter into with *Perſes*; and Clemency, or if you will, the Policy of the *Romans*, got the better of their Reſentments to *Cotys*. The People at *Rome* were willing to make the King of the *Odryſians* their Friend, that he might not diſturb the Repoſe of the new Government ſettled in *Macedon*. The Son was reſtored to his Father, and the *Thracians* left the *Romans* in peaceable Poſſeſſion of their Conqueſt.

THUS ended a Year, which ought to be looked on as one of the moſt glorious of the Republick. The two *Conſuls*, *Ælius Pætus*, and *Junius Pennus*, added nothing to the Glory of it. They only committed ſome Ravages in *Liguria*, where they found no Enemies to fight with. A *Pro-Conſul*, and two *Pro-Prætors* reaped all the Honour of the Expeditions in the *Levant*; and left ſo ſtrong Impreſſions of the *Roman* Name, in the Eaſt of *Europe*, and *Aſia*, that no Potentate durſt for a great while after, diſpute the ſupreme Authority of the World with their Republick.

Year of ROME DLXXXVI. Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS, JUNIUS PENNUS, Conſuls. *Feſtus B.* 13. *ad Verbum Octavia* *Livy, B* 45. *c.* 43.

† *Worth* 1296*l. Sterl. at* 4*l. per Ounce.*
* *Worth* 57*l. Sterl. at* 5*s. per Ounce.*
‡ 96*l.* 17*s.* 6*d. Arbuth.*

86 *Cneius Octavius* applied the Produce of one part of the Spoils he had brought from *Macedon*, to the building of a Portico, which from his Name was called *Porticus Octavia*. It was built near *The Flaminian Circus*, according to *Pliny* and *Velleius Paterculus*. The Conqueror, to perpetuate the Memory of his Exploits againſt *Perſes*, had them painted on the Walls of the Building. And therefore it was called indifferently either *Perſes's Portico*, or *Octavius's Portico*. Afterwards it was damaged by Fire; and *Cæſar* took care to repair it, as being one of the moſt glorious Monuments of the *Octavian* Family, from which he deſcended.

87 This Building had a double Row of Pillars of the *Corinthian* Order; and according to *Pliny*, their Capitals were of Braſs. There were ſeveral Pair of winding-Stairs that led up to the Top of it. The Plan and Elevation of it may be ſeen in *Serlio's Architecture*.

88 We have ſpoken of the Feaſt of *The Quirinalia*, in the preceding Volumes.

89 Nineteen Pounds weight of Silver is too little a Quantity to be ſhewn in a ſolemn manner, in a triumphal Proceſſion; and therefore we think it reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the Word *Mille*, or Thouſand, is dropped out of the Copies of *Livy*.

90 *Iguvium* was a City of *Umbria* near the *Apennines*. The *Italians* now call it *Eugubio*.

91 The City of *Alba* in the Country of the *Marſi*, one of the Cantons of *Further Abruzzo*, was diſtinguiſhed from *Alba Longa*, by the Surname of *Fucentis*. It ſtood near the Lake *Fucinus*, which the *Italians* now call *Celano*.

92 *Carſeoli* ſtood near the *Anio*, or *Teverone*, in the Country of the *Æqui*, which Country is now a part of the *Campagna di Roma*. It is at preſent called *Arſuli*.

Year of *ROME* DLXXXVI. Q. Ælius Pætus, Junius Pennus, Conſuls.

§. XXIII. And now, after the Reduction of *Macedon* and *Illyricum*, it ſeemed to be time for *Rome* to leave the World in Repoſe, lay aſide her Arms, and ſhut up the Temple of *Janus*. But her Ambition and Policy would not give her one Moment's reſpite. To purſue War after War, and always keep her *Legionaries* in play, was a capital Point with her, as long as the popular Government ſubſiſted. By keeping ſuch great Armies always in the Field, ſhe purged her Capital of a great Number of Mutineers, ſecured the Peace of *Rome* and *Italy*, and made foreign Nations tremble. So that it was become cuſtomary for two *Conſuls* to take the Field every Year, with two regular Armies, each conſiſting of at leaſt two *Legions*, and a Body of Auxiliaries; and the Difficulty now was, where to find Enemies enough to employ two *Conſuls* and their Troops. All was peaceable in the *Levant*. In the South, *Africa* affected to receive the Orders of the *Roman* Senate with more Submiſſion than ever. *Carthage*, after her Humiliation, was wholly bent on enriching her ſelf by Commerce. *Spain* only was yet agitated by ſome ſlight Commotions, which the two *Prætors* annually ſent thither ſoon ſtifled. *Rome* therefore made her ſelf Enemies in *Italy*, for her Amuſement; and this we ſhall find to be the Caſe for ſome Years. She will ſtill have her Army at Hand, even during her Repoſe, and keep her ſelf continually in a Condition to attempt new Exploits.

Year of *ROME* DLXXXVII. C. Sulpicius Gallus, M. Claudius Marcellus, Conſuls. *Val. Max. B. 6. c. 3. §. 10.*

M. Claudius Marcellus 93 was elected *Conſul* in *The Field of Mars*, and with him that *Sulpicius*, who had ſignalized himſelf in the Plains of *Macedon*, by his Prediction of an Eclipſe. He was an odd Man, and jealous of his Wife. He 94 divorced her for an Act of Levity, that ſeems very excuſable. One of the *Roman* Laws forbad all Wives dreſſing to pleaſe any Body but their Husbands. Nevertheleſs, the Wife of *Sulpicius* had appeared in publick, artfully dreſt, and with her Face uncovered. Which was enough for her Husband to divorce her, under pretence of Diſobedience to the Law. This *Conſul*, who had Learning, and a fine Genius, but was ſevere to exceſs, was appointed by Lot to make War in *Liguria*; and *Ciſalpine Gaul* fell to his Collegue. The unfortunate *Ligures*, and other *Gauls* in *Italy*,, had long been an open Field for the *Romans*, to which they had always had recourſe, to keep their Soldiers in exerciſe, when they wanted Enemies in foreign Countries. And now only ſome Caſtles were taken in *Gaul* and *Liguria*, and ſome Ravages committed there. Nevertheleſs the ſame *Romans*, who had diſputed the Triumph of the Conqueror of *Macedon*, readily granted one to theſe two *Conſuls*, for Expeditions which were very little for their Honour. The Republick in this purſued the Maxims of a refined Policy. It was neceſſary to beſtow great Honours on the Commanders and Soldiers, for fear they ſhould conceive a Diſlike for Wars of ſo little Conſequence. However, Poſterity have done Juſtice to theſe triumphant Victors. *Cicero* in Raillery ſays, that their Triumphs were little worth, and * bought at a very cheap Rate. Theſe were all the Exploits of a Year, ſo little memorable. The *Conſuls* before they triumphed, which was in the intercalary Month, inſerted 95 between the Months of *February* and *March*, preſided in the *Comitia*. The Struggle was ſo great in the new Elections, that the Senate were obliged to remove to the *Capitol*; and

* *Caſſellan's Triumphos Cicero Beatos.*

93 *Julius Obſequens* is miſtaken, when in his Account of the Prodigies that happened in the Year 587, he diſtinguiſhes the *Conſul Sulpicius* by the *Prænomen* of *Publius*. Beſides the Authority of *Livy* we have alſo that of *Pliny* againſt him. The latter ſays expreſly, that the Republick gave *Marcus Marcellus* for his Collegue, the famous Aſtronomer *Sulpicius Gallus*. Now the *Prænomen* of the latter was *Caius*, and not *Publius*.

Here ends *Livy*'s Hiſtory. The forty five Books which have eſcaped the Wrecks of Time, make us lament the Loſs of the reſt of this great Work, which the Hiſtorian had carried on to the time of *Auguſtus*. However, we ſhall ſupply the want of it as well as we can, by continuing to have recourſe to the other Sources of Antiquity.

94 We have treated of the Form and Manner of Divorces among the *Romans* in the preceding Volumes.

95 See what we have ſaid *Vol.* 1. of the intercalary Month called *Mercedonius*, or *Mercedinus*. But beſides the Etymology of the Word there given, we ought not to forget another, which we find in *Macrobius*. This Month, ſays he, was called *Mercedonius*, from the *Latin* Word *Merces*, becauſe the publick Farmers then paid a ſort of Salary to the *Pontifices*, whoſe Buſineſs it was to make the Intercalation. Provided theſe *Publicans* paid the Sum demanded by theſe mercenary Prieſts, they added more or fewer Days to the Month *Mercedonius*, as the *Publicans* pleaſed, who often found their Account in theſe Irregularities. See *Saturnal. B. 1. c. 6.* Add to this, that though *Plutarch* aſcribes the Invention of the intercalary Months to *Numa Pompilius*; yet *Macrobius* in the Place before quoted, gives us ſeveral different Opinions as to that Inſtitution. He ſays, that *Licinius Macer* carried it up as high as to *Romulus*. *Ja-*

nus

and then there happened one of thoſe fortuitous Events, which the ſuperſtitious *Romans* took for Prodigies. A Kite flew into the Temple of *Jupiter*, caught a Weaſel there, and brought it into the *Forum*; and it was judged neceſſary to avert the ill Effects of this *Augury* by Expiations. Year of *ROME* DLXXXVIII

§. XXIV. AFTER many Intrigues, *T. Manlius Torquatus*, and *Cn. Octavius Nepos*, were promoted to the *Conſulate*; and they had the ſame Commiſſion as their Predeceſſors. They were ſent into *Liguria* and *Gaul*, where they did not even ſignalize themſelves enough to deſerve one of thoſe inconſiderable Triumphs, which *Rome* then granted out of Policy. Idleneſs reigned in the *Capitol*; and there was a Plague there. It was common in times of Peace. The *Sybilline* Books were conſulted, and by order of the *Decemviri*, Sacrifices were offered up in the Croſsways, and all the Temples, in the City. Other pretended Prodigies alſo cauſed the *Romans* to amuſe themſelves with other religious Rites. The City was expiated with many Victims, becauſe it was ſaid, That the Doors of the Temple of the *Dii Penates* had opened of themſelves in the Night; and That Wolves had entered into the Streets of *Rome*. The *Curule Ædiles*, *Sex. Julius Cæſar*, and *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella*, had the Care of *The Megalenſian Games*. The *Hecyra* of *Terence* was then acted, but with leſs Succeſs than it deſerved. *Terence* was now in his higheſt Reputation; and two Men of the firſt Quality ſhared with him the Honour of his dramatick Performances. He owns himſelf, that *Lælius* and *Scipio*, the Sons of *Paulus Æmilius*, had aſſiſted him. Nevertheleſs the *Hecyra* did not ſucceed. While it was acting, a Report was ſpread that ſome Rope-dancers were going to ſhew the *Romans* ſome extraordinary Feats; and immediately the Theatre was left empty. But afterwards, this Piece was acted again, and received the ſame Applauſe, as the other Comedies of this famous Author. Soon after this, the Senate were taken up with more important Affairs in the Eaſt. There was indeed no more open War in the Eaſt of *Europe* and *Aſia*; but there were yet ſmoking under the Embers ſome hidden remains of the Fire, which it was neceſſary to extinguiſh, to prevent its breaking out afreſh. *Achaia* eſpecially gave the *Romans* Umbrage. Its Power did not ſo much conſiſt in Strength and Riches, as in the Union of a great Number of Cities; which uniting together for their common Defence, made a great State, governed by a common Diet. The Ambition of ruling there had attached two Men, among others, to the *Roman* Party, which it was preſumed, muſt be the ſtrongeſt. *Callicrates* and *Andronidas* laid claim to the Offices in their Canton, or were willing to maintain themſelves in them, with the Aſſiſtance of the prevailing Republick. With theſe Views, they had informed againſt all thoſe among their Countrymen, who were in a Condition to diſpute the higheſt Poſts with them; And their Accuſations turned upon this, That their Rivals had been Friends and Partizans of the King of *Macedon* before his Fall.

T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS, CN. OCTAVIUS NEPOS, Conſuls.

Julius Obſequens.

Juſtin. B. 34. c. 1.

AMONG the Accuſed was a Man of Conſequence, named *Xeno*, to whom his Country had formerly given the Command of Armies. This brave Man, who knew himſelf to be innocent of the Calumny, proteſted to the *Roman* Commiſſary, that he would go to *Rome* himſelf, and plead his own Cauſe before the Senate. He was taken at his Word, and was ſent to *Rome*, with about a thouſand *Achæans*; among whom was *Polybius*. They were all ſuſpected of having been more in the *Macedonian* Intereſt than the *Roman*, during the War. But *Achaia* thought this Proceeding more ſevere, than the Tyranny ſhe had felt under the Reign of *Philip*, the Father of *Alexander the Great*; and her Murmurs were much louder, when ſhe was told that the Senate of *Rome* had diſperſed theſe unfortunate Men in the Cities of *Italy*, detained them there, and would not give them a Hearing. This was a rigorous Baniſhment; but the Republick thought it neceſſary to purge *Achaia* of all ſuſpected Perſons. The *Achæans* in vain ſent Embaſſy after Embaſſy. The Republick was inexorable. She obſtinately refuſed even to judge thoſe that were accuſed. The Hatred of the Publick fell firſt on the

nius, another ancient *Roman*] Annaliſt, makes *Servius Tullius*, the ſixth King of the *Romans*, the Author of the Intercalation. *Tuditanus* pretended that it did not begin to be in uſe, till the Adminiſtration of the *Decemviri*, who made an expreſs Law for that Purpoſe, in *The Twelve Tables*. And laſtly, *Flavius* the *Civilian* pretended, that this Cuſtom was not introduced among the *Romans*, till five hundred and ſixty two Years after the Foundation of *Rome*, whilſt the Republick was at War with the *Ætolians*.

Year of *ROME* DLXXXVIII. T. Manlius Torquatus, Cn. Octavius Nepos, Conſuls.

Informers, *Callicrates* and *Andronidas*; who were the Curſe of all their Countrymen. They were never mentioned in the Aſſemblies, but with Deteſtation, or Deriſion. Even the Children, as they went out of their *Gymnaſia*, called them Traitors, and Enemies to the publick Weal. Nay, the Rage of the *Achæans* was carried ſo far, that when the two Accuſers had one Day gone into a publick Bath at *Sicyon*, no Body would waſh with them, or after them, till all the Water was let out of the Stoves. This general Uneaſineſs made *Achaia* ſtill the more ſuſpected by the Republick; and ſhe guarded more cloſely than ever thoſe dangerous Men, whoſe Intrigues in their own Country ſhe dreaded. Theſe were the firſt Seeds of a War, which we ſhall ſoon ſee break out between *Rome* and *Achaia*; the firſt Sparks of that Fire which conſumed *Corinth*.

After this the Envoy of *Pruſias*, named *Pytho*, was readily admitted into the Aſſembly of the *Conſcript Fathers*. To bring the leaſt Quarrels between the *Aſiatick* Kings before the *Romans*, was effectually to make their Court to them: And *Pruſias* had Complaints to make againſt the King of *Pergamus*. As *Bithynia* bordered on the Dominions of *Eumenes*, the latter had encroached on the Frontiers of his Neighbour. *Pytho* therefore was come to complain, in his Maſter's Name; and was favourably heard. *What a Neighbour*, ſaid he, *has* Pruſias, *in the ambitious* Eumenes! Rome *did not know him enough, when ſhe, by her Benefactions, extended his Dominions to the Frontiers of* Bithynia. *His Ambition is boundleſs: He aims at nothing leſs than the Conqueſt of* Aſia, *quite to the fartheſt Parts of* Syria. *Hence his Deſigns on* Galatia, *and the Wars he has drawn upon himſelf.* Bithynia *is the firſt Barrier that obſtructs his vaſt Deſigns; and he has therefore ſeized it, and has not ſcrupled to commit Hoſtilities againſt* Pruſias, *an Ally, a* Freedman, *of the* Roman *People. Nay, the Affection with which you honour my Maſter is one Reaſon for* Eumenes *to inſult him. The King of* Pergamus *affects to perſecute your Friends, both within his own Dominions, and in other Places. For a Man to declare himſelf a Partizan of* Rome, *is enough to be excluded from all Honours, or attacked by open Force. To which I muſt add, tho' it be a Secret yet unknown, That the Kings of* Syria *and* Pergamus *are underhand entering into private Negotiations, which will too ſoon break out, to the Prejudice of the* Roman *Power in the Eaſt. Guard us then from the Injuries of* Eumenes, *and watch the furious* Antiochus. *Should thoſe two powerful Kings unite their Hatred and their Forces, they may raiſe a Fire which will not eaſily be extinguiſhed.* The Advice of *Pruſias* was not thought contemptible. The Senate took the more Notice of it, becauſe many Deputies from the *Aſiatick* Cities had made Reports agreeable to the Suſpicions of *Pruſias*. And the Republick was too wiſe to neglect neceſſary Precautions. In order therefore to fathom the Depth of the Myſtery of this League which was formed between two powerful Monarchies. The Senate reſolved to ſend to the *Levant* a Member of their own Body. The Choice fell upon *Tib. Gracchus*, a Man of great Penetration, but of a ſweet Diſpoſition, and incapable of acting upon Prejudice. His Commiſſion was, to viſit all the Courts of *Aſia*, to come from thence to *Greece* in *Europe*, to make what Obſervations and Diſcoveries he could in all Places, and after this Tour to return to *Rome*, and make a faithful Report of what had occurred to him. Thus *Rome*, without running away with firſt Impreſſions, or giving Credit to firſt Accuſations, examined every thing, before ſhe would conclude upon any thing. She ſaw, in cold Blood, all the World in a Ferment about her.

And as the Republick took theſe Precautions againſt the Factions of Foreigners, ſo ſhe likewiſe took Care to preſerve good Order at Home. Some of the Hiſtorians ſay, that one of the *Tribunes of the People*, named *Mamilius*, got a Law paſſed, for ſettling the Boundaries of every *Citizen*'s Land in the Country. The ſecond King of *Rome* had formerly ordered every Man to ſet Land-Marks[96] at the End of his Field. But this Order, tho' made ſacred by Religion, had not hindered Encroachments. After *Numa*, one of the Laws of *The Twelve Tables* required every Poſſeſſor of Lands to leave the Space of five or ſix Foot between his Land and that of his Neighbour; and commanded that this Land-Mark ſhould be

96 See our Account of the Law made by *Numa*, and received into *The Twelve Tables*, concerning Boundaries, *Vol.* I.

inviolable by either Party. When these Limits were transgressed, *The Twelve Tables* required that three Arbitrators should be called in, to judge of it. But *Manilius* now reduced the three Witnesses to one; and made some other Alterations in the old Law; and it is pretended, that there are some Footsteps of the *Manilian* Law yet preserved on a 97 Medal, which was struck to his Honour. But be that as it will, it is reported that the *Tribune* took from thence the Surname of *Limetanus*, which was transmitted to all his Descendants.

Year of ROME DLXXXVIII
T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS, CN. OCTAVIUS NEPOS, Consuls.

§. XXV. THE *Consular* Year was now ready to expire; and therefore *Manlius* and *Octavius* brought back the Army to the City. The latter was the first of the 98 *Octavian* Family who had been honoured with the *Consular Fasces*; and he was the Stock from whence those Great Men descended, who afterwards did Honour to *Rome*, and raised her to the highest Pitch of Glory, in the Person of *Augustus Cæsar*. It is uncertain, whether *Octavius*, or his Collegue, presided in the *Comitia* for Elections. But *A. Manlius Torquatus*, and *Q. Cassius Longinus*, were the Persons who were declared Heads of the Republick; and their Appointments did not procure them more Glory than their late Predecessors had reaped. *Manlius* and *Cassius* went and carried on an unfruitful and languishing War in *Liguria* and *Cisalpine Gaul*. Whilst the Senate were sufficiently taken up with governing the great Nations of the three Parts of the known World. *Rome* had the last Year sent *Tib. Gracchus* to visit all the Kings, Republicks, and free Cities, in the East. The Envoy was every where received with the Distinction due to his Character. When he came into *Egypt*, he found the two Brothers, *Ptolomy Philometor*, and *Ptolomy Physcon*, pursuing their Quarrels with more Warmth than ever. *Cleopatra* their Mother had embroiled her two Sons again, by her blind Fondness for the younger. She had, by her Intrigues, got the elder Brother, the King of *Egypt*, driven from his Throne, and had placed *Physcon* upon it. And so far as we can judge of it by *Pausanias*'s Account, the unjust Mother, in order to execute her Design, seems to have borrowed the Assistance of the City of 99 *Thebes*, a stately City of *Upper Egypt*, and Capital of *Thebais*. *Philometor* gave way to the Persecution; fled for Refuge into the Island of *Cyprus*; there waited for the Return of *Fortune*'s Favours; and she soon declared for him. The same Ambition *Cleopatra* had had of governing despotically in *Egypt*, when her eldest Son was on the Throne, she retained still, after she had put the Scepter into the Hands of the younger. She had raised him, only to keep him in Subjection to her, and reign in his Name. *Physcon* was jealous of her; and the barbarous Son ordered his ambitious Mother to be privately put to Death. His Parricide was disco-

Year of ROME DLXXXIX.
A. MANLIUS TORQUATUS, Q. CASSIUS LONGINUS, Consuls

Cic. in Philip.

Pausan. in Attic.

97 *Pighius* is the only Author I know, that mentions a Medal struck in Memory of the Law published by *Manilius*. And if we believe this Annalist, the Medal bore the Name of *Caius Manilius Turrinus*. He says, the Law of *The Tribune* was symbolically represented on the Reverse, by a Ploughshare, the proper Instrument to mark out the Boundaries of Lands. But this Medal either is lost, or never was in being.

98 The *Octavian* Family, according to *Suetonius*, came originally from *Velitræ*. It was transplanted to *Rome*, and some of that Name had the Rank of Senators, as early as the Time of *Tarquin the First*. Nay, the same Author adds, That they were made *Patricians* by *Servius Tullius*. And some others say, that a Quarter of *Velitræ*, called *Octavius*, and an Altar consecrated to a Citizen of that Name, are Proofs of the Ancientness of this Family. This *Octavius* was at War with his Neighbours; and it happened, that the Enemy appeared suddenly before the Gates, whilst the People were offering Sacrifice to the God *Mars*. Upon this News, *Octavius* left the Sacrifice unfinished, ran to the Enemy, and cut them in Pieces. And in Memory of this Action, a Decree was passed, That Sacrifices should be annually offered up to *Mars* of half-grown Meats; and That the Remains of the Victims should be distributed among the *Octavian* Family. Afterwards, this Family became *Plebeian*; but we cannot discover the Cause of this Alteration. All that is certain is, That the *Octavii* were promoted to the highest Dignities in the Republick. We shall give a more particular Account of this Family, when we come to the History of *Augustus*, who owned the *Octavii* to be his Ancestors.

99 It is plain by *Pausanias*'s Account, that he mistook the City of *Thebes* in *Bœotia*, for the City of that Name which was the Capital of *Thebais*. *Ptolomy Philometor*, says this Historian, mounted the Throne after the Death of his Mother *Cleopatra*. The *Thebans* had risen up against *Egypt*, and had shaken off her Yoke. The angry King therefore marched an Army into *Bœotia*, forced the rebellious City to submit, three Years after its Revolt; and by way of Punishment for revolting, it was given up to the Avarice of the *Egyptian* Soldiers. The Conqueror every where left melancholy Marks of his Vengeance. Nothing was spared; and *Thebes*, which till that time was thought the most wealthy City in *Greece*, not excepting *Delphi* and *Orchomenon*, did not retain the least Footsteps of her first Splendor. It is probable enough that *Pausanias*, deceived by the Similitude of the Names, applied the History of the Revolt and Conquest of *Thebes*, the Capital of *Thebais*, by *Ptolomy Philometor*, to the City of *Thebes* in *Bœotia*. It is certain, the *Greek* City did not depend on the Crown of *Egypt*. Besides, *Thebes* was then under the Protection of the *Romans*, and united in Interest with the Republick, against the Kings of *Macedon*.

Year of *ROME* DLXXXIX. A. Manlius Torquatus, Q. Cassius Longinus, Consuls.

vered; and the People, who loved the Queen, prepared to revenge her Quarrel. *Physcon* fled, leaving the Throne empty for its true Owner; and *Philometor*, after his Re-establishment, made it his first Business to punish the rebellious *Thebans*. But this War was not of Importance enough to the *Romans*, for them to interpose, and put an End to it. *Gracchus* [100] their Deputy received no Instructions in *Egypt*, but to prevail on the Senate, to bring about once more a Reconciliation between the two Brothers.

From *Egypt*, *Gracchus* came to *Syria*; and there found King *Antiochus* obstinate in carrying on that famous War with *Judea*, in which so much Blood was shed, and so many Prophanations committed. *Judas*, surnamed *Maccabæus*, had now governed his Nation two Years with sovereign Authority, in Quality of High-Priest of the Living God. Being full of the same Courage with which the Lord had inspired the Heart of *Mattathias* his Father, he had put himself at the Head of a Company of faithful *Israelites*, and fought for the Law of God, and the Traditions of his People, with all the Zeal that Religion inspires.

JERUSALEM had fallen a Prey to the Uncircumcised; and the Temple had been pillaged, and its sacred Vessels carried away by the *Syrians*. *The Abomination of Desolation*, that is, the Statue of *Jupiter Olympius*, had been set up in *The Holy Place*. A great Number of sincere Adherents to the Law, and among others *Eleazer*, and the seven Sons of the brave *Salomona*, had sealed their Adherence to the Worship of the True God with their Blood. God had been appeased by the Tears and Prayers of the small Remains of the Faithful, and had raised up
Mace. B.1.c.5. an Avenger for his favourite People. *Judas Maccabæus*, at the Head of a small Number of *Jews*, had signalized himself by several Battels, gained over several of *Antiochus*'s Generals. And at length, the King of *Syria* had sent *Lysias*, one of the greatest Lords of his Court, to compleat the Abolition of the Law of God, and the Destruction of its few Defenders. The *Syrian* Army consisted of sixty thousand Men. And these great Preparations for War must no doubt have alarmed the Senate's Envoy, and confirmed *Rome* in her Apprehensions of the Forces of *Eumenes* and *Antiochus*, in case they should join in a Confederacy.

With these Prejudices, the Ambassador *Tib. Gracchus* entered *Antioch*. His only Business there was to watch the Steps, and penetrate into the Designs, of the King; and the wise *Roman* soon found him to be a Trifler. *Antiochus* had learnt from the *Romans* who had educated him, only an Appearance of their Virtues. He affected Magnificence; but all he did amounted to no more than foolish Profusions. He sometimes assumed imperious Airs; but he was mean and cringing to those who were stronger than himself, and haughty only to those that were weaker.
Diod. ex Valesio. He aspired at the Reputation of a warlike Prince; but he took up Arms only against defenceless People. He would fain have been thought to love Glory; but all the Fruits he sought to reap from his Victories, were the Plunder of Cities and Sacred Places. He shewed a Zeal for Religion; but employed it only in destroying that Worship which alone had infallible Proofs to attest the Truth of it. In a little time after his Arrival, *Tib. Gracchus* fully discovered the Monarch's Character. Instead of concealing his Riches from the *Roman*, he made an ostentatious Show of them. He made Preparations for celebrating the finest *Games* that had ever been seen in *Syria*; brought to *Antioch*, at an immense Expence, the best Actors, and most skilful Workmen in *Europe* and *Asia*; and in the *Shows*, brought out before the People all the Vases and valuable Moveables in his Treasury, which had never before seen the Light. And there is no doubt but the Spoils of the Temple of *Jerusalem* were the finest Part of the Show. Nay, the King himself did a thousand indecent Things during the Feast; and caused more Laughter than the best Buffoon could have done. Nothing was admired, but the Expensiveness of the Sight. This seeming Grandeur was very ill supported. To the *Roman* Deputy *Antiochus* became the vilest Sycophant. He lent him his own Palace all the time he tarried

100 *Pausanias* gives young *Ptolomy* no other Name but that of *Alexander*. *Josephus* gives him the Surname of *Physcon*, in Allusion to his Gluttony and excessive Debauches. Nevertheless, he gave himself the Title of *Euergetes*, or, *The Beneficent*. But being become odious to his Subjects by his Cruelties, they, with more Reason, called him *Cacergetes*, or *The Mischievous*. As for his elder Brother *Ptolomy*, he was called *Philometor*, only by way of Sarcasm. He was so far from *loving* his *Mother Cleopatra*, that he had a mortal Hatred to her, ever after she had dethroned him, to put his younger Brother in his room.

in *Antioch*, and was content to live himſelf in a borrowed Houſe. *Tib. Gracchus* therefore formed his Judgment of the King of *Syria*, by what he ſaw of him with his own Eyes. He could by no Means think ſo contemptible a Creature a formidable Perſon. Beſides, the great Army which he had ſent againſt the *Jews* was juſt then cut in pieces, and diſperſed, by the brave *Maccabæus*. The City of *Jeruſalem* was re-taken, and the Temple of the True God purified, from the Abominations which had been brought into it. This was the State of Affairs in *Syria*, when *Gracchus* left it; which he did, with a much leſs Eſteem for *Antiochus*, and much fainter Apprehenſions of his Intrigues, than he had brought thither.

Year of ROME DLXXXIX. A. MANLIUS TORQUATUS, Q. CASSIUS, LONGINUS, Conſuls. *Polyb. in Legat. N.* 101.

§. XXVI. BUT the Caſe was very different, with regard to the King of *Pergamus*. *Gracchus* found him a politick Prince, whom a long Experience in the Management of Affairs had made very cautious. He paid the Envoy all the Regard he could reaſonably expect; but ſtill preſerved his own Dignity. In his Converſation he was ſo well guarded, that there was no penetrating into his Deſigns. And at length, *Gracchus* left *Pergamus*, without being able to get the leaſt Proof of a ſettled Intelligence between *Eumenes* and *Antiochus*. When he came into *Greece*, and eſpecially to *Achaia*, he found the whole Country in Commotion; the People complaining loudly of the unjuſt Detenſion of a great Number of the Lords of their Country in *Italy*. *They were carried to* Rome, ſaid they, *to juſtify themſelves; and now they are detained in* Italy, *and cannot get a Hearing. Let them be tried, or ſent home! We know how to puniſh them ourſelves, if they are guilty.* Theſe Clamours were publick; *Gracchus* was an Ear-Witneſs of them; and he made his Report of it to the Senate. He declared, That he could diſcover no Signs of a Revolt, on the Part of *Antiochus* and *Eumenes*; and added, *Rome has no Body to fear in the* Levant, *but the* Achæans. Callicrates, Andronidas, *and thoſe of their Faction whom you protect, are grown inſolent, ſince you have refuſed to ſend home thoſe whom they accuſed of favouring* Perſes; *and, ſooner or later, the* Achæans *will attempt to ſhake off a Yoke, which you make inſupportable to them.* Nevertheleſs, *Gracchus* was not credited, either as to the Confidence he would have given the *Conſcript Fathers*, in relation to the Kings of *Pergamus* and *Syria*, or his Opinion concerning *Achaia*. But the Teſtimony he gave in Favour of the *Rhodians* was better received.

THE Republick of *Rhodes*, which *Gracchus* had viſited, had reſolved to ſend the ſame *Aſtymedes* to *Rome*, whoſe ſucceſsful Negotiation had averted the War with which ſhe was threatened. The *Rhodian* was admitted into the Senate, and ſpake thus. *What new kind of Puniſhment*, Conſcript Fathers, *have you yet to inflict on the* Rhodians? *Have you not ſufficiently revenged an Unfaithfulneſs which was neither general, nor carried to Exceſs? You had given us* Lycia *and* Caria; *and you took them from us again: Yet we did not murmur. We firſt merited your Favour by our Services; and afterwards deſerved to be ſtripped of them, by our Inaction. You were Maſters of your own Gifts; and we ſubmitted to your Chaſtiſements. But after all, have not you carried them a little too far? The Cities of* Caunus *and* Stratonice *were not the Fruits of your Liberality; we had bought the former of King* Ptolomy *for two hundred* Talents *; *and* Antiochus *had given us the latter. Nevertheleſs, you ordered our Troops to evacuate them, and we obeyed. And thereby you have treated us with more Rigour for a temporary Refuſal to join you, than you have done the* Macedonians, *your eternal Enemies. And what ſhall I ſay of your exempting the Iſland of* Delos *from Cuſtoms! It is a great Prejudice to us. We formerly received from thence four thouſand* [101] Great Seſterces †; *but now we can ſcarce get* ‡ *ſix hundred. Perhaps indeed the Crime might be equal to the Puniſhment, if all the* Rhodians *were guilty. But will you blend innocent Friends and mad Rebels together, in the ſame Puniſhment? Not that we complain of the leſſening of our Dominions, the Reduction of our Finances, and the Loſs of our Liberty.*

Polyb. in Legat. N. 104.

* 38750 *l. Sterl. Arbuth.*

† 32291 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d. Arbuthnot.*

‡ 4843 *l.* 15 *s. Arbuthnot.*

[101] We have already obſerved, in our Diſſertation on the *Roman* Money, *Vol.* 2. that every *Great Seſterce* was worth a thouſand *Little Seſterces*; that is, a thouſand Pieces of the Value of ten *Sols* and a half, according to the *French* Way of reckoning Money. So that four hundred thouſand *Great Seſterces* multiplied by one thouſand, make four hundred Millions of *Little Seſterces*. And theſe four hundred thouſand *Great Seſterces*, or four hundred Millions of *Little Seſterces*, were equal to fifty Millions of *French Livres*. For as two *Sols* and a half are the eighth Part of twenty *Sols*; if you divide four hundred Millions by eight, the Product will be fifty Millions.

Year of ROME DLXXXIX. A. Manlius Torquatus, Q. Cassius Longinus, Conſuls.

berty. What moſt afflicts us is, that we have loſt your Favour too. Give us but your Friendſhip again, Romans, *and we ſhall think ourſelves happy, notwithſtanding our Wants. Our Confederacy with you is not yet compleated. Vouchſafe then to admit us into the Number of thoſe Allies which are moſt cloſely united to you. This is a Favour which we durſt not ask, when we were happy, and in a flouriſhing State. Perhaps it might then have been thought, that we wanted to put ourſelves upon an equal Foot with* Rome. *But now that Calamities ſurround us, we come to you for Refuge; and implore your Friendſhip, for our Protection. Not that we deſire by that means, to make ourſelves formidable to our Neighbours. All we aim at, is to ſecure ourſelves from being inſulted, by the venerable Name of Allies of the* Romans.

As ſoon as *Aſtymedes* had finiſhed his Speech, he left the Aſſembly; and the Senate were divided in Opinion. Some were for continuing to refuſe the *Rhodians* an Alliance with *Rome*. They ſaid that all theſe Signs of Repentance were the Effects only of Diſſimulation. Whilſt others, prepoſſeſſed with the Suſpicions they had imbibed, of an Intelligence between *Eumenes* and *Antiochus*, thought that *Rome* ought not to multiply her Enemies, for fear of a new War. *Tib. Gracchus* was therefore conſulted; and his Advice determined the Affair. He declared, That the *Rhodians* had punctually obeyed the Orders of the Senate; That they had quietly ſurrendered up the Cities and Provinces which *Rome* had given from them; and That they had ſeverely puniſhed the Friends of *Perſes*. Upon this Teſtimony, and theſe political Reaſons, the *Rhodians* not only were admitted into an Alliance with *Rome*, but more ſtrictly united to her than ever.

Then another Embaſſy, more conſiderable than that of the *Rhodians*, engaged the Attention of the *Conſcript Fathers*. *Eumenes* had too much Penetration not to diſcover that he was ſuſpected at *Rome*; and he could not be ignorant that *Pruſias* had accuſed him there, of forming Intrigues with *Antiochus*. And whether he was guilty, or not, (for the Hiſtorians leave us in Uncertainty as to that Matter,) he thought it neceſſary to make Application to the Senate. Nevertheleſs, as he had been refuſed Admittance into *Rome* already; he would not come in Perſon a ſecond time, to receive another Affront. But he ſent his two Brothers, *Attalus* and *Athenæus*, croſs the Seas, in his room. Theſe two Princes were introduced into the Senate with the Diſtinction due to their Birth, and the perſonal Services of the former; and being examined concerning the Complaints brought againſt the King, fully anſwered them. Nevertheleſs, they could not entirely efface all Prejudices. *Rome* beſtowed Honours upon them, and made them Preſents; but was upon her Guard againſt being deluded by them. Under Pretence of going to appeaſe ſome ſlight Diſputes between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Megalopolitans*,[102] the Senate ſent two new Deputies to the *Levant*, with Orders to examine afreſh into the Conduct of the Kings of *Syria* and *Pergamus*. In ſhort, the Suſpicions of the *Romans* were never over, till the Death of *Antiochus*.

Polyb. in Legat. N. 106.

§. XXVII. However, the *Roman* Republick, tho' uneaſy as to Affairs Abroad, on Account of the Motions of ſome foreign Nations, enjoyed a perfect Tranquillity at Home. *Paulus Æmilius* contributed much to it by his Prudence. The People had lately drawn him from his private Life, to raiſe him to the *Cenſorſhip*, with *Q. Marcius Philippus*. This Office had the moſt Power annexed to it, of any in *Rome*. The Authority of the *Cenſors* reached to the *Conſuls* themſelves. It belonged to the former to nominate *The Prince of the Senate*, and exclude out of that illuſtrious Body whomſoever they pleaſed. Nothing could be more moderate than *Paulus Æmilius*'s Conduct on that Occaſion. He only cut off three Perſons, and thoſe Men of no great Conſideration. In the Review of the Cavalry he ſhewed his natural Sweetneſs of Diſpoſition, and Moderation; and at length, he cloſed his *Cenſorſhip* with a *Luſtrum*, and a *Cenſus*, in which were enumerated three hundred thirty ſeven thouſand, five hundred and fifty two Men[101] fit to bear

Plut. Life of *Paulus*.

102 We have already ſpoken of *Megalopolis*, the Capital of *Arcadia*, and ſituated in the Middle of *Peloponneſus*, near the River *Alpheus*. It is now called *Leondari*, according to *Sophian*.

103 *Livy*, in his Epitome of his 46th Book, mentions only three hundred twenty ſeven thouſand and twenty two *Citizens*, fit to bear Arms.

Arms

Arms. Of all the publick Works [104] he undertook, the Hiſtorians have perpetuated the Remembrance of nothing but a Sun-Dial which he and his Collegue ordered to be made. Indeed there was one already in *Rome*, fixed on a Pillar in the *Forum*. But this having been brought from *Sicily*, it did not go right, as not being calculated for the Meridian of *Rome*; and the ſetting this Dial right, was very agreeable to the People.

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After his *Cenſorſhip*, *Paulus Æmilius* fell ill of the Sickneſs of which he died; but it turning to a very lingring Diſeaſe, he was obliged [105] to ſeek for a change of Air. In his new Solitude [106], the illuſtrious Philoſopher cultivated his Mind, and regulated his Heart, by the Study of the *Stoick* Philoſophy, in which he had always delighted; and it is to be preſumed, that a Man naturally ſo virtuous, would have made an excellent Uſe of a ſounder Doctrine than that which he profeſſed, if he had arrived at the Knowledge of it.

The Death of *Perſes* ſoon followed the Sickneſs of his Conqueror. *Paulus Æmilius* would fain have ſoftened the Rigours of the Captivity in which the King ſpent his Days, at *Alba*. But he had not Intereſt enough, either to get the [107] inconvenient Place in which he was ſhut up, changed for a more convenient and decent Lodging; or to procure him a Table ſuitable to his Dignity. *Perſes* was always kept in ſight by his Guard, together with one of his Sons, either *Alexander* or *Philip*. But the other Son diſappears at once [108], in Hiſtory, and it is probable that he died before his Father. As to the dethroned King, ſome Hiſtorians ſay, he at laſt gave himſelf up to deſpair, and killed himſelf, by refuſing to take any Nouriſhment. Others affirm, that the Soldiers of his Guard, who hated him, kept him continually awake, and killed him with a want of Sleep. But be

104 *Cicero* tells us, *Orat. Pro Domo ſuâ*, That *Quintus Marcius*, the Collegue of *Paulus Æmilius* in his *Cenſorſhip*, erected in one of the Quarters of *Rome* a Statue of *Concord*, which was afterwards removed to the Place where the Senate uſed to aſſemble. And *Paulus Æmilius* on the other hand, placed the *Minerva* of *Phidias*, which he had brought from *Athens*, in the Temple of *Fortune*.

105 By the Advice of his Phyſicians, *Paulus Æmilius* embarked for a City of *Lucania*, which the ancient Geographers called *Velia*, or *Elea*. It ſtood near the Sea. The Natives now call it *Caſtel a Mare della Brucca*. Thither *Paulus Æmilius* retired, for the Recovery of his Health.

106 *Pliny* obſerves, *B.* 26. that under the *Cenſorſhip* of *Paulus Æmilius* and *Quintus Mucius*, *Italy* was afflicted with a ſort of peſtilential Diſtemper, which he calls *Carbunculus*: And adds, that this Diſtemper was common in *Gallia Narbonenſis*. This was what gave it the Name of *Charbon Provencal*, as it is now called.

107 In this manner did this imperious Republick glory in inſulting crowned Heads, by treating them with Haughtineſs and Contempt. So far as we can judge of it, by *Diodorus Siculus*'s Account, in the Fragment that remains of his 31*ſt* Book, the regal Dignity was debaſed with Inſolence, in the Perſon of the moſt powerful King in *Europe*; and one of the Succeſſors of *Alexander the Great*, was thrown down from the higheſt Point of Grandeur, to the loweſt Abyſs of Miſery. He had already been deprived of his Dominions, led in triumph with Ignominy, and made the Sport of a proud People; and thereby ſeemed to have exhauſted the Vengeance of his Conquerors. But they thought all this too little to be done to a Prince, who had dared to declare himſelf an Enemy to the *Roman* Name. They added Barbarity to theſe Abuſes. By a Decree of the Senate, this vanquiſhed King was loaded with Chains, dragged to a Priſon in *Alba*, and thrown into a ſubterraneous Dungeon, among Filth and Inſects, the Stench of which was not to be borne. In the Horrors of this ſtinking Place, hitherto reſerved only for the moſt notorious Villains, *Perſes* ſpent ſeven Days, among Criminals under Condemnation. Where being deſtitute of all Relief, and in want of the greateſt Neceſſaries of Life, he would ſoon have been ſtarved to Death, if his Companions in Miſery had not ſuffered him to ſhare the poor Pittance that was given them for their Subſiſtence. The Sight of a Monarch, thus ſunk to nothing, and reduced to the Condition of the moſt infamous of all Men, drew Tears even from the Eyes of theſe Profligates. They ſeemed to forget their own Miſery, to attend to the Misfortunes of *Perſes*. Some adviſed him to hang himſelf; others gave him a Dagger, and offered to lend him an Hand to put an end to his Shame and Miſery by a ſpeedy Death. But the love of Life made him ſtill look on Death with Dread; or perhaps, he had ſtill ſome glimmering Hopes left, in the midſt of all his Diſgraces.

Paulus Æmilius, who was naturally inclined to Clemency, could not hear an Account given of this baſe Treatment of his Captive, without Horror; and he complained bitterly of it to the Senate. He threatened the Republick with the Anger of the Gods, and made them afraid, leſt the moſt direful Calamities ſhould overtake Men, whoſe Proſperity had made them thus inſolent and barbarous. And the Senators could not hold out againſt ſuch juſt Remonſtrances. *Perſes* was taken out of his Dungeon, and treated with leſs Rigour for the future. Nevertheleſs, according to the Hiſtorian, from whom we have borrowed theſe Circumſtances, the Children of *Perſes*, whoſe Innocence rendered them worthy of a better Fate, were ſhut up with him in the Priſon of *Alba*. But he does not ſay, that theſe young Princes had been condemned to periſh in that dark Hole, to which their Father had been confined. And indeed, it is not credible, that the *Romans* ſhould treat them with ſuch exceſſive Inhumanity.

108 *Plutarch* aſſures us, That two of *Perſes*'s Children died in Priſon; and That only *Philip* their eldeſt Brother ſurvived his Father. But others give him the Name of *Alexander*. According to *Zonaras*, the King of *Macedon* had the Misfortune to loſe two of his Sons, who died before him. The youngeſt of the three led a private Life in Obſcurity.

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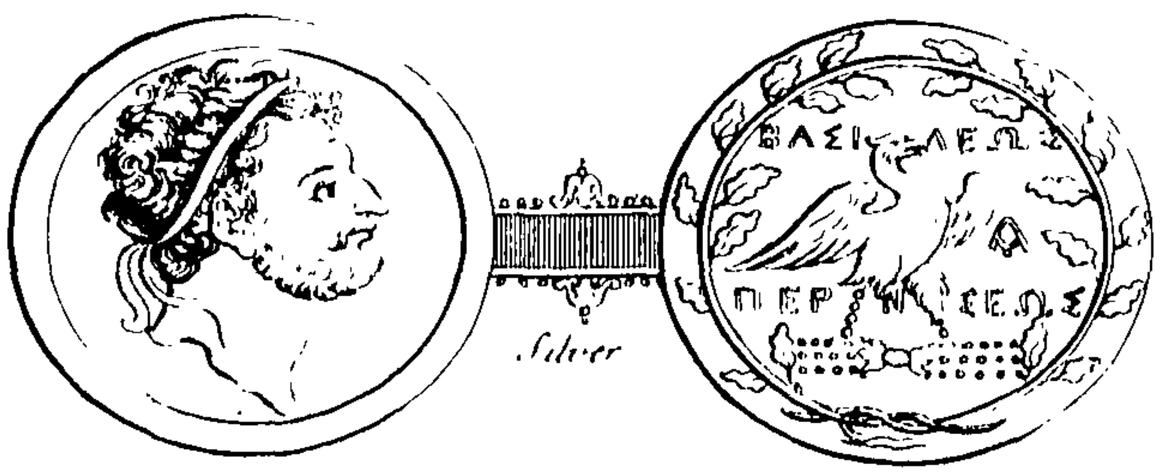
that as it will, *Rome* honoured him after his Death with a fine Funeral. The *Quæstor* was sent to *Alba* on purpose to order it, and defray the Expences of it, in the Name of the Publick. And the Prince his Son, who survived him, was a yet more remarkable Instance of the Freaks of *Fortune*. This Descendant from so many Kings, was at last reduced, after a long Captivity, to get his Bread, sometimes by doing the Business of a [109] Secretary, and sometimes that of a Turner. He is said to have excelled in those little Works, which required a very fine Hand. Thus the Race of the Kings of *Macedon* was entirely extinguished, by the Misconduct of a Prince, who made it Matter of Sport, to treat his Religion with Contempt, assassinate Kings, and oppress his People. He was both ambitious and covetous; but had not the Art of making his Riches serviceable to the Purposes of his Ambition. Though no great Officer, he knew enough of War, to maintain it with Advantage against the *Roman Consuls*. His Policy was contained within a very narrow Compass. He knew the Means of effectually humbling *Rome*; but his Avarice hindered him from pursuing them. In a Word, being more enterprising than truly brave, after he had put all the East into a Commotion, he escaped too soon out of the Battel he lost, and chose rather to be led Captive to *Rome*, than die an honourable Death, according to the Principles of Pagan Morality.

Year of *ROME* DXC. T. Sempronius Gracchus, M' Juventius Thalna, Consuls.

§. XXVIII. About the time that *Perses* [110] died, News was brought to *Rome* of the Death of *Cassius Longinus*, one of the *Consuls* for the Year. But this News caused no Alteration in publick Affairs. As the *Consular* Year was ready to expire, no other *Consul* was chosen in the room of the Deceased. But *Manlius* presided at the great Elections for new Magistrates; and in these *Comitia*, *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, lately returned from the Eastern Coasts which he had visited, was promoted to the *Consulate*. The Collegue given him was *M' Juventius*, surnamed *Thalna*. A new War begun with the Republick by some rebellious Islanders, a little altered the Appointments of the *Consuls*. For some time past, *Liguria* and *Cisalpine Gaul* had been divided between them by Lot. *Rome* had no Enemies any where else. But now the *Corsicans* were in Motion, and the Sedition they raised was considerable enough, for the Republick to think it proper to send thither one of her Heads with a *Consular* Army. The fitting out this new Armament was very agreeable to the Policy of the Senate. The *Roman* Fleets had continued useless in the Ports of *Italy*, ever since the Conquest of *Macedon*. And it was much to be feared, that both the Sea Officers and their Marines would languish away in that Inactivity, which had been so much dreaded for the Land-Armies. *Rome* therefore equipped some Ships for transporting the Troops, which the *Consul Juventius* was to carry into the Island of *Corsica*. As to his Collegue *Tib. Gracchus*, the Lots condemned him to make a fruitless Campaign in *Gaul* and *Liguria*. Nevertheless *Gracchus* was a great Man, already distinguished by one

Plut. in Gracchis.



[109] *Pliny* commends this Son of *Perses*, the last Descendant of so many Kings. He cultivated his Mind, says this Author, with the Study of Letters, and discharged the Office of Secretary or *Greffier* to the Magistrates with Honour. A melancholy Resource for an unfortunate Prince, whose Birth entituled him to a Throne.

[110] The Ancients have transmitted down to us the Figure of this Prince, who was so famous for his Misfortunes, and so much talked of in History. We see his Head on the Silver Medal above, wearing the Royal Fillet. On the reverse is the Figure of an Eagle, the Bird consecrated to *Jupiter*. And this Monument agrees with the Testimony of *Livy*. He says, That *Perses* had formed a Design of building a fine Temple at *Athens*, in honour to *Jupiter Olympius*; and That he caused the Foundation of it to be laid, with a Royal Magnificence, worthy of the Majesty of the King of the Gods.

Consulate,

Conſulate, and two Triumphs. He was very happy in a Wife, the renowned *Cornelia*, the Daughter of *Scipio Africanus*. Hiſtory has celebrated the Memory of this famous *Roman* Lady, more for that ſuperior Merit, which diſtinguiſhed her from the reſt of her own Sex, than for having been the Mother of the *Gracchi*, who will hereafter furniſh us with great Events for our Hiſtory.

Year of ROME DXC. T. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS, M' JUVENTIUS THALNA, Conſuls.

INDEED if rightly underſtood, neither of the Wars which the *Conſuls* were charged with, was more than a bare Amuſement. The Republick had no important Affair on her Hands, except in the Eaſt. There indeed, her Apprehenſions of the Engagements between *Eumenes* and *Antiochus* were not removed. The Senate were ſtill afraid, ſhe would be obliged to ſend into *Aſia* ſome great Armies at an immenſe Expence; which would have been abſolutely neceſſary, if the *Roman* Dominion there had been diſturbed by Plots. In order therefore to diſcover the real Intentions of the Kings of *Pergamus*, and *Syria*; the *Conſcript Fathers* nominated four Ambaſſadors, two to go to *Eumenes*, and two to *Antiochus*. They who viſited the Court of *Pergamus*, were *C. Sulpicius Gallus*, and *M. Sergius*. The Murmurs of *Achaia*, and the Differences between the *Megalopolitans* and *Lacedæmonians*, on account of their Boundaries, ſerved for a Pretence for the Deputation to *Greece*. The Commiſſion to viſit the Court of *Syria* was given to *Q. Memmius* and *T. Manilius*. The four Ambaſſadors embarked; and when *Sulpicius* and *Sergius* came to *Achaia*, they committed great Violences there, which made them odious. They favoured *Callicrates* and his Party in every thing. They referred to the Arbitration of this Man, (who was become the Execration of *Greece*) the Deciſion between *Megalopolis* and *Lacedæmon*. They granted the *Ætolians*, who wanted to be ſeparated from the Canton of the *Achæans*, leave to ſend to *Rome* to obtain that Separation. And there, they found the Senate diſpoſed to humble *Achaia*, and weaken its Forces. *Sulpicius* and his Collegue ſollicited likewiſe many other *Achæan* Cities to break off from the Confederacy, and not appear at the General Diet. So that theſe Deputies were ſo far from abating the Evil, that they encreaſed it.

2 Mac. 11. *Pauſ. B.* 1, & 7.

FROM *Greece*, *Sulpicius* came to the Kingdom of *Pergamus*; and here the Subjection of foreign Kings to the Power of *Rome*, appeared in the ſtrongeſt Light. The *Roman* Deputy publiſhed an Edict, which was ſent through all the Dominions ſubject to the King, giving all *Eumenes*'s Subjects leave, to bring their Complaints againſt their King, to *Pergamus*. The *Gymnaſium* in the Capital was choſen for the Hall for this new Inquiſition; and the *Roman* Deputy erected his Tribunal, and ſate there. The Multitude of Malecontents that came thither to depoſe againſt their King was numberleſs. For ten Days together, *Sulpicius* heard the Complaints, which they came in Crouds to bring him; and that the more willingly, becauſe the Inquiſitor encouraged them by a favourable Reception. He exaggerated the ſlighteſt Accuſations, and put a bad Conſtruction even upon Trifles. This ſhewed the Character of *Sulpicius Gallus*. He was an able Aſtronomer, but very vain, and meanly gloried in fomenting Enmities againſt Perſons of Diſtinction. The People of *Pergamus* conceived Hopes, from this Step of the *Romans*, that many illegal Things would be done. The Example of *Macedon*'s being turned into a Republick, made a great Number of theſe inconſtant *Aſiaticks* wiſh for a Change in their Government. But all theſe Hopes, all theſe Accuſations, and all this Buſtle of *Sulpicius*, came to nothing.

Polyb. apud Vales.

§. XXIX. THE Conduct of the two Deputies ſent to *Syria*, was more prudent than that of *Sulpicius* and his Collegue. *Memmius* and *Manilius* landed firſt in *Egypt*, which they found involved in freſh Troubles; but ſtill a Friend to the *Romans*, and blindly obedient to their Orders. The two Brothers had again diſputed for the Throne, and the younger had expelled the elder. The latter being forced to retreat, was fled for Refuge to the common Reſource of all the Unfortunate. He came to *Rome*, almoſt without any Attendants. When he arrived in *Italy*, he concealed his Birth and Dignity, and walked from the Port where he landed to the Capital of the World. Perhaps he did ſo, out of Regard to the Law, which forbad all Kings entring into *Rome*, unleſs called thither. Or perhaps he affected this humble Appearance to raiſe the Compaſſion of the Senate. But be that as it will, *Demetrius*, the King of *Syria*'s Nephew, who had long reſided at *Rome* as an Hoſtage, had Notice, I know not how, of the Arrival of *Ptolomy Philometor*,

Val. Max. B. 5. *c.* 1. *Diod. Sic. apud Valeſ.*

Year of *ROME* DXC.

T. Sempronius Gracchus, M' Juventius Thalna, Conſul.

Philometor, King of *Egypt*, in *Italy*, and the deplorable State in which this Monarch was going to appear at *Rome*. The *Syrian* was affected with the Misfortunes of ſo great a Prince; and fearing leſt the regal Dignity ſhould be too much debaſed by this Step of *Ptolomy*, *Demetrius* went to meet him, and found him near *Rome* on Foot, and covered with Duſt. The *Syrian* embraced him, careſſed him, put a Crown on his Head, and offered him an Horſe finely equipped, which he had brought on Purpoſe for his Uſe. But the King had his Reaſons for not accepting the Offers of the Prince, and entreated him to keep the Secret. So that *Philometor* entered *Rome*, without any State, or Ceremony, and went to lodge with a Painter of *Alexandria*, his Subject. But the Arrival of the King of *Egypt* was not long unknown to the Senate; and they, as ſoon as informed of it, ſent to compliment *Philometor*, and reproach him for having concealed his Arrival. *If we did not ſend a* Quæſtor *to ſupply you with all Neceſſaries*, ſaid they, *the Neglect is wholly chargeable on your ſelf*; *And now you have nothing to do but to fix the Day for your Reception. The Senate will aſſemble to receive you, and pay you all the Honours due to your Dignity.* Accordingly, the King of *Egypt* was that very Day introduced into the Aſſembly, who heard his Complaints againſt his Brother, gave him Hopes of a ſpeedy Reſtoration, aſſigned him a convenient Lodging, and ordered a *Quæſtor* to defray all his Expences during his Stay.

All this paſſed at *Rome*, whilſt *Memmius* and *Mamilius* advanced towards *Syria*. They were upon the Road when they received the News, that the Buſineſs of their Embaſſy was at an end. They were ſent from *Rome*, on purpoſe to watch *Antiochus*, and ſift his Conduct; and conſequently the Death of this unfortunate King, put an end to all the Suſpicions, whether true or falſe, which the Republick had entertained of the Intrigues of *Eumenes* and *Antiochus*. The manner of the King of *Syria*'s Death is but imperfectly related by prophane Authors. But the ſacred Writers will ſupply that Defect, and make our Account of it indiſputable. The Hand of *The Living God* fell heavily at laſt on the Prophaner of his Temple, the Tyrant of his faithful *Iſraelites*, and the Deſtroyer of his Worſhip. His two laſt Expeditions were founded on two remarkable Acts of Impiety, one againſt the true God, the other againſt the Gods of his own Country. *Antiochus* had heard, on one hand, That *Judas Maccabæus* had Thoughts of rebuilding the only Sanctuary in which Sacrifices were offered to the true God; and on the other, That there was at [111] *Elymais*, or *Perſepolis*, a fine Temple conſecrated to *Diana*, which the *Perſians* had enriched with their Preſents. And this impious Prince, who adored nothing but his Treaſures, reſolved at the ſame time to ſtrip the Remains of the holy Nation, and carry off the Riches of the Temple of *Perſepolis*. To this end, he divided his Forces into two Bodies, and ſent *Lyſias* his Relation, to whom he committed the Care of his Son, afterwards ſurnamed *Eupator*, at the Head of an Army of ſixty five thouſand Men, to fight the brave *Maccabæus*. *Judas*, full of

111 This City, which is called *Elymais*, in the ſixth Chapter of the firſt Book of *Maccabees*, is called *Perſepolis* in the ninth Chapter of the ſecond Book. The Authors who ſpeak of it follow the *Genius* of their Nations; that is, call Countries, Provinces, and Cities, by Names taken from their own Languages. Thus in the Inſtance before us, the *Hebrews* called the ſame City *Elymais*, which the *Greeks* called *Perſepolis*; and theſe two Names have been indifferently uſed by prophane Authors. This ancient City had been utterly ruined by *Alexander the Great*, about ſixty Years before. But it is evident that it had been rebuilt on its old Ruins, ſince it was in being in the time of *Ptolomy*. This ancient Geographer places it in the Province of *Elymais*, on the Banks of the River *Rhogomanes*, which diſcharges itſelf into *The Perſian Gulph*. *Elam*, or *Elymus*, the Son of *Shem*, who is acknowledged to be the Founder of *Elymais*, had given it his own Name, which afterwards became likewiſe the Name of the Province. It is not doubted but this Capital was the ſame Place as *Suſa*, one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in *Perſia*. We have a Proof of it in the eighth Chapter of *Daniel*; who conſiders *Suſa* as a City of the Province of *Elam*, or *Elymais*. *Cum eſſem in Suſis Caſtro, quod eſt in Ælam regione.* And there is a Paſſage in *Pliny*, which is deciſive in favour of this Opinion. He ſays in expreſs Terms, that *Suſa*, and the Temple of *Diana*, the moſt auguſt and ſumptuous Edifice of the Province, ſtood on the Banks of the River *Eulæus*, which *Daniel* calls *Ulai*. It is the ſame which *M. Thevenot* now calls *Caron*, in his *Perſian Travels*. *Polybius* alſo, *Joſephus*, *Porphyry*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, as quoted by St. *Jerom*, ſpeak in the ſame manner of the Situation of *Suſa*, and the neighbouring Temple of *Diana*, as *Pliny* does. The Wealth of *Perſepolis*, and more eſpecially the Treaſures and coſtly Ornaments of the Temple which *Alexander the Great* had formerly enriched with his Preſents, had raiſed the Avarice of *Antiochus*. *Appian* is the only Author who ſays (in his Hiſtory of the *Syrian* Wars) That the Temple was dedicated to *Venus*; and That *Antiochus*, after he had forced it Sword in Hand, plundered it of the immenſe Riches, which the *Perſians* had at all times heaped up in it, out of a pious regard to Religion.

Confidence in *The Lord of Hosts*, opposed the *Syrian* Troops with only a flying Camp of about ten thousand Men, ill armed, and little inured to Discipline; but defeated them. The Rout of *Lysias*, and his Flight to *Antioch*, gave the *Jews* time to breath; and they retook *Jerusalem*, purified the Temple, and restored the Worship of the true God.

Year of ROME DXC. T. Sempronius Gracchus, M' Juventius Thalna, Consul. 2 *Macc.* 9. *Joseph. B.* 12. *c.* 13.

In the mean time *Antiochus* himself, had already passed the *Euphrates* with a numerous Army, and dispersed the Forces of *Artaxias* [112], one of the most powerful Kings of *Armenia*. The *Syrian* Army had also appeared before *Persepolis*, and entered the City; but had been driven out again by the Garrison jointly with the Inhabitants, and had not been able to take the Citadel, or plunder the Temple of *Diana*. *Antiochus* was therefore full of Rage, at being disappointed of the Spoils of a Temple, whose Riches had drawn him thither; and to increase his Sorrows, he received Advice, that in *Palestine Lysias* had been beaten, *Jerusalem* reconquered, and the *Jewish* Ceremonies restored. Instantly therefore he mounts his Chariot; abandons *Persepolis*, and the Temple of *Diana*; and turns towards *Judæa*, to make War with the God adored there. The impious Wretch did not sufficiently know the Power of the Sovereign Lord of the Universe whom he insulted. But when he had filled up the Measure of his Iniquities, *The Lord* wounded him invisibly; and his Bowels were torn in pieces by racking Pains. Nor was this all. As he was hastening forwards with great Precipitation, to vent his Rage on the *Jews*, he fell from his Chariot, and was much bruised. Upon this he was obliged to keep his Bed, and was more sick in Mind than in Body. His Grief increased his bodily Disorders, and the Fear of Death seized him. *To what a Condition*, said he to his Friends, *am I reduced! What a change of Fortune have I undergone! Alas! I now remember with Grief the Calamities I brought on* Jerusalem. *I am but too sensible of the Vengeance of the God whom I have provoked; and it shall be our whole Business now to appease him. I will restore the* Jews, *whom I have persecuted, their ancient Liberty. I will make them as happy and independent as the City of* Athens. *I will re-establish the Temple of the true God, in as much Lustre as ever. I will restore its sacred Vessels, and increase the Number of them. Nay I will embrace the Law of the Circumcised my self, and zealously preach it to others.* Thus spake the Profligate, whose Repentance was only verbal; and he did not obtain Mercy, though he sought it with Tears. The Stench which came from his Body, made him insupportable even to himself. He ordered himself to be carried to *Babylon* in a Chair; but before he arrived there, he died at *Tabes* [113] in *Persia*, near *Ecbatana*. Thus ended the Reign of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, a Monarch, *illustrious* in nothing, but in Name. Prince *Antiochus* his Son, was neareſt at Hand to succeed him; for *Demetrius* his Nephew was yet an Hostage at *Rome*. Young *Antiochus*, who is said to have been but nine Years old, was then under the Government of *Lysias*, to whose Care the late King had entrusted him; and the Years of his Reign were computed from that time, that is, from the Death of his Father.

D. Hieron. in Daniel. 2. *App. in Syriac.* *N.* 117. *Justin B.* 34.

112 *Polybius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Appian*, all give us an Account of *Artaxias the First*. He had commanded the Armies of *Antiochus the Great*, in the Provinces of *Asia*, which belonged to the Crown of *Syria*; and by the Consent of this Prince, he made himself Sovereign of a State in *Upper Armenia*: whilst *Thariades* also, another General of the same King, established himself a Kingdom in *Lower Armenia*, with the Consent of his old Master. After the Defeat of *Antiochus*, they both earnestly sought the Alliance of the *Roman* Republick; and under this powerful Protection, they reigned peaceably enough. Nevertheless *Antiochus Epiphanes*, or *The Illustrious*, made War with *Armenia*. The Troops of *Artaxias* were cut in pieces, and he himself could not make his Escape from his Conqueror. But it is probable that his Captivity was not long, but ended with the Life of *Epiphanes*. At least we see him soon after appear again in his Dominions. The Advantages he gained over *Mythrobuzanes* the Son of *Thariades*, forced this young Prince to fly for Refuge to *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia*; and the latter constantly refused to comply with the Solicitations of *Artaxias*, who would fain have prevailed on him to destroy the fugitive Prince. So far was he from being seduced with the flattering Hopes this perfidious Prince gave him, of sharing the Provinces of *Lower Armenia* with him; that he had the Generosity to reestablish *Mythrobuzanes* in his Throne, at the Head of an Army.

113 *Polybius* and *Porphyry*, as quoted by St. *Jerom*, agree with the sacred Text, as to the Place where the impious *Antiochus* ended his Days. It is plain, from 2 *Mac.* ix, That *Tabes* stood in a mountainous Country; And such among the *Medes* was the Province of *Ecbatana*, the Capital of which was a City of the same Name, subject to the *Persians*. *Castaldus* thinks that the Situation of the latter, agrees well enough with that of *Tabes*. But *Niger* makes it to have the same Situation as *Ispahan*.

Year of *ROME* DXC.

T. Sempronius Gracchus, M' Juventius Thalna, Conſuls.

§. XXX. The two *Roman* Deputies *Memmius* and *Manilius* received this News, when they were upon the Road to *Antioch*. *Judas* thought he might make uſe of the Mediation of the two Ambaſſadors with the new King and his Guardian *Lyſias*, to his Advantage. The latter, who had been beaten no leſs than three times, by the invincible *Maccabæus*, began to reverence the Arm of the Almighty. He had even made ſome Advances towards a Peace, and had granted the Holy Nation the Liberty of practiſing their own religious Ceremonies, and living according to their own Laws. Nevertheleſs the High Prieſt, and at the ſame time General of the *Jewiſh* Armies, did not neglect the Interceſſion of the two *Romans*. He knew that their Republick was predominant in *Egypt* and *Syria*, and that their Recommendation would ſtrengthen the Peace, which he had not been able to obtain, but by Force. *Judas* therefore wrote a very civil and ſubmiſſive Letter to *Memmius* and *Manilius*, in the Name of his People. The two *Romans* were not ignorant of the Valour of the brave *Maccabæus*, and admired it the more, as they did not allow it to be ſupernatural. They put the Exploits of the *Iſraelitiſh* Hero upon a Level with thoſe of the moſt illuſtrious *Romans*. They returned an Anſwer in writing to the *Jewiſh* People, which Letter is yet in being, and preſerved more faithfully by the ſacred Writers, than the prophane Hiſtorians. It was this. Q. Memmius *and* T. Manilius *ſend greeting unto the People of the* Jews. *Whatſoever* Lyſias *the King's Couſin has granted, therewith we alſo are well pleaſed. But touching ſuch things as he judged to be referred to the King; after you have adviſed thereof, ſend one forthwith that may declare as it is convenient for you; for we are now going to* Antioch. *Therefore ſend ſome with Speed, that we may know what is your Mind. Farewel.* *Judea* probably owed her Tranquillity to the Recommendation, or if you will, the Orders, that the Ambaſſadors of *Rome* brought with them. *Judas* began to reſtore Agriculture again; and for ſome time had no Hoſtilities committed againſt him, on the part of the *Syrian*, but through the Avarice of the Governors, who bordered upon his Country.

2 *Mac.* 11. *Ver.* 34---38.

The News of the Death of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and the Advancement of young *Eupator* to the Throne of *Syria*, could not be brought into *Italy*, till ſome Months after the Event. But when it came, it rouſed the Ambition of *Demetrius*, who had been an Hoſtage at *Rome* theſe twelve Years, and brought up from his Infancy among the *Romans*. His Right to the Crown of *Syria* was indiſputable; and he ſtrongly repreſented it to the Senate, to whom he was introduced. Conſcript Fathers, ſaid he, *the ſame Deſtiny which formerly deprived* Syria *of* Selecucus, *my Father, has juſt now taken from her my Uncle* Antiochus. *They ſucceeded one another in the Throne immediately, and each left a Son, a Minor. I was almoſt as old as young* Antiochus *is now; When upon the Death of my Father, I was judged incapable of governing ſo ſoon ſo great a State. After this I was brought from my own Country to this Place as an Hoſtage; and have here had the Happineſs to grow up under your Eyes, and form my ſelf by your Examples. All the Senators of* Rome *are Fathers to me, and all their Children Brothers. Nature never made a ſtricter Union, than my Heart has contracted for you, through the Education that you have given me. I am become entirely* Roman, *and if I fill the Throne of my Anceſtors, ſhall only ſit there to diſpenſe your Laws. How glorious will it be for You, and how advantageous for* Syria, *to ſee two of your Pupils ſucceed one another, and make the Virtues of* Rome, *reverenced at* Antioch! *Can you then in Equity ſuffer a Child to uſurp my Rights, and permit my Reſidence among you to be prejudicial to me? I am informed that* Antiochus *is already proclaimed King, and has taken the Surname of* Eupator. *My Abſence alone could authoriſe his Friends to give him a Diadem, which by Right of Birth, and Order of Nature, can belong only to me. I am the Son of a King, and of the eldeſt of the two Brothers, who have ſucceſſively reigned in* Syria. *There is the ſame Objection againſt the Promotion of young* Antiochus *to the Throne after his Father, as there formerly was againſt my ſucceeding mine. He is too young to ſuſtain the Weight of publick Affairs. He has no Right to the Crown, but what he derives from* Epiphanes; *and* Epiphanes *himſelf held the Scepter only in truſt. Upon his Death therefore my Right revives; and I am now able to bear the Burden of the State. I am three and twenty Years old, and have learnt the Art of reigning from You. Let this*

Antiochus, *who is yet a Child, be now brought to* Rome *for an Hoſtage. He is docile at nine Years old; his Youth will make him very ſuſceptible of your Inſtructions. And give me leave,* Conſcript Fathers, *to go and take Poſſeſſion of my Right, or contend for it with the Point of my Sword.*

Year of ROME DXC. T. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS, M' JUVENTIUS THALNA, Conſuls.

THIS was a very juſt Demand; nevertheleſs the Senators were divided in Opinion about it. The moſt equitable of them thought they could not keep *Demetrius* any longer there, ſince it was tying up his Hands, and debarring him of Acceſs to the Throne. But the leſs ſcrupulous, upon Principles of refined Policy, and Motives of Intereſt, declared themſelves of an Opinion which was not ſo juſt. The Love of their Country ſo much engroſſed the Hearts of the *Romans*, that it often made them forget the Principles of ſtrict Juſtice. And there were now ſome Politicians in the Senate, who remonſtrated, how formidable a King of *Syria*, in the Flower of his Age, of an active penetrating Mind, and a Man of Ambition, might be to the Republick; and how much it would be in his Power, to raiſe Troubles in the Eaſt, which was already in Motion, ſince the Conqueſt of *Macedon*. *Why don't we rather ſuffer a Child, who is yet under Guardianſhip, to tremble on an ill-ſettled Throne, and ſeek for Protectors at* Rome! *Nay, let us do better. Let us make* Antiochus *the Ward of the Republick, and appoint him Guardians to govern his Dominions, in the Name, and under the Direction, of the* Roman *Senate.* And the moſt unjuſt Opinion immediately prevailed. Three Men of conſummate Experience were nominated by the Senate, to go and give Law to *Syria*, under Pretence of aſſiſting and adviſing the new King, during his Infancy. The chief of theſe Governors of a foreign Kingdom was *Cn. Octavius*, a prudent Man, who had diſcharged the *Conſulate* with Honour. His Aſſiſtants were *Sp. Lucretius*, and *L. Aurelius*. What is ſurpriſing, is this; that the Senate ſhould paſs, and the People confirm ſuch a Decree, without the Conſent or Privity of the *Syrians*, who had not ſent to the Republick, to deſire any Guardians for their King. So deſpotick a Power did the *Romans* aſſume even over Monarchs! *Juſtin. B 34.*

NOR were the Senate content with only ſtifling the juſt Pretenſions of *Demetrius* to the Crown of his Father, and ſettling it on a Child to whom it did not belong; they alſo gave the Commiſſioners, which were to ſail for *Syria*, ſuch Inſtructions, as tended to weaken the Kingdom of their Ward. *Rome* ordered them to burn all the Ships with Decks, which the King of *Syria* had, as ſoon as they ſhould be in Poſſeſſion of the Guardianſhip; to hamſtring all his Elephants; and in a Word, by all means poſſible, to weaken the Forces of this powerful Kingdom. They were likewiſe ordered, to viſit *Macedon* in their Way, and there put a Stop to ſome Diſturbances which were unavoidable after a Revolution: And laſtly, To have an Eye to *Galatia* and *Cappadocia*; and if it was poſſible, to ſettle the Differences of the two *Ptolomies*, who were ſtill diſputing for *Egypt*. After this, *Octavius* and his Collegues ſet out without Delay, highly honoured to be appointed Regents of the moſt powerful State in *Aſia*. *Polyb. in Legat. N.* 107.

§. XXXI. WHILST the Senate was thus diſpoſing of the Affairs of the *Levant* with an abſolute Authority, the *Conſuls* for the Year were making War, one in the Iſland of *Corſica*, and the other in *Ciſalpine Gaul* and *Liguria*. *Juventius* gained conſiderable Advantages over the rebellious Iſlanders. He wrote an Account of them to *Rome*; and the Senate, in his Abſence, ordered ſome Days of publick Prayers, by way of Thankſgiving to the Gods, for his Victories. This News was brought to the *Conſul*, when he was offering Sacrifice in his Iſland; and the Joy he felt at reading the Letters, which brought him an Account of the Honours that had been done him, or perhaps the Fumes of the Pan of Coals, which he had ordered to be brought for burning Incenſe there, affected him ſo powerfully, that he died upon the Spot. His Year was near expiring, and his Place could not be filled up: So that *Gracchus* was recalled to the City, and preſided at the great Elections. This *Conſul* was alſo an *Augur*, and valued himſelf upon underſtanding all the Myſteries and Ceremonies of the *Augurate*. But nevertheleſs, he committed in the *Comitia* ſuch Faults againſt the *Augural* Laws, as had ill Conſequences. *Plin. B. 7. c.* 53. *Val. Max. B.* 9. *c.* 12.

IN the firſt Place, the *Conſul* propoſed to the aſſembled People *Scipio Naſica*, and *Marcius Figulus*, as Candidates. The *Tribe* which was firſt to vote had been ſettled by Lot; and it happened that the firſt Man in it who voted for the two Candidates, inſtantly fell down dead. Then religious Scruples interrupted the Proceedings,

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ceedings, and it was feared, that this sudden Accident was a Testimony of a Disapprobation of their Proceedings on the part of Heaven. The President brought the Affair before the Senate, and the Senate determined, that the *Aruspices* should be consulted. These declared that there had been secret Injustice in the Proceedings of the *Consul*, and that the Gods had shewn it by this sudden Punishment. This Opinion therefore exasperated *Gracchus*, and made him break out into Invectives against the College, which almost wholly consisted of *Hetrurians*. *What then*, said he, *am I suspected of Injustice? I who am a* Consul, *an* Augur, *and have done nothing, but according to the Rules of* Auguries? *It is you*, Conscript Fathers, *who ought to judge me, and not a Company of ignorant* Hetrurians, *who are mere Barbarians!* Upon this the Senate took Cognizance of the Matter again; and they made no Alteration in the Disposition of the *Comitia*, which continued the Election. In the mean time, as the People were returning from the *Field of Mars*, where they were assembled, to the Senate, and back again from the Senate to the *Field of Mars*, the *Consul* twice passed the Space between the Walls, which was called *Pomærium*; and when he came to the Place of the Assembly, he neither changed his Tent, nor observed the Heavens again to take new *Auspices*. Nevertheless these were established Ceremonies, but the *Consul* did not attend to them. The *Tribes* continued to give their Suffrages, and *Nasica* and *Marcius* were elected *Consuls*. They did not suspect that there was any Defect in their Election; and they set out for their Provinces. *Gracchus*, the late *Consul*, was ordered to finish the War in *Corsica*, where his Collegue had died. He received the Title of *Pro Consul*, commanded the Army, went into *Sardinia*, and pacified both Islands. At his Leisure, he attentively read over the Ceremonial, in which the Rites of the *Augurate* were recorded, and there discovered the Faults he had committed, when he presided at the Elections. This filled him with Scruples, and he thought it necessary to communicate them to the *Augural* College, of which he was a Member. It was an important Affair, and tended to nothing less, than the Deposition of the two *Consuls* for the Year. The Matter was discussed with Care; and this Tribunal, which was respected in a very different manner from that of the *Aruspices*, pronounced, That there were essential Defects in point of Religion, in the Election of *Nasica* and *Marcius*. They were recalled from their Provinces; and with a ready Submission to the Decision of the *Augurs*, they suffered the *Fasces* to be taken from them, and given to others. *Rome* came to a new Election, and promoted *P. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus*, to the *Consulate*. If there was a great deal of Superstition in the Ceremonies required to make the Assemblies of the *Comitia* valid, it may be affirmed, that there was still more Policy. The Assemblies of so numerous and so restless a People, could not be put under too great Restraints, with respect to Religion. The Fear of the Gods was a Check, which both restrained the Populace, and moderated the ambitious Enterprizes of the Great. As to *Nasica*, it was no Surprise to any one, to see him resign a Dignity without Opposition, which had been bestowed upon him contrary to Rule, though without his Knowledge. He was the Son of the famous *Scipio Nasica*; who for his Probity, had been pronounced the most virtuous of the *Romans* by a publick Decree; and had been deemed worthy to receive the Statue of *The Mother of the Gods*. *Marcius* followed the Example of his Collegue, and the Change was made without any Disturbance.

Year of *ROME* DXCI. P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, C Marcius Figulus, Consuls. *Cic. Epist. ad Quint. Fratr B. 2.*

Year of *ROME* DXCI. P Cornelius Lentulus, Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus, Consuls.

We cannot be sure, whether *Lentulus* and *Ænobarbus* continued a whole Year in Possession of a *Consulate*, or only compleated what was wanting of the Year of their Predecessors. Which is another Proof, that it is not a sure way to make the *Consular* Years equivalent to Years of the World. But be that as it will, the Senate was now wholly taken up with foreign Affairs. *Octavius* and his Collegues who were appointed Guardians for the King of *Syria* arrived in the *Levant*, and probably pacified *Macedon*. At least we know that they passed through *Cappadocia*, in their Way to the Dominions of *Antiochus*. The Kingdom of *Cappadocia* was then governed by a young Prince, of the same Name as his Father *Ariarathes*, who died the last Year. As soon as he was seated in the Throne, the young King had nothing more at Heart, than to gain the good Will of the *Romans*, and acknowledge the Sovereignty of a Republick, which extended her Dominion in *Asia*, over Princes who had not felt the Force of her Arms. *Ariarathes* therefore sent

Polyb. in Legat. n. 109 and Diod. Sicul.

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ſent an Embaſſy to *Rome*, where his Ambaſſadors were graciouſly received. The *Romans* remembered the gracious Reception his Father had formerly given to *Tiberius Gracchus*, and more lately to *M' Junius*, in their Paſſage thro' his Dominions. On the other hand, the mutual Friendſhip between *Rome* and *Cappadocia*, which grew in Strength daily, procured the three Deputies, ſent by *Rome* to *Syria*, a very favourable Reception from the *Cappadocian*. *Ariarathes* [114] declared his Joy at the Guardianſhip they were going to aſſume over young *Antiochus*, his near Relation, and the Nephew of his Mother *Antiochis*. Nevertheleſs, as he knew the Temper of the *Syrians*, and ſuſpected the Intrigues of *Lyſias*, he offered *Octavius* to conduct him into *Syria* with an Army, or to put the Army under his own Conduct, to prevent the Inſurrections of an untractable People. Indeed nothing could be more audacious than the Attempt of the three Deputies. They were going of their own Authority, without any Invitation from the King, or the *Syrian* Nation, to make themſelves Governors of a Kingdom, which, after all, was ſubject to no Body but her own Sovereign. *Ariarathes* therefore preſſed *Octavius* to accept of a Guard at leaſt; but he had too much Confidence in the Majeſty of the *Roman* Name. He thought it inviolable all the World over, and therefore he and his Collegues, without any other Guard, than what had attended them from *Rome*, ventured to croſs *Cappadocia*, and enter *Syria*.

It is eaſy to judge what Jealouſies the Arrival of the three *Romans* muſt have raiſed in the Heart of *Lyſias*. He was related to the King, was of the Blood of the *Seleucidæ*, and could not bear to ſee Foreigners come ſo far, to deprive him of an Adminiſtration, which he thought his Right, on many Accounts. Nevertheleſs he had, beſides the *Romans*, a Competitor in his own Country. *Epiphanes* had, a little before his Death, ſent for one of the Officers of his Court, named *Philip*; had committed the Guardianſhip and Education of his Son to him; and in Proof of this his laſt Will, had put into his Hands, the Crown, Royal Robes, and his Royal Ring. *Lyſias*, on the other hand, had made himſelf Maſter of the Perſon of the young King, and had put himſelf at the Head of the Troops. Beſides, *Philip* his Rival was fled into *Egypt*, and there waited for an Opportunity to ſupport his Right to the Regency. This was the Situation of Affairs, when *Octavius* entered *Syria* with the extravagant Pretenſions, and with all the Pride, of his Republick. He had fancied, That every thing would give way before him, at the bare ſound of his Voice; and That *Lyſias* would be as tractable, as the young Child he governed. The *Roman* knew little of the Character of the *Syrian* Prince. Indeed *Lyſias* was too wiſe, to oppoſe the Deſign of *Rome*, Sword in Hand; but without appearing to be concerned himſelf, he hired an Aſſaſſin to murder the Chief of the Ambaſſadors. This Villain was an *African*, born at *Leptis*, then reſiding in *Syria*; and he ſought for an Opportunity to kill *Octavius*, and found a very favourable one. 1 *Mac.* 6.

§. XXXII. The Deſire of reigning made the Ambaſſadors haſten their March. *Octavius* came in few Days to *Laodicea* [115], a maritime City between [116] *Tripolis* and *Antioch*; and it was then doubtleſs, that he began to put in execution the inhuman Orders he had received from his Republick. He cauſed the *Syrian* Ships to be burnt, and diſabled the Elephants from ſerving in the Wars. Strange Preſumption! He had not taken Poſſeſſion of the Regency, and yet began already to act the Sovereign. By his firſt Stroke he ruined the Forces of a Kingdom, of which he ought to have been the Protector. His Pretence for theſe Violences was, That by the Treaty made with the *Scipio's*, *Antiochus the Great* had engaged not to

114 This *Ariarathes* was the ſixth of that Name, and ſurnamed *Philopator*.

115 There were ſeveral Cities of *Laodicea* in *Aſia*; two eſpecially, in *Syria*. The firſt, which is here ſpoken of, took its Name from *Laodice*, the Wife of *Antiochus* the *Macedonian*, and Mother of *Seleucus Nicanor*, who, after the Death of *Alexander the Great*, appropriated to himſelf a part of the Dominions of that Conqueror, whoſe General he had been. *Molet* ſays it is called *Lyche* by the Inhabitants of the Country. The other City of *Laodicea* ſtood near the Springs of the River *Orontes*, and was about a hundred thouſand geometrical Paces diſtant from *Damaſcus*.

116 *Tripolis*, an ancient City which belonged to *Syria*, had the ſame Name which it ſtill bears, becauſe it conſiſted of *three* great Quarters, which were about a *Stadium*, or a hundred and twenty five geometrical Paces, diſtant from each other. But *Diodorus Siculus* will have it to have been ſo called, becauſe its three principal Parts were inhabited by three different Nations, *viz.* the *Arabians*, *Tyrians*, and *Sidonians*. It ſtood at the Foot of Mount *Libanus*, near the Sea, and twenty Leagues from *Seyda*.

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build any more Ships of War, or tame any more Elephants. And perhaps this Excuſe might have paſſed in more peaceable Times, and after *Octavius* had been ſettled ſome Years in the Government. But now his Inhumanity exaſperated all the People, and emboldened the *African* to attempt his Life. The Aſſaſſin thought the time when he was in a Bath the moſt convenient Opportunity for it; and he ſtabbed him there. *Lyſias* foreſaw all the Conſequences of ſo criminal an Attempt; and therefore did his utmoſt to clear himſelf of all Suſpicion of being concerned in a Murder ſo contrary to the Law of Nations. He went into Mourning, made a magnificent Funeral for the Ambaſſador, and ſent an Embaſſy to *Rome* to acquaint the Senate, that the Court of *Syria* had not been concerned in the Aſſaſſination. But *Rome* ſent back the Ambaſſadors without giving them any Anſwer, and took it upon her ſelf to get Informations of the Crime, and revenge it. The Republick alſo did Honour to the Memory of the Dead, by erecting his Statue among thoſe of the great [117] Men, who had loſt their Lives for their Country's Sake. *Auguſtus* ſaw it in his Time; and in this valuable Monument traced out the Glory of the firſt of his Anceſtors, who had diſtinguiſhed his Family. In the mean time, the Aſſaſſin of *Octavius* did not leave *Laodicea*, but boaſted of what he had done, as a commendable Action. Nay, there was a vile Declaimer, named *Iſocrates*, who made a Panegyrick upon the *African*. He filled the City with Invectives againſt *Rome*, and Praiſes on the glorious Avenger of *Syria*.

Polyb. in Legat. N. 114.

THEN the Report which was ſpread at *Rome*, That the *Romans* had failed of the Guardianſhip of the young King, and That *Lyſias* was ſuſpected of having been concerned in the Aſſaſſination, revived the Hopes of *Demetrius*. This *Syrian* Prince, who had been too long kept an Hoſtage for his Intereſt, thought it neceſſary to make Application again to the Senate of *Rome*. He ſeemed now to have a favourable Opportunity of getting Leave of the *Romans*, to go and put himſelf in Poſſeſſion of the Throne. *Polybius*, the Hiſtorian was then at *Rome*. He had come thither with the many *Achæans* againſt whom *Callicrates* and *Andronidas* had informed. He was a wiſe Man, and was even an abler Politician than Hiſtorian. The Prince of *Syria* had taken him into his Favour, and was governed by his Counſels. And *Demetrius* deſired his Opinion, whether it was proper for him to apply to the Senate once more, to demand Leave to depart from thence, and go and take the Crown which *Lyſias* had uſurped. To which *Polybius* replied; *Ah, my Lord, take care how you ſtrike againſt a Stone, which has already led you wrong! Have you but one way of getting into* Syria? *Should a Man of your Age depend on the capricious Will of an unjuſt Republick, like a Child? Only dare to ſet your ſelf at Liberty, and you will reign of Courſe.* Theſe Words ſtruck the Prince; but one of his more timorous Friends effaced the Impreſſion they made. This was one of his own Family, named *Apollonius*, who had a conſiderable Poſt in his Houſhold. Though he was young, he was afraid of his Maſter's making any Attempt that might prove dangerous. *No*, ſaid he, *it is impoſſible that in theſe Circumſtances* Rome *ſhould be ſo unjuſt as to detain you in* Italy. *Your Right is clear. It is her Intereſt only that has made her ſtop you. And now that you have no Occaſion to deſire of her an Army or a Fleet, to recover your Rights at her Expence; ſhe will rejoice to ſee an Avenger of* Octavius, *and an Enemy to* Lyſias, *ſet out for* Syria.

THESE ſeemed ſolid Reaſons, and *Apollonius* prevailed. The Prince reſolved to appear once more before the Senate. He joined Entreaties with thoſe Motives of mutual Intereſt which might well induce him to deſire Leave to depart, and the Senators to grant it. But *Demetrius* did not know the *Romans* as well as *Polybius* did. Their Senate piqued themſelves upon their Conſtancy; and the Failure of a Project was no Reaſon with them, to let it drop. After all there was a Child on the Throne of *Syria*; and *Rome* had little to fear during a Minority, and under a Regency, which was diſputed by two Competitors. Beſides, could ſhe be ſure that *Demetrius* would be as pliant on the Throne, as he affected to be at *Rome*? So that the ſecond Requeſt of the Prince met with a ſecond Refuſal. When this Decree, ſo contrary to his Deſires, was brought him, *Demetrius* cried out aloud; which

117 *Cicero* ſpeaks of the Statue erected to *Cneius Octavius*, *Philip. 9.* and ſays, that it ſtood near *The Tribune of Harangues*, among the other Statues which were erected by order of Senate, ſome Ages before, in Memory of the *Roman* Ambaſſadors, which King *Tolumnius* had put to Death.

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ſhewed both his Grief, and his Indignation. He then remembered *Polybius*, and the Advice which he had given him; reſolved to court the Republick no longer; but determined to make his Eſcape. In order to which it was neceſſary that it ſhould be well concerted, and kept very ſecret. *Diodorus* his Governor was juſt returned from *Syria*, whither his Maſter had ſent him. He was a skilful Man in Buſineſs, and better able to give the Prince an Account of the State of *Syria*, than any other Perſon; and he told him, that the People there were divided about the Death of *Octavius*, and imputed it to *Lyſias*. *The Fear of the* Romans, ſaid he, *divides their Party from the Regent's Friends. They have no more Correſpondence with one another. In the mean time* Lyſias, *in order to have a Pretence for continuing in Arms, notwithſtanding the Treaties and the Advice of the* Roman *Ambaſſadors, continues the War with the* Jews, *and obliges* Eupator *to follow the Steps of* Epiphanes. *He was ready to have reduced the Citadel of* Jeruſalem *by Famine, when that* Philip, *who was nominated his Son's Guardian by the late King, ſuddenly ſeized* Antioch; *and this unexpected Step forced the Regent to patch up a Peace in Haſte with* Judas Maccabæus. *All* Syria *is in a Flame. Only ſhew your ſelf to your People, and they will receive you as their Deliverer.* 2 Mac. 12.

§. XXXIII. This was a very fine Opportunity, which *Demetrius* was reſolved not to let ſlip; and he communicated to *Polybius* the Reſolution he had taken, to return to *Syria*, and elude the Vigilance of the *Romans*. The wiſe *Achæan* had then at *Rome* an intimate Friend named *Menithyllus*. He was a Native of *Alabanda* in *Aſia*, and had been ſent by the eldeſt of the two *Ptolomies*, to be his Agent with the Senate of *Rome*. *Polybius* made him privy to *Demetrius*'s Deſign, and engaged him in it; and *Menithyllus* ſoon found out an Expedient to facilitate the Prince's Flight. There was a *Carthaginian* Ship riding at Anchor in the Port of *Oſtia*, which was ſoon to ſail, to carry to *Tyre* the Firſt-fruits, which the *Carthaginians* annually ſent, to the Gods of the City from whence they originally came. Theſe Offerings were always ſent on board the beſt Ships; and *Ptolomy*'s Ambaſſador pretended Buſineſs in the *Levant*, deſired Freight in the *Carthaginian* Ship for himſelf and his Attendants, and agreed on a Price for it. He was not at all ſuſpected in it, and therefore the Captain ſuffered him to carry on board all the Bundles, and all the Proviſions he pleaſed. When every thing was got ready, *Demetrius* was wholly intent on embarking; but it was neceſſary to conceal his Deſign from the many Domeſticks which he had in his Houſhold. He therefore revealed his Secret only to *Apollonius*, and two of his Brothers, young *Syrians* of great Families, who had been brought up with him at *Rome*; and as for *Diodorus*, the Prince ſent him to *Syria* in another Ship, that he might get there before him, and pave the Way for his Reception in his Dominions. Then he ordered the greateſt part of his Servants to go to *Anagnia* to wait for him there. But this was only a Feint; for *Demetrius* was to take a very different Courſe. *Polyb. in Legat. n.* 114

In the mean time *Polybius*, though ſick, and obliged to keep his Houſe, carried on the Intrigue without appearing in it. *Menithyllus* gave him an Account of all the Prince's Steps. He was told that *Demetrius*, the Evening before his Departure, was to give a great Supper to his Friends in a hired Houſe; and *Polybius* knew the young Prince's *Foible*. For fear therefore, leſt he ſhould give in too much to the Pleaſures of the Table, he ſent him a Letter, not ſigned, containing Sentences taken out of good Authors, relating to the Courage, Secrecy, and Sobriety, which was neceſſary, in order to execute great Deſigns. The Bearer had Orders to give it to the Maſter of the Houſe; who was deſired to deliver it into the Prince's own Hands. After *Demetrius* had read it, he knew from what Hand it came, and with what Intention it was written; and immediately pretending to be very ſick in his Stomach, he roſe from Table, and returned home. His Friends followed him, but he immediately took his Leave of them, and ordered the reſt of his Family to go immediately with his hunting Equipage, and wait for him at *Anagnia*; where he ſaid he would come, to hunt as uſual, in the Neighbourhood of *Circæum*. When he had ſent away this uſeleſs Company, he diſcovered his Intentions and Preparations to *Nicanor*, and a few *Syrian* Lords, whom he adviſed to go with him. To which they readily conſented, went immediately home to dreſs themſelves as for the Country, ordered their People to be at the Hunting-match, and in the Night ſet out with the Prince for *Oſtia*.

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DURING this Interval, *Menithyllus* had told the Captain of the *Carthaginian* Ship, That he had freſh Orders from the King of *Egypt*, which would keep him ſome time longer at *Rome*; but That he would, in his own room, put on board him the ſame Number of Paſſengers, at the ſame Price, and upon the ſame Conditions, as he had agreed for himſelf. He had likewiſe recommended to him the Perſons which were to come on board him; and told him, That they were Officers of Diſtinction, who were going to ſerve in *Ptolomy*'s Army. The Prince and his Company, to the Number of ſixteen Perſons, including Pages and Servants, arrived at *Oſtia* by three in the Morning, and embarked without being known. As ſoon as the Day broke they weighed Anchor, and *Demetrius* ſet ſail, with great Joy, to go and take Poſſeſſion of the Throne of his Fathers. It was four Hours before he was miſſed at *Rome*; and every Body believed he was gone to *Anagnia*, or *Circæum*, and there engaged in Entertainments, and hunting Matches. The Secret was not diſcovered, till a Slave of the Prince, who had been ill uſed at his Maſter's Palace, went to ſeek for him at *Circæum*, to complain to him. Not finding him there, he returned to *Rome*, and diſcovered how long *Demetrius* had been abſent. *Rome* was convinced of his Eſcape, and the Senate aſſembled; but it was too late to ſend after him. The Ship which carried him was ſix Days forward, and had already doubled *The Streights of Sicily*. They therefore let her ſail on, and waited, without much Uneaſineſs, to hear of the Prince's Arrival and Adventures in *Syria*.

§. XXXIV. *Menithyllus* continued at *Rome*, and had freſh Attacks to ſuſtain in favour of King *Philometor*, and againſt his Brother *Phyſcon*. In his turn, the youngeſt of the two Kings of *Egypt* came in Perſon to plead his Cauſe before the Senate, againſt his elder Brother. He complained of being deprived of his Share, and deſired to be put in Poſſeſſion of the Iſland of *Cyprus*, from which *Philometor* had driven him. But the Cauſe of the elder was good, and *Menithyllus* maintained it with great Zeal and Ability. He repreſented to the Senate, that *Phyſcon* had had a much greater Share than he could in Reaſon have expected. *His Brother*, ſaid he, *has given him the Property of* Cyrenaica; *and this rich maritime Country will not ſatisfy the boundleſs Deſires of a younger Brother. Nay,* Philometor *has done more for* Phyſcon, *than give him a part of his Provinces. He ſaved his Life. After the Death of* Cleopatra, Phyſcon *was ſuſpected of Parricide, and would not have eſcaped the Fury of the People, had he not had the Aſſiſtance of the King his Brother: And then the Accommodation was made between the two Competitors for the Crown. It was agreed, That* Philometor *ſhould reign in* Egypt, *and keep the Iſland of* Cyprus; *and That* Cyrenaica *ſhould belong to* Phyſcon, *with the Title of King. The Treaty was ſigned and ratified at the Altars; and each Party ſwore to keep their Words. But now Ambition revives, Diſcord again ſhews her Head, and Oaths are deſpiſed.* All things ſpoke in favour of *Philometor*. The Ambaſſadors themſelves, which *Rome* had ſent to ſettle the Differences, teſtified, that they were preſent at the Pacification, and the Diviſion of the Kingdom between the two Brothers. And *Phyſcon* had nothing to anſwer, but that he was forced, by the Neceſſity of his Affairs at that time, to conſent to the Propoſal of an ambitious Brother, tho' to his Wrong. *It is certain,* ſays he, *that I was injured in the Diviſion of my Father's Dominions; and my Recourſe therefore,* Conſcript Fathers, *is to your Equity. That, with me, ſhall ſupply the Place of Gods and Oaths. I do ſtill abate of my Rights. All I deſire is the Iſland of* Cyprus. *Which if granted, will not put me upon an equal Foot with my elder Brother.* Egypt *is a large Kingdom; and if* Philometor *reigns alone there, and is not reſtrained by* Cyprus *by Sea, his Power will become very formidable.*

NOTHING could be more equitable than the Deciſions of the *Roman* Senate, when their own Intereſt did not interfere, and help to turn the Balance. But it was for their Advantage that the Kingdom of *Egypt* ſhould be equally divided between the two Brothers. Theſe refined Politicians therefore reſolved to leſſen the Forces of this powerful State by dividing them; and a fair Opportunity now offered, of granting that as a Favour, which it would have been of Service to them to have demanded with Authority. So that the Suffrages favoured *Phyſcon*. The Iſland of *Cyprus* was adjudged to him as an Addition to his Share; and two Commiſſioners were ſent with the King of *Cyrenaica*, namely *Torquatus* and *Merula*, to put him in Poſſeſſion of it. Their Orders from the Senate were to proceed

with Gentleneſs, ſpare the Lives of the *Egyptians*, and ſettle a laſting Peace between the two Brothers. Thus did *Rome* pacify the Eaſt, but always to her own Advantage. Year of *ROME* DXCI.

§. XXXV. AND now, there was a new War, and a new Peace to be ſettled in the moſt Weſtern Part of *Aſia*. The [118] *Calyndians* had been inſulted by the [119] *Caunians*. *Calynda* was beſieged; and the Inhabitants had Recourſe in the firſt Place to the [120] *Cnidians*, who could not lend them ſufficient Succours. Then they implored the Aſſiſtance of the *Rhodians*, and promiſed to ſurrender themſelves to them, after their Deliverance. Nevertheleſs the *Rhodians*, notwithſtanding the Offer was ſo very advantageous, deliberated whether they ſhould accept of it. After having been ſo ill uſed by the *Romans*, and ſo lately barely reconciled to them, they durſt not undertake any thing, or think of aggrandizing themſelves, without the Conſent of *Rome*. But in the mean time the Siege of *Calynda* was purſued with Vigour; and the Anſwer from *Rome* would come too late. The *Rhodians* therefore thought fit to relieve the Place; but would not accept of the Property of it, without the Approbation of the *Roman* Senate. So great was the Deference that the moſt powerful Republick in the *Levant* paid to *Rome!* Her Name alone gave her an abſolute Authority in all Places; and the Governors of Nations were more afraid of diſpleaſing her, than their Subjects were of rebelling againſt them. In ſhort *Calynda* was delivered, and the *Rhodians* forced the *Caunians* to retire; and then *Rhodes* had nothing to do but to get this Step approved at *Rome*. To this end, ſhe nominated two Ambaſſadors, *Lygdamis* and *Cleagoras*, to go and lay her new Laurels at the Feet of the *Roman* Senate. Their Orders were to draw all the Advantages they could from their Submiſſion. Indeed nothing could be more agreeable to this auguſt Body, than to ſee theſe *Rhodians*, who were formerly ſo fierce as to pretend to give Law, now reduced ſo low, as not to dare to take Poſſeſſion of a City, without leave; and the Deputies were favourably received. This gracious Reception encouraged them to deſire of the *Fathers*, that the private Subjects of *Rhodes* ſhould be reſtored to the Enjoyment of all the Lands they had formerly poſſeſſed in *Caria* and *Lycia*; their Requeſt was granted; and then the Ambaſſadors returned as well ſatisfied with the Senate, as the Senate was with their Proceedings. The *Rhodians* out of Gratitude deſired leave to erect, in the Temple of *Minerva* in *Rome*, a Coloſſal Statue of the Goddeſs, of thirty Cubits high. So that if this Year had not been very fruitful in military Exploits, the Senate had at leaſt ſignalized it by remarkable Acts of Prudence. It was chiefly in theſe peaceable Times, that they diſplayed that Art of governing Nations, which was in a manner the peculiar Characteriſtick of the Republick.

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§. XXXVI. THEN the *Conſuls* were changed; and *M. Valerius Meſſala*, and *C. Fannius Strabo*, ſucceeded *Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Domitius Ænobarbus*. The *Conſulate* was now become but a barren Dignity, not ſo capable of raiſing the Glory of the Perſons who enjoyed it, as that of their Families. What the Provinces of the preſent Generals were is not certainly known; we can only conjecture, that in all Probability one went to keep *Liguria* and *Ciſalpine Gaul* in Awe; and the other to the Iſlands of *Corſica* and *Sardinia*. In the City the People grew very opulent, and Wealth produced Luxury. The Law of *The Tribune* [121] *Orcius* was not ſufficient to reſtrain the Expence of Entertainments. It had only ſettled the Number of the Gueſts, but had left the Entertainer at Liberty to ſquander away what Sums he pleaſed on ſolemn Feaſts. Hence that Profuſion which was ſo contrary to the Sobriety of the ancient Times. All thoſe Perſons in *Rome*, who were zealous for the ancient Diſcipline, murmured at it: And at length the *Conſuls* complained of it to the Senate. They remonſtrated, That the richeſt Men in *Rome* made ſumptuous Feaſts for each other by Turns, eſpecially on the publick Feſtivals;

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Aul. Gell. B. 2. c. 24.

118 *Herodotus*, and after him the ancient Geographers, give the Name of *Calynda* to a famous City of *Caria*. It was according to the firſt mentioned Author, one of the Cities of the Kingdom of the famous *Artemiſa*.

119 *Caunus*, a City of *Aſia Minor*, depended on *Caria*, according to *Caſtaldus*. It is now called *La Roſſa*. We have ſpoken of it elſewhere.

120 *Cnidos*, or *Cnidus*, was a City of *Caria*, ſituated in a Peninſula, between *The Gulph of San Pietro*, and the Sea of *Scarpanto*. It was one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in the Country. It had two conſiderable Ports; the Ruins of which are yet to be ſeen, in a Place ſtill called *Cnido*, near the Promontory called *Capo Crio*, or *The Cape of the Croſs*.

121 See what we ſay of the *Orcian* Law in the laſt Book of this Volume.

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Feſtivals; and That they vied with one another for Expence, and ſquandered away great Sums imprudently out of Emulation. The Senate therefore paſſed a Decree, obliging all thoſe Feaſt-makers to ſwear before the *Conſuls*, That Pulſe, Bread, and Wine excepted, they would not expend more than a hundred and twenty *Aſſes* [a] at a Feaſt; and That they would not bring to their Tables the rich Wines of foreign growth. But as this Regulation was only for the Rich, and related only to the Entertainments given after *The Megaleſian Games*, celebrated in honour to *Cybele*; it was therefore neceſſary to extend this Law further, and make it more general. To this end the *Conſul Fannius* was ordered to prepare a ſecond Law, which ſhould be more circumſtantial, and to get it paſſed by the People in *Comitia*; and therefore it took its Name from that *Conſul*, and was called *The Fannian* [122] *Law*. It enacted, *That after* The Roman Games, The Plebeian Games, *and during* The Saturnalia, *it ſhould be lawful to ſpend a hundred* Aſſes [b] *of Braſs at an Entertainment*; *That in ten Days in each Month a Man might ſpend thirty* Aſſes; *but That no Man's common Expences, for eating and drinking in one Day, ſhould exceed ten* [c] Aſſes. It was debated, and paſſed; and *C. Titius* [123] who ſpoke for it, went ſo far as to ſay, *That* Rome *could not ſubſiſt, if Profuſeneſs was allowed at Tables*. *The Megaleſian Games* were celebrated ſoon after; and then *Terence* played his Comedy entituled *Eunuchus*; and his *Phormio*, in *The Roman Games*.

[a] 7 *s.* 9 *d.* *Arbuthnot.*

[b] 6 *s.* 5 *d.* ½. *Arbuthnot.*

[c] 7 *d* ¼. *Arbuthnot.*

Terent. in titulo utriuſque Comed.

THUS was introduced into the Republick a Spirit of Reformation, which ought much rather to have been exerciſed againſt the Poets whoſe Obſcenities were allowed on the Stage, than againſt the Rhetoricians and Philoſophers. The latter were Foreigners, who kept Schools, where they taught Eloquence and Philoſophy. But without any Examination at all, upon this ſingle Prejudice, that all Novelties are hurtful, the *Prætor Pomponius* [124], who had the Care of the Affairs of Foreigners, made a Motion in the Senate againſt theſe Maſters, who had lately intruded themſelves into *Rome*. *We have other Buſineſs enough for our Children*, ſaid he. *Profeſſors which come ſo far off, are only fit to enervate the Courage of our Youth*; *and make them loſe their time, which would be better employed in inuring their Bodies to military Labours*. Rome *has gained all her Luſtre and Grandeur by Arms*. *And I am for having no School here, but that of* Mars. This Diſcourſe impoſed on the *Conſcript Fathers*. They forbad the Aſſemblies of the *Literati*; baniſhed the Rhetoricians and Philoſophers, and charged the *Prætor* to ſee their Decree put in execution. But afterwards, *Rome* followed better Counſels. Eloquence and Morality were taught there with Succeſs. And in one Word, her Conqueſts have long ſince paſſed into other Hands; but the Works of her Orators and Philoſophers are ſtill in being, and held in Eſteem by all civilized Nations.

Aul. Gell. B. 15. *c.* 11. *Sueton. in Præf. de Clar. Orat.*

§. XXXVII. HOWEVER, the Senate did not neglect the Affairs of *Syria*, during theſe Regulations at Home. They had had the Precaution to ſend three [125] Deputies into *Greece* to appeaſe the Minds of the People; with Orders at the ſame time to go over into *Aſia*, and watch the Steps of *Demetrius*. This fugitive Prince firſt landed in *Lycia*, and from thence wrote a very polite Letter to the *Roman* Republick. *My Deſign in making my Eſcape*, ſaid he to the *Roman* Senate and People, *was only to revenge the Death of* Octavius, *who was inhumanly murdered contrary to the Law of Nations*. Lyſias *was the Author of the Aſſaſſination, and*

Zonar. B. 9. *c.* 25.

122 According to *Aulus Gellius*, all *Citizens* were forbidden by a Clauſe of *The Fannian Law*, to have above an hundred Pounds weight in Plate. This Rule took Place even in great Entertainments. *Pliny*, *B.* 10. *c.* 50. adds another Clauſe, which had eſcaped the Enquiries of *Aulus Gellius*. He ſays, that by this Law, the *Romans* were to have no Fowls at their Treats but a common Hen. A fat one was thought too exquiſite. *Ne quid volucre poneretur præter unam gallinam, quæ non ſit altilis*. Nevertheleſs, continues *Pliny*, Senſuality loſt no Ground. Fat Capons were ſerved up in Paſte dipped in Milk, under Pretence that this ſort of Fowl was not forbidden by the expreſs Words of the Law. The Epicures found their Account in perſuading themſelves, that the Lawgiver by *Gallina* meant to forbid nothing but *Hens*.

123 *Macrobius* ſays, *Saturn. B.* 3. that the *Caius Titius* here mentioned, was reckoned one of the moſt conſiderable Orators of his Age.

124 The Silence of the Hiſtorians leaves us in Uncertainty as to the Offices in which *Pomponius* was employed during his *Prætorſhip*. It is moſt natural to believe that his Juriſdiction extended only to the Cauſes of Foreigners. The Decree of Baniſhment which he pronounced againſt the Rhetoricians and Philoſophers, who had come to *Rome* from ſeveral foreign Countries, is a pretty plain Proof of it.

125 The three Deputies *Rome* ſent were *Tiberius Gracchus*, who had been two Years before *Conſul* with *Juventius Thalna*; *Lucius Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Servilius Glaucia*.

my Aim is wholly at him. As to young Eupator, *though he has uſurped my Right, I reſpect him on Account of his Age, and the Protection with which you honour him.* But theſe Promiſes had not much Weight with the Senate. They ſtill expected, That whenever *Demetrius* ſhould gain his Point, and mount the Throne, the young Rival, though a Child, would fall a Sacrifice to the Safety of the new King. Nevertheleſs it did not become *Rome* to oppoſe by Force of Arms the Settlement of the lawful Sovereign of *Syria* on the Throne. *Demetrius* continued his Voyage, and landed at the Port of *Tripolis*, a *Syrian* City on the Confines of *Phœnicia*. *Diodorus* had probably declared there that the Prince would ſoon arrive, and prepared the People to receive him. But whether he did or not, *Demetrius* no ſooner appeared at *Tripolis* but he was acknowledged King, and proclaimed by his Subjects. In order to increaſe the Number of his Friends, he declared in all Places wherever he came, that he was ſent by the Senate of *Rome* to take Poſſeſſion of his Dominions; and this Lye got him much Credit. He by that Pretence got Poſſeſſion of *Apamea* [126], and his Army increaſed every Day. He marched it to the moſt Eaſtern Part of the Kingdom of *Syria*, of which *Babylon* [127] was the chief City. *Timarchus* was Governor of this City, and his Adminiſtration was inſupportable to all the People. *Demetrius* therefore delivered the Country out of his Hands, condemned him to Death, and from thence took the glorious Surname of *Soter*, or *Deliverer*. All Oppoſition gave way before him; and the People acknowledged his Rights. He had already nothing to do but to take *Antioch*, and fight the old Troops which *Lyſias* commanded, and which the brave *Maccabæus* had ſo often beaten in the Plains of *Judea*. And this laſt Blow did not coſt *Demetrius* much. He appeared before that Capital, and it opened its Gates to him. He was received in the ancient Palace of his Anceſtors without Oppoſition, and aſcended the Throne which *Seleucus* his Father had poſſeſſed. Then *Lyſias* and his Ward *Eupator* had no Refuge left, but to throw themſelves at the Feet of the lawful Monarch; and they deſired an Audience. But *Demetrius* refuſed to grant it. *Unjuſt Uſurpers*, ſaid he, *ſhall never be admitted into my Preſence.* Theſe Words of the true King were publiſhed in the Army; and the Soldiers thinking to make their Court, by ſpilling the Blood of the two unhappy Men, whom *Fortune* had abandoned, put both *Eupator* and *Lyſias* to Death. A Vengeance, which brought no Odium on the new Monarch, and may be aſcribed to Heaven; which puniſhed, both in the Ward and his Guardian, the Injuries they had done to the People of God, contrary to the Faith of Treaties.

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1 *Mac.* 7. *App. in Syriac. N.* 117.

1 *Mac.* 7.

126 King *Seleucus Nicanor* had built *Apamea* on the Banks of the *Orontes*. It was ſo called from his Siſter's Name. It ſtood between *Antioch* and the City of *Emeſſa*, forty Miles from the *Syrian* Sea. *Bellonius* calls it *Hamous*; but *Leunclavius*, and moſt modern Geographers, call it *Hama*.

127 In the Courſe of this Hiſtory we ſhall have Occaſion to deſcribe the famous City of *Babylon*, which ſtood on the Banks of the *Euphrates*, and was the Capital of *Chaldea*. One part of this Kingdom had been united to *Syria*, ever ſince the Death of *Alexander the Great*. The preſent City of *Bagdad* was built out of the Ruins of *Babylon*, forty two Miles beyond it, near the *Tigris*. But ſome have falſely imagined, that this City ſtands on the ſame Place where old *Babylon* formerly did.

THE

THE Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK XLVII.

Year of ROME DXCII. M. VALERIUS MESSALA, C. FANNIUS STRABO, Conſuls.

§. I. WHEN *Demetrius* was upon the Throne, his Fear of the *Romans* made him ſtifle his Reſentments for their Conduct towards him. He did his utmoſt to gain the Good-Will of a Republick which had envied him the Crown, only becauſe ſhe was ſuſpicious that he would not pay her the Submiſſion ſhe deſired. He knew that *Tib. Gracchus*, the Deputy of the Republick in the *Levant*, was in *Cappadocia*; and therefore made it his Buſineſs to cultivate the Friendſhip of a *Roman*, whom he had viſited at *Rome*, and whoſe Credit he was not a Stranger to. His Point in view was to get himſelf acknowledged King by the Ambaſſador of the Republick. This was the moſt effectual Method to ſtifle all remaining Factions at home, and keep up a good Underſtanding with his Neighbours Abroad.

Polyb. Legat. N. 120.

THE King of *Syria* therefore ſent his Agents after *Gracchus*, to all the Places he paſſed through; and they came to him firſt in *Pamphylia*, and then at *Rhodes*, and every where aſſured him, in their Maſter's Name, of his inviolable Attachment to the Intereſt of *Rome*. *Gracchus* was very willing to be perſuaded, acknowledged the Sovereignty of *Demetrius*, and gave him the Title of King. Nor was this all. In order to maintain himſelf in the Poſſeſſion in which the Ambaſſador had ſettled him, the King of *Syria* ſent an Embaſſy to *Rome*, with a fine Preſent of a Crown of Gold of great Price. With it he alſo ſent, the miſerable Aſſaſſin who had been guilty of murdering the Ambaſſador *Octavius*, and the Declaimer who had ſo much inveighed againſt *Rome* in his Harangues. The *African* put a good Face upon it; boaſted that he would make the Senate themſelves approve of his Conduct; and appeared gay, thro' the whole Journey. But the Orator, a vain Man, who had no Courage but in Words, ſunk into a deep Melancholy, from the time that the Chain was put about his Neck, in order to his being delivered up to the Republick, which he had offended. The Wretch could not be prevailed on to take any Nouriſhment, without Force; and grew ſo thin with faſting, that he looked like a Skeleton, by that time he came to *Rome*. His Name was *Iſocrates*. He let both his Beard and his Nails grow, and looked like a Savage. This was perhaps an Artifice in the Rhetorician, to raiſe Compaſſion. But the Senate did not think proper to admit the Wretch into their Preſence. The Puniſhment of two worthleſs Men was by no means an adequate Satisfaction for the Offence the Republick had received. She rejected the two Victims that were offered her, and kept *Syria* in fear of a more ſevere Vengeance. But the King's Preſent was accepted, and *Rome* gave him Proofs of a perfect Reconciliation. Thus by mixing Evidences of Friendſhip for the Sovereign, with Marks of Reſentment againſt the Nation, the politick *Romans* kept the *Syrians* both in Fear and Hope.

Idem, N. 122.

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§. II. WHEN *Demetrius*'s Preſent was brought to *Rome*, the Republick had juſt changed her *Conſuls*. *L. Anicius Gallus*, and *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, had juſt been promoted to the higheſt Dignity: and they went rather to encamp, than make War; one in *Liguria*, the other in *Ciſalpine Gaul*. The Republick had then ſcarce any thing to do, but to keep Peace in the Eaſt. She narrowly watched the Steps of the *Syrian*, and ſuſpected all his Motions. Nevertheleſs, ſhe had given *Demetrius* to underſtand, That ſhe would receive him into her Friendſhip, if he would take the proper Means to oblige the Senate, and aſſure them of his Affection.

Polyb, N. 109, 110, 121, & 122.

tion. This was insinuating to him, That he should send an Hostage to *Rome*, to represent him, and be responsible for his Fidelity. Nor did the *Roman* Policy stop there. The Senate privately fomented Suspicions between the Kings of *Pergamus*, *Bithynia*, and *Cappadocia*; that one or other of them might always be ready to give her Notice what Schemes were forming in the *Levant*. With the same View they kept up the Divisions between the two *Ptolomies* in *Egypt*, and gave the weaker Advantages over the stronger. That *Menithyllus* who maintained the Interests of *Philometor* against *Physcon*, at *Rome*, had very lately been expelled *Italy*. In *Africa* likewise, *Rome* openly espoused *Masiniſſa* upon whom she could depend, against the *Carthaginian* Republick which she suspected. As for *Judas Maccabæus*, he saw through the Designs of the *Romans*; and believed, that under their Protection his People would be secure from the Kings of *Syria*, their Persecutors. The Power and Humanity of the predominant Republick gave him Hopes, That under the Umbrage of her Name, he might gain some Respite, for a time at least; and That Ambassadors from him would be well received by her. He made solid Reflections on the Victories *Rome* had gained in all Parts of the World, and the constant Prosperity she had procured the Nations that adhered to her. *The* Roman *Republick*, said he to himself, *destroys or makes Kings with a Word; and disposes of Kingdoms and Provinces as she pleases. Her Senate swallows up the Majesty of other Sovereign Powers, whose Purple, if I may so speak, is borrowed. Virtue and good Order reign among the* Romans; *whose Contentions never run so high as to weaken them.* This Encomium on the *Roman* Government, which the Sacred Books have transmitted to us, was then deeply imprinted on the Mind of the valiant *Maccabæus*; and he thought he might, without Injury to his Religion, enter into Friendship with *Rome*. Upon the Views therefore of a lawful Policy, and that he might not always tempt God, *Judas* determined to send an Embassy to the *Roman* Senate. The two Deputies he chose were *Eupolemus* the Son of *John*, and *Jason* the Son of *Eleazar*. When they arrived at *Rome*, they were introduced into the Senate. The prudent *Judas* had well timed his Negotiation. The Hostilities which *Demetrius*, since his Advancement to the Throne, had committed (as well as his Predecessors) against the People of God, could not but exasperate a jealous and distrustful Republick. Besides, for *Rome* to protect the *Jews*, was to erect a Barrier against aggrandizing the *Syrian*, and to take away from him all Pretences of keeping Armies always in Pay. *Eupolemus* and *Jason* were therefore favourably heard. They desired to be admitted into an Alliance with *Rome*, and reckoned among those Nations whom she honoured with her Protection. The Senate readily consented to it, and ordered the Articles of the Treaty to be written on a Plate of Brass, which was carried to *Jerusalem*. The Conditions of the Confederacy were these. 1. *If the* Romans, *or their Allies, make War in any Place,* Judæa *shall,* bona fide, *lend them Succours according to her Ability*; *and the* Romans *shall not be obliged to pay these Auxiliaries, or supply them with Provisions or Ships.* 2. *When, on the other hand, the* Jews *are at War, the* Romans *shall, at their own Expence, lend them such Succours as the present Circumstances of Affairs will admit of.* After this Confederacy was made with the *Jews*, and *Judas* their Head, the Republick wrote a Letter to *Demetrius*, which was both menacing and imperious. *Why*, said she to him, *have you insulted and oppressed the* Jewish *Nation? Know, That they are our Allies. If you give them the Trouble to send another Embassy to complain of you, we will treat you as an Enemy, and pursue you by Sea and Land.* But this Letter, without doubt, did not arrive till after the Death of the Great *Maccabæus*. At least, it had not the Effect *Rome* had expected. The King of *Syria* commanded *Bacchis*, one of his Generals, to go into *Judæa*, to exterminate that Handful of invincible Men, whom neither his Predecessors, nor himself had yet been able to disperse. *Bacchis*'s Army was numerous. That of *Judas* did not exceed eight hundred Men. God had not promised always to work Miracles in Defence of his People. Besides, the Head of the holy Nation had a little forgotten himself. His Confidence in the God of his Fathers had been wavering; and when he was to march to the Battel, he had not offered up his Vows and Prayers to Heaven, from whence he received all his Strength. Being therefore left to himself, he fought indeed like a Great Officer, and a Great Soldier; but he lost the Victory, and his Life with it. The Almighty had hitherto

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1 *Mac.* 8.

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wrought great Wonders, by the Hand of his Servant. *Judas* had received great Talents for War from Nature; and God had aſſiſted him, even miraculouſly, as long as *Maccabæus* had continued ſteady and blameleſs in his Fidelity to him. But as ſoon as he became no more than a common Hero, he was killed, as many others had been, who had raſhly expoſed themſelves to the greateſt Dangers. *Jonathan* his Brother ſucceeded him, in the *Pontificate*, and in the Command of the Armies.

§. III. Whilst the *Jewiſh* Nation was lamenting the Death of *Judas*, the predominant Republick was bewailing the Loſs of one of her greateſt Generals *Paulus Æmilius*. He ſeems to have wanted nothing but the Knowledge of the True Religion, and the Grace that God joins with it, to have made his Virtues meritorious. He did not indeed die, like *Judas Maccabæus*, in that Faith which gives great Hopes and Dependance on the Mercies of God. But he had, both in his Life-time, and after his Death, a conſtant Reputation of the greateſt Probity, moſt perfect Diſintereſtedneſs, and moſt ſtrict Sobriety, that could be acquired by the Strength of Reaſon. He had a great while before his Death been ſeized with the lingring Diſeaſe which at laſt killed him, and had retired from the Hurry of publick Affairs. In a little City of *Italy*, called *Velia*, he ſpent his whole time in ſuch Reflections as Philoſophy inſpires into thoſe who have all their Life-time made it their Study. The good Air he met with out of *Rome*, and the Reſt he enjoyed, prolonged his Days. In the mean time, the People regretted his Abſence, and called for him at *Rome*. During the publick *Games*, the *Romans* were often heard to cry out, *What is become of* Paulus Æmilius? *Will he appear no more in our Aſſemblies? He was the greateſt Ornament of them.* This earneſt Deſire of the Publick to ſee him, and the Opportunity of a Sacrifice which he was obliged to perform at *Rome*, as Head of his Family, determined him to take hold of an Interval of Health, to appear once more among the *Citizens*. He returned to the Capital, performed the Sacrifice, and the next Day ſlew freſh Victims, by way of Thankſgiving to the Gods for his Recovery. Then he returned to his Houſe, ſate down at Table, and was all on a ſudden ſeized with a violent Delirium, of which he died three Days after. It may be affirmed, That except *Scipio Africanus*, no Man had done his Country more important Services than *Paulus Æmilius*. By his Conqueſt of *Macedon*, he had ſecured to his Republick the Sovereignty over all the Eaſt: And he had done her as much Service by his exemplary Virtues, as by his Victories. In the midſt of that Licentiouſneſs which Riches might have introduced into *Rome*, *Æmilius* kept up in Repute, Frugality, Continence, a Contempt of Wealth, and a Love of Equity. This Man, who had brought Wealth enough to the publick Treaſury to enrich it for ever, died ſo poor, that ſcarce Money enough could be raiſed by the Sale of his Effects [1], to diſcharge what was to be paid to his laſt Wife, after his Deceaſe. So that his two Sons, *Fabius Æmilianus*, and *Scipio Æmilianus*, rather inherited his Virtues, than his Eſtate. The latter, who was entered into the opulent Family of the *Scipio's*, gave up his Share of his Inheritance to his Brother, who was adopted by the *Fabian* Family which was far from being rich. And *Scipio* alſo bore all the Expences of the Funeral himſelf. The Obſequies were not fine on any Account, but the Concourſe of the People who endeavoured to do Honour to the Memory of this Great Man. There were *Macedonians* [2], *Spaniards*, and *Li-*

Plut. Life of *Paulus*. *Auct. de Viris Illuſtr. Florus, &c.*

1 According to *Plutarch*, in his Life of this General, all *Paulus Æmilius*'s Effects did not amount to more than the Value of three hundred and ſeventy thouſand * *Drachmæ*, or one hundred and eighty five thouſand *Livres*, at the Rate of ten *Sols per Drachma*, according to our Reduction of the ancient Money.

* 1194-1. 18 s. 4 d. Sterl.

2 *Valerius Maximus* tells us, That theſe *Macedonians*, who carried the Body of *Paulus Æmilius*, were Men of the moſt Eminence in their Nation. Among them were ſome Ambaſſadors, who were charged with the Affairs of *Macedon* with the Senate of *Rome*. The Funeral-Bed of the Deceaſed, ſays that Author, was adorned with Pictures and Relievo's repreſenting his Victories and Triumphs. Upon which *Valerius Maximus* makes this Reflection. We may judge from hence, ſays he, what a Veneration theſe *Macedonians* had for *Paulus Æmilius*. Rather than not have the Satisfaction of publiſhing the Glory of an Hero whom they conſidered rather as their Father, than their Conqueror, they were willing to publiſh the Shame of their own Defeat to Multitudes of People. So that the laſt Honours that were paid to the Memory of this Great Man, had more the Air of a new Triumph, than a Funeral.

In order to finiſh our Character of *Paulus Æmilius*, we muſt not forget one Particular, which is mentioned to his Honour, by *Sempronius Aſellio*. This Hiſtorian relates it from *Scipio Æmilianus*, under whom he had ſerved at the Siege of *Numantia*, in Quality of *Legionary Tribune*. *Scipio*, ſays *Sempronius*, had often heard his Father *Paulus Æmilius* ſay, That a prudent General ſhould never give Battel, but when he is ſure of Succeſs, or when he is forced to it, by being reduced to a Neceſſity of Conquering or Periſhing.

gures,

gures, who all mourned for him, as for a Father. This Conqueror, who had filled them with ſo much Terror during the War, had become their Protector after the Peace. It was obſerved, That theſe *Macedonians*, *Spaniards*, and *Ligures*, three Nations whom he had conquered, earneſtly diſputed with one another for the Honour of carrying his Body to the Funeral-Pile. The Proceſſion began with a long Train of Buſts, which were carried on Hand-Barrows. Theſe were the Figures of the Great Men of the *Æmilian* Family. Neither the Senate nor the Courts of Juſtice ſate that Day, that they might be at Leiſure to attend the Funeral. And laſtly, there were vaſt Crowds of People that came to it from all the *Municipia*. The Triumphs of *Paulus Æmilius* were not celebrated with more Pomp than his Funeral. His Sons joined in preſenting the People with *Games*, in Honour to the Memory of their Father. *Terence* then played two of his Comedies, the *Adelphi*, and the *Hecyra*; and the latter was again interrupted by a Show of Gladiators, which drew away the Audience. Such was the End of *Paulus Æmilius*, whoſe Fame will never die in Story. Should tranſient Honours be the only Rewards beſtowed on ſuch eminent Virtues?

Year of ROME DXCIII. L. Anicius Gallus, M. Cornelius Cethegus, Conſuls.

Terent. in titulo Adelph. & in Prologo Hecyræ.

§. IV. Of the two *Conſuls* for the Year, *Cethegus* only gained himſelf ſome Reputation in his Office. He left at leaſt one Monument of it. He dried up the *Pomptin* [3] Marſhes, which infected the Air of the whole Neighbourhood. He employed the Soldiers of his Army in making Drains, whereby he drew all the Water out of them. Of this vaſt Tract of Ground, in which there formerly ſtood three and twenty Cities, which were ſwallowed up by Inundations, *Cethegus* made only one great Plain, which was fruitful at firſt, but afterwards drowned again by freſh Overflowings of the Rivers. And the following *Conſuls* ſignalized themſelves yet leſs in their Adminiſtration. The Republick promoted to the *Conſulate*, *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella*, and *M. Fulvius Nobilior*; whoſe Names would ſcarce have been known in Hiſtory, if they had not been preſerved in the *Faſti Capitolini*. There was no Man of conſiderable Figure in *Rome*, after the Death of *Paulus Æmilius*, but *Scipio Naſica*; who was juſt promoted to the *Cenſorſhip*. So hereditary was the Reputation for Virtue in his Family! The Collegue given him was *Popilius* [4] *Lænas*; and both *Cenſors* were reſolutely bent on puniſhing Vice impartially, wherever they found it. They began with pulling down the Statues which ſome ambitious Men, of very little Merit, had cauſed to be erected in the *Forum Romanum*. They left only ſuch ſtanding, as had been erected in Honour to Great Men, by Decree of the Senate. There was then, among the others, that of the *Spurius Caſſius*, whoſe Memory was execrable for his Deſign to uſurp the Sovereignty in *Rome*. I know not thro' what Negligence it had been left ſtanding ſo long near the Temple of the Goddeſs *Tellus*. But however, the Zeal of *Naſica* would not let him ſpare the Statue of a bad *Citizen*, whoſe Ambition he abhorred. He broke it in pieces, to aboliſh the Remembrance of his Crime.

Liv. in Epit. B. 46.

Year of ROME DXCIV. Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, M. Fulvius Nobilior, Conſuls.

Plin. B. 3. c. 6. Auth. de Viris Illuſt.

That the *Cenſors* ſhewed great Rigour towards the *Roman Knights*, may appear by the following Inſtance. At the Review of this fine Body of Cavalry, there appeared in his Rank, a *Knight* who was very fat, and of a very ruddy Complexion. But the Horſe he had from the Republick was ſo lean that he could ſcarce carry him. *Knight*, ſaid *Naſica* to him, *why is thy Horſe in ſo bad a Way, and the Maſter in ſo very good Plight? The Reaſon is plain*, replied the *Knight* briskly, *it is becauſe my Servant takes care of my Horſe, but I take care of myſelf.* But the grave *Cenſor* thought the Jeſt very ill-timed, and the Anſwer not reſpectful; and he puniſhed him for it. The *Knight* was caſhiered, reduced to the Condition of the meaneſt of the *Citizens*, diſabled to give or receive a Vote in the Aſſemblies of the People, and deprived of all the Rights of *Citizenſhip*, without an Exemption from the Taxes. A Puniſhment which ſeemed too great for the Offence.

Aul. Gellius, B. 4. c. 20.

3 See what we have ſaid of the *Pomptin* Marſhes, now Part of the *Campagna di Roma*, *Vol.* 1. We ſhall hereafter ſee that *Cornelius Cethegus*'s Enterprize had not a very laſting Effect. The neighbouring Rivers overflowed, and drowned this Canton again ſome time after, and made new Marſhes. *Julius Cæſar* had Thoughts of drying them a ſecond time. But the Execution of this Deſign was left to his Succeſſor *Auguſtus*.

4 The *Popilian* Family, tho' originally *Plebeian*, gave the Republick ſeveral Magiſtrates of the firſt Order.

Never-

Year of *ROME* DXCIV. CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA, M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR, Conſuls.

Plin. B. 7. c. 63. Vitruv. B. 9. c. 9.

Vell. Paterc.

Donatus vel Suetonius in Vita Terentii.

NASICA alſo ſignalized his *Cenſorſhip*, by uſeful and fine Works. He was the firſt that ſhewed *Rome* a *Clepſydra* [5]; or at leaſt that placed one in publick View, in the Front of his Houſe. It was a Machine which, by Water conveyed thro' ſmall Tubes, and ſome Wheels which were moved by it, ſhewed the Hours of the Day and Night. An Invention which was neceſſary in a City where there was no Method of knowing the Hours of the Day but by Sun-Dials. When the Sun did not ſhine, and from Sun-ſet to Sun-riſing, there was no ſure Method of meaſuring Time. So that this Preſent was more acceptable to the *Citizens* on Account of the Uſefulneſs, than the Expence of it. But the Galleries, which the ſame *Cenſor* built on the *Capitol*, were a much finer and more expenſive Piece of Work. *Naſica* ended his *Cenſorſhip* with a *Luſtrum*, which was the fifty fourth ſince their Inſtitution. *Rome* then reckoned up three hundred thirty eight thouſand three hundred and fourteen *Citizens* fit to bear Arms. About this time *Terence* the Poet, who had eſcaped from *Rome*, I know not how, died; according to ſome, at Sea; and according to others, at [6] *Stymphalus*, a little City of *Arcadia*. Perhaps no Man ever acquired a greater Reputation than he did, for regular Comedies. He was a great Imitator of the *Greeks*, and eſpecially [7] *Menander*. At his Death, there were found among his Papers one hundred and eight Pieces of that Poet, which *Terence* had tranſlated from *Greek* into *Latin*. If he had not ſo much of the *Vis Comica* as *Plautus* who went before him; he at leaſt ſurpaſſed him, in the *Decorum* of the *Drama*, the Choice of his Subjects, and the Art of conducting them.

Year of *ROME* DXCV. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, C. POPILIUS LÆNAS, Conſuls.

§. V. WHEN new *Conſuls* were choſen, and *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *C. Popilius Lænas* were promoted, in the *Field of Mars*, to command the Armies of the Republick; *Fulvius Nobilior*, who had ſeemed idle in his *Conſulſhip*, ſignalized himſelf in *Liguria*, as *Pro-Conſul*. He made ſuch Conqueſts there, as procured him the higheſt military Honours. He triumphed. But we muſt look upon this as one of thoſe Triumphs which were purchaſed at a very cheap Rate, and granted for the taking of a Caſtle, as *Cicero* ſpeaks. No Hiſtorian mentions it. The *Faſti Capitolini* only have tranſmitted it to Poſterity. It was become neceſſary to raiſe a little Emulation among the *Conſuls*, who would otherwiſe have grown weary of ſpending whole Campaigns in Tents. And therefore ſlight Honours were beſtowed on them, to encourage them to undergo great Fatigues.

Joſeph. B. 11. c. 1.

As for the Republick, ſhe was wholly taken up with the Affairs of the Eaſt. *Demetrius* gave *Judæa* Reſpite, after the Orders he received from *Rome*. Nevertheleſs, as he was in the Flower of his Age, and as the Education he had received at *Rome* had given him a Taſte for Arms, he turned his Forces towards *Cappadocia*. Young *Ariarathes* was reigning there in Peace. He was a Prince that deſerved

5 *Vitruvius* has given us an Idea of theſe Sorts of Clocks, in his Deſcription of the *Clepſydra*, the Invention of which he aſcribes to *Creſibius*, a Native of *Alexandria*, and Son of a Barber. They were differently made. But all agreed in this, that the Water was inſenſibly conveyed from one Veſſel to another, in which it roſe up by degrees; and as faſt as it roſe, it lifted up a Piece of Cork which ſupported the Index that ſhewed the Hours. By this means it was eaſy to know the Hours, according to their Aſtronomical Diſtances. But theſe Machines were ſubject to two Inconveniences; the firſt of which has not eſcaped *Plutarch*. He obſerves, very juſtly, that the Water became more or leſs fluid, according as the Air was thicker or thinner, colder or hotter, more condenſed or more rarified. So that it did not always run with equal Swiftneſs, or in an equal Quantity. And conſequently, the Hour muſt be ſometimes longer and ſometimes ſhorter. Nor was this all. In this ancient *Clepſydra*, the Liquor which filled one of the Veſſels, fell down faſter or ſlower, according as the Veſſel emptied itſelf. And conſequently, ſince the Weight of the Water was greater at the Beginning than at the End, it did not fall at all times alike, ſo as exactly to correſpond to the Aſtronomical Hours. Our Sand Hour-Glaſſes, and Water-Glaſſes, which are much more ſimple and exact, have ſucceeded in the Room of the *Clepſydra* of the Ancients. For want of Striking-Clocks, Perſons of Diſtinction at *Rome* had Servants which they hired on purpoſe to tell them what it was o'Clock. *Petronius* ſays of *Trimalchion*, that he had a Clock in his Dining-Room, and that it was the Buſineſs of one of his Slaves to tell him every Hour of the Day, by Sound of Trumpet.

6 The Name of *Symphalus* was common to a Lake, Mountain, and City, of *Arcadia*. There are now ſcarce any Footſteps of the latter remaining. The Place where it ſtood is now called *Vulſi*, according to *Pliny*; or *Longanico*, according to *Le Noir*. We have ſpoken of it already.

7 *Menander*, commonly called the Prince of the new Comedy, among the *Greeks*, was born in the third Year of the 109th *Olympiad*, according to the *Chronicon of Euſebius*. He was the Diſciple of *Theophraſtus*. Under this Great Maſter he formed his Taſte, and acquired great Knowledge. His Genius led him to Comedy. He is ſaid to have written one hundred and eight, of which eight only gained the Prize. According to *Aulus Gellius*, he died the firſt Year of 122d *Olympiad*, aged fifty two Years, as appears by an Inſcription in *Gruter*'s Collection. The Time of his Death nearly coincides with the 461ſt Year of *Rome*.

Year of *ROME* DXCV.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, C. POPILIUS LÆNAS, Conſuls.

Diod. Sic. in Edog. B. 31. *Fait. B* 35. *Zonaras, B.* 9. *Polyb. in Legat. N.* 126.

Eſteem for many excellent Qualities. The Philoſophy of the *Greeks*, which he had introduced into his Dominions to drive out Barbariſm, had poliſhed his Mind. He was naturally of a ſweet Diſpoſition, very gracious to his People, loved them, and was beloved by them. His only Misfortune was, that he had a young *Cappadocian*, named *Orofernes*, his Rival for the Throne. The Foundation of his Claim was this. *Antiochis* the Daughter of *Antiochus the Great*, was married pretty young to the King of *Cappadocia*, who was named *Ariarathes* as well as his Son. The Queen thought her ſelf barren, for a great while; but being an artful Woman, ſhe twice feigned herſelf to be with Child, and impoſed two Children upon the King her Husband. This *Orofernes* was the younger, and one *Ariarathes* the elder. They were both brought up at the Court of their ſuppoſed Father, and were thought his Heirs. But afterwards *Antiochis*, by the help of Medicines, became fruitful, and actually was delivered of a Prince and two Princeſſes. The Son was firſt called *Mithridates*; and both the King and Queen immediately became paſſionately fond of him. Then *Antiochis*, ſtung with Remorſe, and grieved at the Injuſtice ſhe had done her real Son, declared to the King, that the two Children which he had brought up at his Court as the eldeſt Princes, were neither his Children, nor hers. She alſo gave him ſtrong Proofs of the Cheat ſhe had put upon him; and the King rejoicing to find that his Fondneſs for *Mithridates* were the ſecret Dictates of Nature, which ſhewed themſelves in ſpight of all Diſguiſes, immediately ſent the two ſuppoſititious Children out of his Kingdom. The eldeſt, which was called *Ariarathes*, was conveyed to *Rome*, where he was carefully kept. He was a young Man of a weak Mind, and ſcarce capable of being affected with his Loſs. But *Orofernes*, who had a greater Genius, and was of a more enterprizing Nature, was baniſhed into *Ionia*. And now the King's Affections were no longer divided. He made his Son lay aſide the Name of *Mithridates*, and take that of *Ariarathes*. Nay, out of an Exceſs of Tenderneſs for him, he would willingly have reſigned his Crown into the Hands of this dear Son; and found no Oppoſition, but from the Prince himſelf. Young *Ariarathes* proteſted, That he would rather die than do ſo baſe a thing as rob his Father of his Dignity; and by this Generoſity he merited the Surname of *Philopator*, which the *Greeks* afterwards gave him.

ALL theſe Virtues made *Ariarathes* worthy of the Throne, when he mounted it; and *Demetrius*, who had lately taken Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Syria*, againſt the Will of the *Romans*, offered him his Daughter in Marriage. But *Ariarathes* refuſed her; no doubt, becauſe afraid to contract an Alliance with a King whoſe Title was not yet recognized by *Rome*. This raiſed the Reſentment of *Demetrius*, and was the real Cauſe of the War he made with *Cappadocia*. The Pretence for it was reſtoring *Oroſernes*. This ambitious Prince tempted the *Syrian* with great Promiſes; ſent him word from *Ionia*, the Place of his Baniſhment, that he would give him a thouſand *Talents*, if he ſettled him on the Throne; and *Demetrius* therefore made all due Preparation for carrying back *Orofernes* to his own Country. *Ariarathes*, on the other hand, borrowed Succours of the King of *Pergamus*. *Eumenes* was dead; and this Prince (who was ſometimes faithful to the *Romans*, and ſometimes deſerted them, as his Intereſt led him,) had left a Son, who was long unknown, and then not old enough to govern. *Attalus*, the Brother of the late King, governed *Pergamus*; and the Reſemblance of their Virtues had united him in Friendſhip with the *Cappadocian*. He ſent him Succours. But all gave way before the Power and Forces of *Demetrius*. *Orofernes* was placed on the Throne; and *Ariarathes* being driven out of his Dominions, fled for Refuge to *Rome*, the common *Aſylum* of unfortunate Kings.

PERHAPS never was Cauſe more worthy of the Cognizance of the *Roman* Senate. *Syria* and *Pergamus*, the chief Powers of *Aſia*, were concerned in the Diſpute. It was neceſſary to give *Cappadocia* a King; and to determine whether a Prince, who was long acknowledged to be a King's Son, was to be deprived of his Right, by the Depoſition of a Mother, who might be capricious, and might only have followed the Dictates of her Averſion. *Ariarathes* appeared in Perſon, before the *Conſcript Fathers*, and in a ſet Diſcourſe ſpoke againſt the Pretenſions of the ſuppoſititious Son, who had been diſowned both by Father and Mother. He diſcovered the Riſe of the Enmity of *Demetrius* to him; and ſhewed the Senate, That his Attachment to *Rome* was the ſole Cauſe of his refuſing an Alliance with *Syria*,

Year of ROME DCXV. M. Æmilius Lepidus, C. Popilius Lænas, Conſuls.

the Fury of *Demetrius* againſt him, and of the Protection which the *Syrian* had given to a Pretender, whoſe Birth excluded him from the Throne. On the other hand, ſome Ambaſſadors from *Orofernes* maintained the Cauſe of their Maſter. They pretended, That the Depoſition of a Mother againſt her Son to whom ſhe had taken an Averſion, ought not to be always looked upon as Matter of Certainty; That this Maxim had ſtill greater Weight, when the Succeſſion to a Throne was in queſtion; and That the Proofs which are to exclude an elder Brother, who had long been owned as ſuch, could not be too plain. They challenged their Opponents to produce any other Witneſſes, that theſe Children were ſuppoſititious, but the Author of this ſuppoſed Cheat, and her Accomplice. They added, That by ſtudied Careſſes, and a feigned Docility and Obedience, *Mithridates* had made himſelf the Idol of the King and Queen. They demanded, that *Orofernes* ſhould be maintained on a Throne which had been taken from him by Artifice, and which he had recovered by Force of Arms. They alſo deſired, That the Republick would receive him into the ſame Friendſhip which they had granted to old *Ariarathes* his Father. And in order to obtain this Favour, they preſented the Senate, in his Name, with a Crown of Gold of great Price. *Miltiades* alſo, whom the King of *Syria* had ſent to *Rome* on his Part, ſollicited, in favour of *Orofernes*, the old Friends which *Demetrius* had made in the Senate during his Abode in *Italy*. In *Cappadocia* no one doubted but *Orofernes* was a ſuppoſititious Child. There were a great Number of Witneſſes of it. But the Fear of the Uſurper kept them in Awe; and the depoſed King had not Intereſt enough to bring them to *Rome*. However, the Affair, which was long debated, was at laſt determined there, rather according to the Inclinations of the Judges, than the Rules of ſtrict Equity. It had for ſome time been a Matter of Policy with the Senate, to divide great Monarchies, in order thereby to weaken them: and their Sentence was, That *Cappadocia* ſhould have two Kings; *Ariarathes* reign in one Part of his Country, and *Orofernes* in another.

§. VI. The ſame Maxim of ſetting up two Kings in great States, took Place likewiſe, with regard to *Egypt*. The Diviſions between the two *Ptolomies* were revived. *Rome*, which would have divided *Egypt* equally between the two Brothers, had ordered, that beſides *Cyrenaica*, which he then poſſeſſed, the younger ſhould have the Iſland of *Cyprus*; and the latter would fain have entered it Sword in hand. But the two Ambaſſadors which the Republick had ſent with the young Prince, thought it better to treat with the elder Brother in an amicable Way, and get the Decree of the Senate put in Execution, by Perſuaſion, rather than Violence. They therefore came to *Alexandria*; where they found the King little inclined to comply with the Will of *Rome*, and grant the Pretenſions of his Brother. He made it his whole Buſineſs to evade the Propoſals of the two *Romans*, and ſpin out their Negotiation to a great length. The King of *Alexandria* had a great Deſign on foot, which would ſoon break out, to the Diſadvantage of the King of *Cyrenaica*, his Brother. *Philometor* had been laying a Plot for a general Revolt of the *Cyreneans* againſt *Phyſcon*; and aſpired at nothing leſs than uniting all *Egypt* under his Dominion. And indeed, the Sedition was brought to bear. The younger *Ptolomy* was beaten by his Subjects, and driven out of the firſt Territory that was granted him. This occaſioned a new Proceſs, which was carried to *Rome*, and there pleaded by the Ambaſſadors of both Parties. *Phyſcon*'s Advocate exaggerated the little Deference *Philometor* had ſhewn for the Envoys of *Rome*, and the Decrees of the Senate. But *Philometor*'s Deputy inſiſted on the ſtill growing Pretenſions of a younger Brother, whoſe Ambition was boundleſs. *Let* Phyſcon, ſaid he, *maintain himſelf in the Poſſeſſion of* Cyrenaica, *if he can*; *and let him drop his Pretenſions to the Iſle of* Cyprus! Rome *has already decided our Differences. We adhere to her firſt Determination.* And indeed, the Cauſe of the elder Brother was the moſt juſt. Nevertheleſs, he was forced to give way to the Intereſts of the Great Republick. A perfect Equality between the two Brothers was moſt agreeable to the Senate; and therefore two new Ambaſſadors were ſent to *Egypt*. Theſe Meſſengers were as much dreaded in the Eaſt as great Armies. They commanded, and were obeyed. *Phyſcon*, who was already Maſter of *Cyrene* and *Cyrenaica*, thought of nothing but taking Poſſeſſion of *Cyprus*, which *Rome* was going to take from his Brother, to give him.

Polyb. in Legat. N. 116.

§. VII. But

§. VII. But this ſovereign Authority of the *Romans* was not equally revered in all Places. Some Nations which were leſs patient, or of a more reſtleſs Temper, were from time to time often ſtriking at the abſolute Sovereignty exerciſed by the Republick. *Dalmatia* [8] was a vaſt Country, which bordered upon *Illyricum*, and had indeed been a Part of it all the time that *Pleuratus* was on the Throne. But when *Gentius* ſucceeded his Father the *Dalmatians* ſeparated from him, and made a Republick by themſelves. In the mean time *Illyricum* became *Roman*, and the *Dalmatians*, for ſome time, reſpected it as a Country in Alliance with, or even tributary to *Rome*. But afterwards they penetrated into it, harraſſed their Neighbours by Incurſions, and laid their Country under Contribution. The *Liſſians* [9] therefore, and *Daoryſeans* [10], who had ſuffered moſt by theſe Robbers, brought their Complaints to *Rome*. The Senate did not uſe to paſs Judgment precipitately in ſuch Caſes, nor till they had made ſtrict Enquiries; and they now ſent a Deputation to *Dalmatia*, at the Head of which was *C. Fannius*. His Orders were to viſit *Illyricum* at the ſame time, and perhaps *Macedon*. At leaſt, Leave was about this time given the *Macedonians* to work their Gold and Silver Mines, which had been denied them ever ſince the Conqueſt of their Kingdom. As to the *Illyricans* and *Dalmatians*, *Fannius*'s Buſineſs was to get an exact Account of what Injuries they had done one another. *Rome* then foreſaw that it would ſoon be neceſſary to turn her Arms towards *Dalmatia*; and the Republick, tired with too long Inaction, was pleaſed with the Proſpect of a War which her *Conſuls*, who had too long been idle, would ſoon have to carry on out of *Italy*.

Year of ROME DXCV. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, C. POPILIUS LÆNAS, Conſuls.

FANNIUS returned from *Dalmatia* to *Rome* juſt after the Republick had choſen *Sex. Julius Cæſar* and *L. Aurelius Oreſtes* for her new *Conſuls*. They expected, That upon *Fannius*'s Report the People and Senate would declare War with the *Dalmatians*; and That one of them ſhould enter upon this glorious Expedition: But they were diſappointed. Indeed *Fannius* gave the *Conſcript Fathers* an Account of the Affronts the Republick had received in his Perſon from the *Dalmatians*, and ſaid, *I could ſcarce get Audience of this proud Nation. The* Dalmatians *told us, that they had no Quarrels with the* Romans; *and That they gloried in having nothing to do with us. To live independently*, ſaid they, *and to be in Fear of no Maſter, is the only Ambition of a Republick which can ſubſiſt of herſelf: And to theſe haughty Declarations they added barbarous Treatment. They not only did not provide us with Lodgings and Neceſſaries at the publick Expence; but even ſeized the Horſes we had brought from other Places. It was in vain to remonſtrate; their Avarice was not to be conquered: Nay, they had like to have begun Hoſtilities with putting your Ambaſſadors to Death. We owe our Lives to Patience and Diſſimulation.* This Diſcourſe exaſperated the Senators, who all unanimouſly pronounced, That they muſt neceſſarily ſoon puniſh an inſolent People, who alone, of all the Nations in the Eaſt, refuſed to ſubmit to them. Beſides, it was of Importance to the Republick to appear again in *Illyricum*, to keep it to its Duty, and to viſit the Coaſts which had been a little neglected ſince the Defeat of *Demetrius of Pharos*. A War in *Dalmatia* would be a good Pretence for appearing with a Fleet in the *Adriatick* Sea, and that Fleet would keep in Awe all the

Year of ROME DXCVI. SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR, L. AURELIUS ORESTES, Conſuls. *Polyb. in Legat. N.* 125. *App. in Illyric.*

8 Several Hiſtorians have confounded *Illyricum* and *Dalmatia*. Nevertheleſs, it is certain that by *Illyricum* in general, was moſt commonly meant that great Country which lies all along the *Adriatick* Sea, from the moſt Eaſtern Part of *Iſtria*, to the moſt Weſtern Part of *Macedon*. *Strabo* makes it thirty Days Journey long, and five broad, and ſays that the *Romans* reckoned it to be ſix thouſand *Stadia* long; which make ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand geometrical Paces, or two hundred and fifty *French* Leagues. But they made it only a hundred and fifty thouſand Paces broad; that is, forty, or forty five common Leagues. *Dalmatia* was therefore contained in *Illyricum*, conſidered in this Extent, and was a Part of it. The Limits of *Dalmatia* have been different, at different Times of the *Roman* Republick and Empire. Nevertheleſs, *Dalmatia*, ſtrictly ſpeaking, ſignifies particularly the Country which was bounded to the Weſt by the River *Titius* and *Liburnia*; to the Eaſt, by the *Drin* and *Macedon*; to the South, by the *Adriatick* Sea; and to the North, by the Mountains of *Pannonia*.

9 The *Liſſians* inhabited the Territory of *Liſſus*, in the Country of the *Scordiſci*, which was in the moſt Eaſtern Part of *Dalmatia*. *Diodorus Siculus* ſays, that the City of *Liſſus* was built by *Dionyſius the Tyrant*, to facilitate his Paſſage into *Epirus*, which he deſigned to conquer. He made a Port, which, according to this Hiſtorian, would hold two hundred Galleys; and it was ſurrounded by a vaſt Extent of Wall; ſo that it was as big in Circumference as the largeſt Cities. And laſtly, *Dionyſius* ſpared no Decorations for *Liſſus*. It is to this Day called *Aleſſio*, and ſtands near the Mouth of the *Drin*. The neighbouring Promontory is called *Acro-Liſſus*, according to *Stephen of Byzantium*.

10 *Strabo*, *B.* 7. ſays nothing more of the *Daoryſeans*, than that they lived near the River *Naro*.

People

Year of *ROME* DXCVI.
SEX. JULIUS CAR, L. AURELIUS ORESTES, Conſuls.
App. in Lybic. Plut. in Cato.

People that bordered upon the Coaſts of it. This likewiſe would give Employment to the Armies, which would no longer languiſh away their Time in Idleneſs. Theſe Conſiderations were ſufficient to determine *Rome* to make War upon the *Dalmatians*; but they were not ſufficient to make her haſten her Preparations for it. So that the *Conſuls* for the Year were forced to ſpend their Summer in Camps, the one in *Liguria*, the other in *Ciſalpine Gaul*.

§. VIII. THUS the Embaſſy of *Fannius* laid the Foundations for a War in the *Levant*; and another Embaſſy into *Africa*, at the Head of which was *Cato the Cenſor*, paved the Way for the third War with *Carthage*. So that theſe two great Enterprizes took their Riſe in one of the moſt peaceable Years *Rome* had ever had. *Maſiniſſa* was an ever reſtleſs Neighbour to the *Carthaginians*. As he was in the higheſt Credit at *Rome*, he was continually forming new Schemes for aggrandizing himſelf. *Rome* out of Policy connived at, nay authorized, his Uſurpations. The Republick was always intent upon weakening *Carthage*. So that the *Roman* Senate confirmed by their Decrees all the Encroachments the *Numidian* King could make on the *Carthaginian* State. And now *Maſiniſſa* had Thoughts of ſeizing a very large and fruitful Country called *Tyſca*. It contained no leſs than fifty Towns, and the Revenue which the *Carthaginians* received from it was conſiderable. Not that this was the firſt time that the *Numidian* had claimed this fine Territory at *Rome*. But the Senate had hitherto left the Affair undetermined, for a Reaſon which ſeemed to be unanſwerable in favour of the *Carthaginians*. When *Maſiniſſa* was formerly purſuing one of his rebellious Subjects, he durſt not croſs this Country without the Conſent of the *Carthaginian* Republick; which ſeemed to be plainly allowing the Right of *Carthage* to *Tyſca*. Nevertheleſs he now demanded it again Sword in Hand. The Affair was referred to the Determination of the *Romans*; and as much inclined as the Senate were to ſerve *Maſiniſſa*, they durſt not pronounce in his Favour, for fear of bringing themſelves into Diſgrace by an unjuſt Decree. They only ordered Commiſſioners to go and determine the Diſpute on the Spot; and *Cato the Cenſor* was at the Head of the Commiſſion. And even this the Senate did purely out of Artifice, being more intent on avoiding the Odium of Injuſtice, than hindering the Execution of it. They ſuffered *Maſiniſſa* to ſeize *Tyſca* by Violence, and did not ſend away their Deputies till after the *Numidian* had made himſelf Maſter of it.

THEN *Cato* ſet out with his Collegues and came to the Place appointed. But notwithſtanding his great Reputation for Equity, his Preſence did not put an end to the Diſtruſts of the *Carthaginians*. *Maſiniſſa* in vain acknowledged his Authority, and called upon him to pronounce Sentence; his Adverſaries would not ſubmit to the Arbitration of the *Roman*. *What occaſion is there*, ſaid they, *for our having Recourſe continually to freſh Trials? The* Great Scipio *has already judged us. That Conqueror, That Arbiter of* Africa, *ſettled our Limits by a Treaty of Peace. To alter his Appointments would be to reflect on the Memory of the greateſt of Men. Cato* could not conquer the Obſtinacy of the *Carthaginians*; neither durſt he pronounce, whilſt one of the Parties refuſed to refer the Cauſe to his Arbitration. What a Shame then for him to have made an uſeleſs Voyage at his Age! What Confuſion, to ſee that *Carthage* reſpected *Scipio* only, whom he had perſecuted to the laſt Moment of his Life. Among the ill Qualities which diſhonoured the pretended Philoſopher, one was, as we have obſerved, that he was revengeful to exceſs. Nevertheleſs he knew how to diſſemble his Reſentments. He left *Tyſca* a Prey to *Maſiniſſa*'s Troops; and came to *Carthage*, to ſeek for Pretences to exerciſe his Revenge ſome time or other on this unfortunate City. He examined every thing with that malicious and cenſorious Spirit which was peculiar to him. Indeed *Carthage* was recovered from the low and indigent Condition to which *Scipio* had reduced her, and had exceedingly enriched herſelf by Trade ſince that time. She was now in a Condition to rival *Rome* once more. She abounded with Gold and Silver, her Magazines were well ſtored with Arms, and her Ports full of Ships. The Number of her Inhabitants was exceedingly increaſed during the Peace. Of the three Factions that divided her Senate, that which adhered to *Rome* was in leaſt Eſteem. And of the two others, that which favoured *Maſiniſſa* was inferior to that which was called *The Popular Party*, becauſe they were for freeing their Country both from the *Roman* and the *Numidian* Yoke. *Carthage* might likewiſe produce another

other *Hannibal*, who might raiſe her from the humble State, to which *Rome* had with ſo much Difficulty reduced her.

Year of *ROME* DXCVI. SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR, L. AURELIUS ORESTES, Conſuls.

THESE Obſervations, which were not without Foundation, joined with his perſonal Diſcontents, made old *Cato* an implacable Enemy to her. He from that time formed the Deſign of bringing about her utter Deſtruction. With theſe Thoughts, and this Revenge, he returned to *Rome*, fully bent on the Ruin of the unfortunate People, who had provoked him. When he appeared in the Senate, to give an Account of his Negotiation, he filled all the *Conſcript Fathers* with Terror, by his Account of the preſent State of *Carthage*. *How ſtrangely have we been miſinformed*, ſaid he, *when we thought that the Rival of* Rome *was deſtroyed, and ruined paſt Redemption! The Blow which ſhe received from* Scipio *only ſtunned her for a Time. She ſoon recovered from her Stupefaction, and is now more healthy and vigorous than ever. I have ſeen her Inhabitants abounding with Gold and Silver, her Magazines full, the Sea in her Ports covered with the Multitude of her Ships, and her Streets crowded with a numerous Populace. And then indeed I was not ſurprized to find* Carthage *more inclined to determine her Differences with* Maſiniſſa *by Arms, than refer them to the Deciſion of Arbitrators. The War ſhe makes with the King of* Numidia, *is only an Introduction to a more important one with* Rome. *When they are more inured to War, the* Carthaginians *will come and fall upon us. Do the ſacred Ties of Treaties ever obſtruct their Deſigns? It is well known that the* Africans *are more famous for their ill Faith and Perfidiouſneſs, than either their Wars, or their Misfortunes. Let us loſe no time,* Conſcript Fathers, *in utterly deſtroying a Republick, which is recovering herſelf, only to inſult us. Her Riches at this inſtant of time ought to be formidable to us. Let us not tarry till ſhe has increaſed them. Let us cruſh the Head of this* African *Serpent! To cut off only one Fold of his Body, is to have left the moſt formidable part of this furious Animal untouched. Let us go directly to* Carthage. *As long as this Capital is in being,* Rome *will never be perfectly ſecure, or enjoy an abſolute Authority, either in the Eaſt, or South.*

THIS Diſcourſe was heard with Applauſe. But after all, the Affair did not yet ſeem to be come to Maturity. The *Romans* were going to be employed in a War in *Dalmatia*, which required more haſte. The People had conſented to it, and ſeveral Steps had been taken towards it. Nevertheleſs all Minds were full of terrible Prejudices againſt the *Carthaginians*; and *Cato* took care to keep them alive, and to carry his Reſentments to the utmoſt Exceſs. He was never moderate in his Hatred; but was ever deſperately bent on purſuing it with that Obſtinacy, which was his chief Characteriſtick. It is ſaid, That when he returned from *Carthage*, he brought from thence ſome very large Figs, which kept freſh through the whole Voyage; and That when he ſhewed them to the *Conſcript Fathers*, in one of the Lappets of his Robe, he ſaid, *The Country where this fine Fruit grows is but three Days Journey from* Rome. This was an Artifice, to irritate the Covetouſneſs of the *Romans*; and from that time he was exhorting the Senate to deſtroy *Carthage*. Every time he ſpoke and voted, be it on what Account it would, he always concluded with theſe Words; *I am alſo of Opinion that* Carthage *muſt be deſtroyed.* And perhaps his Wiſhes would have been ſooner accompliſhed, if *Scipio Naſica* had not on the other hand with Obſtinacy oppoſed the Opinion of the too rigid *Cenſor*. After the Death of *Paulus Æmilius*, *Cato* and *Naſica* had moſt Authority in the Senate. Almoſt all Affairs were determined according to their Opinions. How ſoon *Cato* ſucceeded in this great Point of the Deſtruction of *Carthage*, will e're long appear in its proper Place.

Plut. Life of *Cato.*

§. IX. The two new Wars which were going to break out, were doubtleſs what induced the *Conſcript Fathers* to take an exact Account of the great Riches which had been ſo long heaping up in the publick Treaſury. They ordered the *Queſtors* to weigh all the Gold and Silver there; and they found ſeventeen hundred and twenty ſeven * Pounds of Gold, and ninety two thouſand three hundred and eighty five † Pounds of Silver. Which muſt have been an immenſe Sum at that time; ſince the Republick undertook all her Wars after this time, upon the Strength of this Fund only, without laying any Tax on the *Citizens* of *Rome*. And now the *Romans* had nothing more to do, but to chuſe ſuch *Conſuls* as they might intruſt with the Conduct of the Army deſigned for the *Dalmatian* Expedition.

Plin. B. 33. *c.* 3.

* *Worth* 828961. *Sterl. at* 4 *l. per Ounce.*

† *Worth* 27715 *l. Sterl. at* 5 *s. per Ounce.*

Year of *ROME* DXCVII.

C. Marcius Figulus, L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus, Conſuls.

Val. Max. B. 6. c. 9. § 10

Among the Candidates the People caſt their Eyes on one General, whoſe Experience in military Affairs was well known. This was *C. Marcius Figulus*, who after he had been elected *Conſul* in the Year 591, had been obliged to reſign the *Conſulſhip*, on account of ſome pretended religious Defects in the Aſſembly which choſe him. And there is Reaſon to believe, that the Senate of their own Authority nominated *Figulus* to carry on the War out of *Italy*, without leaving him to caſt Lots for it. We have ſeen more than one Inſtance of their deviating from the received Cuſtom. The Collegue given to *Figulus* in *The Field of Mars*, was one *L. Cornelius Lentulus*; who was more of the [11] Orator than the Soldier, and better qualified to impoſe on the Senate or *Comitia*, than to command Armies, or keep Diſcipline in a Camp. After his return from his Campaign, this bad General was accuſed and condemned for Miſdemeanors, which was all the Glory he brought from *Liguria*, where he made War. But his Collegue *Figulus* acquired more Honour in *Dalmatia*.

MEASURES were taken for ſubduing this fierce, and almoſt ſavage People. The Capital of the *Delmates*, or rather according to their old Name of the *Delmates*, was the City of [12] *Delminium*. When they ſeparated from *Illyricum*, they had only twenty five Cities in their Dominions; but they afterward ſo much increaſed their Number by Conqueſts, that there were eighty five Cities in their State, when *Rome* ſubdued it for the firſt time. The *Dalmatians* were governed by Luſt and Inſtinct, inſtead of Laws. The only one they had among them was the Dictate of their Avarice; which was, That all Lands ſhould change their Maſters every ten Years, and conſequently the ſame Eſtates ſhould not be perpetuated in any Families. They who had no Lands to cultivate lived in Foreſts, from which they ſallied out in Companies, to ſeek for Proviſions where they could find them [13] among their Neighbours. They were brave out of Neceſſity, rather than any Principles of Honour, were utterly ignorant of the Arts of War, and never took Places but by Surpriſe, or unexpected Attacks. Nevertheleſs their firſt Fire in Battels was formidable. But as their Valour was not conducted by Art, they were often Conquerors in the Onſet, and yet lamented their Defeat at the end of the Action. But they were more conſtant behind their Walls. They defended their Cities with a Perſeverance not to be overcome by any People but *Romans*. Such were the People againſt whom the Republick ſent *Marcius Figulus*. Such the Enemies againſt which ſhe ſent her *Legions*, to revive their Love of Battels.

App. in Illyric. N. 761.

THE *Roman* Fleet tranſported the *Conſul* and his Soldiers to *Illyricum*, and from thence he paſſed on to *Dalmatia*. And no ſooner had the *Romans* made their Deſcent into the Places watered by the [14] *Naro*, but the *Dalmatians* fell on the *Legionaries*, before the *Conſul* had time to look about him. The *Romans* were not yet drawn up in order of Battel, when numerous Troops of theſe Barbarians attacked them all on a ſudden, and forced them to retreat as far as to the City of *Narona*. In all Ages of the Republick, it was no uncommon thing for the *Romans* to be beaten by new Enemies, in the firſt Battles they fought with them. Their Generals always wanted time to recollect themſelves, and learn the different Ways in which each People made War. As their Diſpoſitions for Battels were uniform, their Enemies who knew them made their Advantage of it for a time. But in the long run, the *Conſuls* learnt to conform themſelves to Places and Nations, and by their Conſtancy overcome the firſt Impetuoſity of their Adverſaries. After a firſt Advantage, the *Dalmatians* retired into their Foreſts; and the near Approach of Winter, and the Rains, which generally laid the Plains of *Narona* under Water for ſix Months together, forced the two Armies to quit the Field. But as ſoon as the fine Weather returned, *Figulus* penetrated into *Dalmatia*, with more Precaution than before. He drew near to *Delminium*, but durſt not attack

11 This was the ſecond *Conſulſhip* of *Marcius Figulus*. *Cicero*, in his Treatiſe *Of Famous Orators*, ſpeaks of his Collegue *Lucius Lentulus*, who had alſo the Surname of *Lupus*; and ranks him among the good Orators of his Age.

12 The City of *Delminium*, or *Delminio*, ſtood ſo far up in the Country, that it almoſt bordered upon *Pannonia*. The River called *La Drina*, which falls into the *Save*, watered the Diſtrict of this City.

13 The *Dalmatians* were ſo barbarous, according to *Strabo*, that they did not know the Uſe of Money: So that they trafficked only by Barter.

14 The *Naro*, now known by the Name of the *Narenta*, waters the City of *Narona*, and diſcharges itſelf into the neighbouring Gulph.

tack it, notwithstanding what one [15] Historian says to the contrary. The Glory of taking this Capital was reserved for his Successor. However *Figulus* attacked some other Places of Consequence, took them, sacked them, and reduced them to Ashes. Nevertheless the Conqueror was not thought to merit a Triumph by his Exploits, or even a *Pro-Consulate*, with a Commission to finish the War he had begun. He had suffered himself to be beaten at his Arrival; and this was enough to have him recalled to *Rome*, after his *Consular* Year was expired. The next *Comitia* chose *Scipio* [16] *Nasica*, and *Claudius Marcellus*, *Consuls*; two Men of distinguished Merit, who had already been honoured with the *Consulate*.

Year of ROME DXCVIII. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA, C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, Consul

§. X. THE great Ability of the two *Consuls* determined the Senate to suffer them to draw Lots for the Provinces of *Dalmatia* and *Liguria*. *Marcellus* and *Nasica* were both very capable of finishing the greatest Enterprizes. *Dalmatia* fell to *Nasica*, who went thither to command the Army, which he received from his Predecessor *Figulus*. He was not of a Temper to prolong an Expedition, which he thought scarce worthy of a *Consul*: And as he thought one Campaign, or rather the taking of one City, was sufficient to subdue the whole Nation; he therefore advanced towards *Delminium*, with a Resolution to lay Siege to it in a little time. But he pretended to be terrified by the Fortifications that surrounded it, and the great Army that defended it. *Delminium* was indeed strong by Situation, by the Thickness of its Bulwarks, and by the innumerable Multitude of the *Dalmatians*, who had come thither from all the neighbouring Forests. The City had only one Defect, which was, that all the Houses were made of Wood, and covered with nothing but combustible Matter. Upon these Observations the *Consul* did not despair of taking it soon; but it was first necessary to make a Diversion for this numerous Army of Defenders, who might by sudden Sallies give his Troops terrible Shocks. He therefore turned aside to the Cities of the second Rank; and the *Dalmatians* instantly changed their Measures. They left their Capital, and flew to the Assistance of the Places which the Enemy threatened. Upon which *Nasica* immediately turned back again, and invested *Delminium*. He now thought the Siege no longer impracticable, and began it with the Activity of a great General. The Historians, who are in this Case very defective, have not indeed transmitted to us any Account of the many Feats of Arms, which made this Siege memorable: But they mention one Particular, which is sufficient of itself to shew us the Genius of *Nasica*.

Front. Strab. B. 3. c. 6.

DELMINIUM was, if we may so speak, nothing but a vast Forest of dry Trees, the Branches of which were twisted together almost without any Art, and made long Rows of Huts rather than Houses: So that to set Fire to any part of it, was in effect to cause a general Conflagration. The *Consul* therefore applied the *Balistæ* and *Catapultæ* which he had brought before the Place, to an Use which was quite new. Instead of loading them with Darts, Stones, and long Beams pointed with Iron, he threw nothing with them but Firebrands, of about two Cubits long, lighted at one end. These Torches burned the more for their Motion through the Air, and fell upon several Parts of the City, which they immediately set on Fire. May it not then be affirmed, That our modern Bombs are only an Improvement of *Nasica*'s Invention? This at least is certain, That these flying Firebrands thrown by the Machines, had much the same Effect at *Delminium*, as our Bombs would have had. All the City was in a Flame. And whilst the Inhabitants were labouring to save their Effects, and the Soldiers of the Gar-

Zon. B. 9. c. 25. Livy in Epit. App. in Illyric. Ibid.

15 *Appian* applies to the *Consul Marcius Figulus*, what *Zonaras* and *Frontinus* say of *Scipio Nasica*, *Consul* for the next Year. The latter had all the Glory of the Conquest of *Delminium*, of which the first mentioned Historian partly robs him, in favour of *Marcius*, who had commanded here the preceding Campaign. But then the two latter Historians are also mistaken in postponing the *Roman* War with the *Dalmatians* for one Year. They place the beginning of it in the Year of *Rome* 598. Whereas, if *Appian*'s Testimony was wanting in the Case, that of *Livy*, in his Epitome of *B.* 47. is more than sufficient to convince us that *Marcius Figulus* penetrated into *Dalmatia* at the Head of an Army, in the Year 597. His Authority is greater than that of the other two Historians, who were not so well instructed in the Affairs of *Rome*, and lived long after *Livy*'s time.

16 *Cicero*, in his Book *Of Famous Orators*, agrees with the *Fasti Capitolini*, as to the second *Consulate* of *Scipio Nasica*; and says, it was he, who by his extraordinary Prudence, deserved the Surname of *Corculum*.

Year of *ROME* DXCVIII.

P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, C. Claudius Marcellus, Consuls.

Auth. de Vir. Illustr.

Fast. Capit.

Aul. Gell. B. 7. c. 24. Plut. Life of *Cato.*

* 96875 *l. Sterl.*

rison were busy in plundering, the *Romans* scaled the Walls, and made a Lodgment on the Ramparts. On the other Hand, the affrighted *Dalmatians* left their burning City, and fled to their Forests, their usual Refuge. Thus *Nasica*, almost without Loss, made himself Master of a City, the Conquest of which brought with it that of all *Dalmatia*. The *Roman* Soldiers were the better pleased with this Victory, because it had been gained without Bloodshed. The Army honoured their General with Acclamations, and gave him the Title of *Imperator*. But *Nasica* was not puffed up with his Success. He refused the glorious Surname which they offered him. This great Man thought the War he had just finished, no better than a hunting Match, wherein he had been ordered to chase some wild Beasts; and wherein nothing more was necessary to destroy those Beasts, than to smoke them in their Dens. However, when the Conqueror of *Dalmatia* was returned to *Rome*, the Senate and People decreed him a Triumph. But whether [17] he accepted it, or, out of Pride, despised an Honour which had been for some time prostituted to *Consuls*, who had not deserved it, is just Matter of doubt to this Day. However his Fame increased in the Republick, and he continued to be, with *Cato*, the Arbiter and Support of it.

As for *Marcellus* in *Liguria*, he did not suffer his Army to languish away their time in Inaction. He fought some Battels with Success, or at least took some Castles, which procured him a Triumph. The *Fasti Capitolini*, the only Monument we have of the Advantages he gained, though consumed with Time, shews us that he conquered more than one *Ligurian* Nation, and that he triumphed on two [18] Accounts.

§. XI. These repeated Prosperities of the Republick, and especially the Conquest of *Dalmatia*, made the *Roman* Name more and more reverenced in the East. No Nation had any Quarrels, but it immediately referred them to the Decision of the Senate. They gloried in having recourse to them. The *Athenians* were the first who gave this Example of their Submission. *Oropus* [19] was a City of *Bœotia* on the Confines of *Attica*. The *Athenians*, when in great want of Necessaries, had pillaged it, and the *Oropians* had brought their Complaints before the Tribunal of the *Sicyonians*. The latter had condemned *Athens* to pay the Inhabitants of *Oropus* five hundred *Talents* *, by way of Satisfaction for their Losses; and this being a considerable Sum, and the Persons concerned thinking the Sentence unjust, they appealed to *Rome*. In order to maintain their Cause, the *Athenians* sent thither three Men of great Reputation in the Schools of *Athens*. The first was [20] *Carneades*; the second [21] *Critolaus*; and the third [22] *Diogenes*. They were well skilled in all kinds of Literature; and Masters, not only of the Subtleties of the ancient Philosophy, but also of a fallacious Eloquence, well adapted to persuade. The first had professed himself an [23] *Academick*, the second a *Peripatetick*,

17 There are also to be found in the *Fasti Capitolini* some Footsteps of the Triumph that was decreed *Scipio Nasica*, after he had reduced the *Dalmatians*. And this single Authority is of great Weight against *Appian*; who in his *Wars* of *Illyricum*, gives *Marcius Figulus* the Glory of having begun and finished the *Dalmatian* Wars, and makes no mention of his Successor *Nasica*.

18 From what Time has spared of the *Fasti Capitolini* concerning the Triumph of *Marcus Claudius Marcellus*, it is concluded, that this General triumphed over two different Nations of *Liguria*; but neither their Names or Countries are known.

19 We have already spoken of *Oropus*. *Nardus* gives it the Name of *Zucamino*.

20 *Carneades* was a Native of *Cyrene* in *Lybia*. He neglected the Study of Physick, to employ himself in moral Speculations. This he did with such Application, and he was continually so much swallowed up in profound Meditation, that he even forgot the Wants of Nature. He embraced the Doctrines of the *New Academy*, and declared himself openly, on all Occasions, against the Doctrine of the *Stoicks*. *Cicero* makes this Philosopher to have lived ninety Years; whereas *Valerius Maximus* gives him only eighty five. *Aulus Gellius* says, he took a Dose of Hellebore before he wrote against the *Zenonists*, in order to clear up his Thoughts.

21 It is uncertain whether this *Critolaus* was a different Person from the Historian of that Name, who wrote a Treatise on *Phænomena*, and an History of the *Epirots*, or not. *Plutarch* quotes the third Book of the latter Work, in the sixth Chapter of his *Parallels*.

22 *Diogenes* was a Native of *Selencia*, a City near *Babylon*; and for this Reason he was called a *Babylonian*. *Athenæus*, *B.* 4. ascribes to him a Book entituled, *Of the Nobility*.

23 The *Academicks* took their Name from a House of Pleasure built in *Ceramicos*, one of the Suburbs of *Athens*. It had formerly belonged to a Citizen of *Athens*, named *Academus*, a Cotemporary with *Theseus*. Those Philosophers opened their School there. *Cimon*, according to *Plutarch*, planted Trees, and made Fountains about it, for the Convenience of those who came thither to study Philosophy. There were three sorts of *Academicks*; those of the *old*, those of the *middle*, and those of the *new*, *Academy*. The first acknowledged that there are some Truths which are not above our Capacity

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patetick, and the third a [24] *Stoick*. They had each his particular kind of Eloquence. *Carneades* hurried away the Mind, with the Rapidity and Vehemence of his Diſcourſe. *Critolaus* affected a leſs rapid Stile, but more polite and elegant. *Diogenes* kept in the middle Way, between the Vivacity of the one, and the Slowneſs of the other. He was more pure and correct than *Carneades*, without being ſo profuſely florid as *Critolaus*. Nevertheleſs *Carneades* had the greateſt Reputation. The Facility with which he ſpoke *Pro*, and *Con*, in all Caſes, gained him the greateſt Number of Admirers. The *Romans* daily crowded more and more to the Houſes of theſe Maſters of the Art of Thinking and Speaking well. It is ſaid, that a grave Senator named *Acilius*, not content with being their Diſciple, deſired Leave of the Senate to be their Interpreter. The *Conſcript Fathers* granted the Requeſt, and were very willing that the *Roman* Nobility ſhould cultivate their Minds, with the Study of thoſe Arts and Sciences, which were brought from *Greece* to *Rome*.

WE have already obſerved that *Cato*, notwithſtanding his Abilities, had his Faults; and he now diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an Act, which could proceed only from an extravagant Turn of Thought, and a Spirit of Contradiction. Notwithſtanding the Approbation which the Senate had given to the three eloquent *Philoſophers*, the old *Cenſor* became their Adverſary, and in an Aſſembly of the *Conſcript Fathers* ſpake thus. *Why do we delay ſending back the* Athenian *Ambaſſadors to their own Country? Are we reſolved to ſtay till they have infected all the* Roman *Youth, and enervated their Courage? Nor is this all. What can be more dangerous to a Republick, which is ſound in Manners, than this Art of Speaking* Pro *and* Con, *and perſuading People alternately both what is true, and what is falſe? This is the Way to turn Virtue into Vice, and Vice into Virtue. By this means Injuſtice is made Equity, and Juſtice repreſented like Iniquity. Private Intereſt is transformed into publick Good; and Reaſon is overpowered by theſe ſpecious Argumentations. Far be theſe ſophiſtical Arts from hence! This Plague is brought us from the* Levant. *And would to the Gods thoſe Phyſicians had been expelled* Rome [25], *who have been introduced here, out of too great a Care for the Preſervation of our Health! What Vigour do I ſtill retain at my Age, without uſing any Medicines, but ſome Receipts*

pacity, and of which a Man may convince himſelf, by the bare Light of Reaſon. Thoſe of the *middle Academy*, of which *Arceſilas* was the Head, reduced Man to the melancholy Neceſſity of doubting of every thing. And thoſe of the *New Academy*, which owed its Riſe to *Carneades*, acknowledged in general, that there were a certain Number of Truths; but alledged at the ſame time, that a Man could not poſſibly diſtinguiſh Truth from Falſhood. An Opinion, which degraded Men in an unworthy manner, and confined them to Darkneſs and Ignorance.

[24] The famous *Zeno*, a Native of *Cittium* in *Cyprus*, was the Founder of the Sect of the *Stoicks*. He aſſembled his Diſciples in a Portico at *Athens*, called by the *Greeks*, *Stoa*; and from thence came the Name, which diſtinguiſhed them from the other Sects of Philoſophers in *Greece*. The *Stoicks* formed a very different Plan of Morality from that of *Epicurus*. They impoſed very burdenſome Duties upon Man, and allowed him no Reward, but the Advantage of being virtuous: So that according to their Doctrine, a wiſe Man was ſelf-ſufficient. He had a ſolid Reward, and pure unmixed Pleaſures in his own Virtue. Inſomuch, that he enjoyed an Happineſs equal to the ſupreme Felicity of the Gods. Whereas in reality, all theſe great Maxims, which the *Stoicks* taught with ſo much Oſtentation, could have no Place in a Syſtem which ſubjected both Gods and Men to the Laws of Fate, or inevitable Neceſſity. Hence that Anſwer of a Slave, whom *Zeno* uſed ill, for having robbed him. *I was fated both to rob and to be beaten.* Theſe were the Principles of *Stoicism*. Indeed theſe pretended Sages in effect, reduced all the Pagan Gods to one ſingle Being. They conſidered all the Divinities, only as different Attributes, which were all united in one. But their Doctrines concerning the Nature of the Gods, was only diſguiſed *Atheiſm*. They allowed of the Exiſtence of no other God but the *Soul of the World*, or the Totality of the Parts of the Univerſe.

[25] *Cato* conſidered Phyſicians only as ſo many Enchanters, who impoſed upon the Publick. He ordered that none of them ſhould ever be ſuffered to come into his Houſe; and expreſly forbad his Son ever to entruſt them with the Care of his Health. He pretended to have a Cure for all Diſeaſes, in ſome Remedies of his own, which he preſcribed to all that were ſick in his Family. In his Treatiſe *Of the Rural Life*, he preſcribes certain Specificks for cleanſing the Humours, for curing Sprains, or Bruiſes in the Feet, and ſeveral other Diſorders. He offers ſome for curing Diſlocations; and he alſo ſuggeſts ſome myſterious Words, which he thought of wonderful Force in curing the Diſorder. According to *Plutarch*, his moſt common Food was Wood-Pigeons, Ducks, and Hares. Probably he loved thoſe Meats; which was enough to make him believe, that they were the lighteſt, and moſt eaſy of Digeſtion. And therefore he preſcribes, that they only ſhould be given to ſick People. Nevertheleſs he owned, that theſe ſolitary Animals filled the Head with Fumes in the Night, and produced Dreams, which broke People's Reſt. No doubt *Cato* was more indebted to a ſtrong Conſtitution for his Health, than to ſo odd a Regimen. It is not to be wondered at, that he could not ſave the Lives of his firſt Wife, and his Son, by this Method. They could not have run a greater Riſk, by ſubmitting to the Rules of Art, than they did by following the Caprice of a very opinionative Man.

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which have been tranſmitted to me from my Anceſtors? I am, and will be, the only Phyſician, in my Family!

Prejudices are often even more contagious than Eloquence; and the Senators had entertained high Notions of *Cato*'s Wiſdom. In ſhort, they ſacrificed the three Philoſophers to his Humour, and obliged them to return to their own Country. Nevertheleſs, in order to comfort them in ſome Meaſure, and in ſome ſort do Honour to their Merit, they conſiderably leſſened the Sum, which *Sicyon* had condemned the *Athenians* to pay. Their definitive Sentence was, That inſtead of the *Athenians* paying the *Oropians* five hundred *Talents* by way of Satisfaction, they ſhould pay them only one † hundred. Thus *Carneades* and his Collegues left *Rome*, after having in vain attempted to introduce the *Grecian* Studies there. For ſome time, the *Romans* left the Art of Perſuaſion to every Man's natural Diſpoſition, without making it a Study. They applied themſelves more to Arms, than the Cultivation of the Mind. But the time will come, when they will make *Athens* abundant Amends for the Affront now offered her. They will go in Crowds thither, to learn the Subtleties of Philoſophy, and the Charms of *Rhetorick*.

† 19375 *l. Sterl.*

§. XII. *ROME* had ſtill great Quarrels to pacify. *Aſia* was not yet in Tranquillity. The King of *Bithynia* was making War with the King of *Pergamus*, and preſſed him hard. *Attalus*, that conſtant Friend of the *Romans*, was maintaining the Intereſts of the King his Pupil, with Diſadvantage; and had already ſent an Embaſſy to *Italy*, to repreſent to the *Roman* Senate, the Condition to which the Kingdom of *Pergamus* was reduced. But the Regent of *Pergamus* laboured to little Purpoſe. *Nicomedes*, the Son of *Pruſias*, who was then at *Rome* for his Education, anſwered the Complaints that were made of his Father, and turned them againſt *Attalus*. The Senate had appointed two Commiſſioners, to put an end to the Diſputes of the two Kings on the Spot. Nevertheleſs *Pruſias* ſtill went on invading the Lands of *Pergamus*, and ravaging its Territories: And then *Attalus* took the Advantage of a *Roman* Ambaſſador's return to *Italy*, and ſent his Brother *Athenæus* with him. After which, the Senate, when better informed, laid all the Blame on *Pruſias*, and ſent him Orders to lay down his Arms, and ſuffer *Attalus* to govern his Nephew and Kingdom in Peace. But *Rome* was not immediately obeyed. The Quarrel which then began between *Pruſias* and *Attalus* laſted three Years. Great Violences, and great Robberies on one Hand; and as many repeated Complaints on the other! *Rome* was not weary with ſending Ambaſſador after Ambaſſador to *Pruſias*. But he laughed at them, or cheated them by Delays or by Perfidiouſneſs. One Day he pretended to be ready to acquieſce in the Decrees of the predominant Republick, but his Deſign was only to amuſe *Hortenſius*, and to ſurpriſe *Attalus* into a Snare. He deſired a Conference with the Regent; and it was agreed, that *Attalus* and *Pruſias* ſhould meet on the Frontiers of the two Kingdoms, each attended by a Guard of a thouſand Men, in order to put an end to their Differences, in the Preſence of the *Roman* Envoys. But the *Bithynian* marched a whole Army to the Place of meeting, where he laid all his Troops in Ambuſh, and gave them Orders to ſurround the *Romans* and *Pergamenſes*, as ſoon as they ſhould appear. However the Cheat was diſcovered, and *Attalus* and the *Roman* Troops fled. *Pruſias* followed them to *Pergamus*, after he had plundered the Baggage of the *Roman* Ambaſſadors; and when he came there, only plundered ſome Temples, and ruined ſome ſacred Places. From thence he went down to *Elea* [26], which he found too well provided for him to attempt to beſiege it. And at length he ſent back his Land-Forces to *Bithynia*, embarked for *Thyatira* [27], and committed Robberies and Sacrileges wherever he came. Theſe Proceedings would have made the *Romans* fall with the utmoſt Fury on *Bithynia* at any other time. But now the Republick was content with ſending ten Commiſſioners, whoſe Number at leaſt might make ſome Impreſſion on the *Bithynian*.

Polyb. Legat. N. 129.

Liv. in Legat. N. 133.

26 We have already deſcribed *Elea*, a maritime City of *Æolis*, ſituated at the Mouth of the *Caicus*. Modern Geographers now call it *Alea*.

27 We have already given a ſufficient Account of *Thyatira* in this Volume. It was a City of *Lydia*, ſituated on the Banks of the River *Lycus*. One of the *Echinades* Iſlands has the ſame Name.

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In the mean time, *Attalus* assembled a great Number of Troops, which he found in [28] *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*; and with this numerous Army, joined the ten *Roman* Deputies, and marched directly to *Prusias*. This was the Way to make him pay respect to their Commission. Nevertheless the *Bithynian* seemed to be yet untractable. He came into one part of the Proposals that were made him, and rejected another. He wanted to gain time. But at length the *Roman* Envoys exerted themselves. *Either obey us*, said they, *or renounce our Alliance. We will from this time treat you as an Enemy.* This said they retired, and left the King in this Dilemma, that he must either comply, or maintain a War with *Rome*. The Conference was held in a neutral Place between the two Camps; and *Prusias* ran after the Commissioners, and endeavoured to gain them by Promises and Submissions. They were inflexible, and parted; after they had exhorted *Attalus* to continue on the defensive. Some of them returned to *Rome* to give an Account of their Negotiation. Others dispersed themselves in several States in *Asia*, to assemble Forces there, to assist *Attalus* against *Bithynia*. *Rome*, without making War in the *Levant* herself, was going to swallow up *Prusias*, with the Multitude of her Allies. *Rhodes* therefore, *Cyzica*, and many other maritime Cities, fitted out Ships for the *Pergamenses*; and *Athenæus* the Brother of *Attalus*, out of these Reinforcements, made a Fleet of eighty Gallies, commanded it himself, and ravaged all the Coasts of *Bithynia*. Then *Prusias* found that he could no longer hold out against the Storm that threatened him; and he submitted to Reason, and accepted the Terms which *Rome* sent him by three new Ambassadors. These obliged him, *To deliver up to* Attalus *immediately twenty Gallies with Decks, and as many more the next Year*; *To pay him five hundred* Talents *; *To confine himself within the ancient Limits of his Kingdom, without pretending to extend them*; *and lastly, To pay the Cities he had plundered a hundred* Talents †, *by way of Reparation for the Damages he had done them.* These Conditions were accepted, and the Peace concluded. And it must be owned, that this Negotiation, which was so prudently conducted, turned more to the Advantage of *Rome*, than of *Pergamus*. It shewed all the East, that the *Romans* were as formidable for their Alliances there, as for their own proper Forces. Thus, without any Expence, and if I may so speak, with a Look, or the cast of an Eye, they governed these distant Nations, and kept them in their Duty. This was masterly Policy!

* 96875 l. Sterl.
† 19375 l. Sterl.

§. XIII. AND as *Rome* made herself feared Abroad, so she reformed Abuses at Home. Two *Tribunes of the People*, one named *Ælius* [29], and the other *Furius*, undertook to rectify two Faults which were committed in the *Comitia*, assembled to confirm new Laws, or pass them. It was not then customary to put an end to these Assemblies, (which were often tumultuous, and in which Intrigues prevailed,) by declaring that the Heavens had been consulted, and no favourable *Auspices* had been observed. Though it was usual to break up the *Comitia* for electing the great Magistrates, by that very Means. This at once stifled all Dissentions and Factions in their Birth. And *Ælius*'s Aim was to introduce the same Custom, in Assemblies held for accepting Laws, as in those held for the Elections of *Consuls* and *Prætors*. As for *Furius*, one of *Ælius*'s Collegues in the *Tribuneship*, he also rectified another Disorder in the same Assemblies. They were often held on the Days called *Fasti*; and *Furius* got a Law past, forbidding the passing any Law on the Days, when the *Prætor* was engaged in the Administration of Justice. One of these two *Plebiscita* was therefore called *The Ælian Law*, and the other, *The* [30] *Furian*. They were in Force near a hundred Years,

Cic. Pisonia. & Ib. Asconius.

28 *Pontus* is that Country of *Asia* which reaches to the *Euxine* Sea, between *Bithynia* to the West, and *Paphlagonia* to the East. A part of *Lower Mysia* in *Europe*, which lay next to the Sea, had also the same Name.

29 *Cicero* mentions these two Laws in his *Oration against Vatinius*. The *Roman* People, says he, always had a Regard for them, in the most temperatous Times of the Republick. The *Greeks* themselves durst not act contrary to them. Whence it is manifest that they had been published, at least some time before. And he says more expressly in his *Oration against Piso*, *The* Ælian *and* Furian *Laws have been in force near an hundred Years.* Which Passage has been our Guide, in fixing the Promulgation of them to the Year 598. Between this Year, and that of the *Tribune Clodius* who abolished these two Laws, there were ninety eight Years.

30 In order to understand the Terms of *The Furian Law*, the Reader must recollect what we have observed, *Vol.* 1. of the Distinction of Days among the *Romans*, according to *Numa*'s Calendar. The *Prætor* had his stated Days for administring Justice, which

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Q. Opimius Nepos, L. Postumius Albinus, Consuls.

Years, and served to suppress the Intrigues, or rather furious Proceedings, of the *Tribunes of the People* 31.

After this the Republick was assembled to chuse new *Consuls*; and as soon as the *Fasces* were given to *Q. Opimius Nepos*, and *L. Postumius Albinus*, she resolved to send them to conduct two Wars in the West, whilst the Senate took care of the Affairs in the East. *Spain* 32 had never been in perfect Peace, either during the Wars with *Perses*, or during the Inactivity in which *Rome* had now continued for above twelve Years. Nevertheless, as the Fire was yet concealed under the Embers, the Senate had not thought it necessary to send their *Consuls* into *Spain* with great Armies. And on the other hand, *Liguria* had long been the Scene of Action for the weak Enterprises of the *Consuls*. But now the Times were changed. The *Ligures* drew the *Roman* Armies even out of *Italy* beyond the *Alpes*. *Postumius* was ordered into *Spain*, and *Opimius* to lead a *Consular* Army into *Cisalpine Gaul*; whither we will now follow them.

Liv. in Epit. Just. Obsq. & App. in Iberic.

§. XIV. The War with *Spain* was founded in the Revolt of the *Spaniards*; and their Revolt was occasioned by the unmerciful Extortions of the *Roman Prætors*. These annual, or at most biennial Governors, at their return to *Rome*, often bought Triumphs or *Ovations*, with the Fruits of their Rapines. Till at length the *Spaniards* were tired out with being made a Prey to these avaritious Magistrates. They saw them carry away all the Gold and Silver that they could find in their Rivers or Mines, for the *Roman* Treasury, or to enrich private Persons. The Sedition began in *Lusitania*. *Calpurnius Piso* was then *Prætor* there, and one *Terentius Varro* was his *Quæstor*. These Exactors were so rigorous in raising Tributes, that they forced the enraged People to take up Arms. The Mutineers chose for their Head a *Carthaginian* by Birth; who, for his first Essay, performed an Action which was worthy of the greatest Commanders. He ventured to give *Calpurnius* Battel, defeated his *Legion*, and killed the *Prætor* and his *Quæstor Terentius* in the Battel. He ran all over the Coasts of the Ocean, raised the People in *Vettonia* 33, and every where spread Terror, and increased the Revolt. The Country of the 34 *Blasto-Phœnicians* held out yet for the *Romans*; and the *Carthaginian* made it feel all the Miseries of War. He pillaged it, and sacked it. Upon this News *Rome* sent away the *Consul Postumius* in all haste. He offered the usual Sacrifices before his Departure; but it is said, That the Victim which was slain, gave him Presages of some approaching Misfortune. The Gall of it was imperfect and maimed. But be that as it will, the *Consul* died soon after he had performed this religious Ceremony. He had a violent Termagant for his Wife, named *Publicia*; who a little before his Departure, gave him a slow Poison, which killed him in some Days. However, he embarked with the fatal Potion within him; but could not bear the Motion of the Ship. He was therefore brought back to *Rome*, where he died at the end of seven Days. His Wife thought her Crime concealed, but it was dis-

Val. Max. B. 6. c. 3. §. 8.

which were called *Fasti*. The People had theirs, which were called *Dies Comitiales*. They could assemble on these Days only, either to create Magistrates, or make Laws. And perhaps *Furius*'s Design was only to renew this Custom. He by that means restrained the too great Authority of the People, and forced them to continue unactive at all other times, but those prescribed them. As to *The Ælian Law*, it is easy to understand it, by what we have said in the foregoing Volumes, of the Right of *Auspices*, which belonged to the Magistrates.

31 In this Year 598, the Cause of the *Achæan* Exiles was brought before the Senate a second time. *Zeno of Ægium* and *Telecles of Tegæum*, spoke warmly in their Favour; and the Affair had like to have been then determined for them. But through the ill Nature of the *Prætor Postumius*, who in the Absence of the *Consuls* was President, the good Dispositions of the Senators had no effect. He had recourse to Artifice, to render their Suffrages insignificant, who voted for discharging and sending back the Exiles; and the Majority of the Senators declared against these unfortunate Men, who were unjustly persecuted by their Countrymen.

32 *Manilius* had lately been worsted by the *Lusitanians*, and forced to make a shameful Retreat in sight of the Enemy.

33 Old *Vettonia* contained a Canton of the Province which is now called *Tralos Montes*, and a part of the Kingdom of *Leon*, on this side the *Duero*. *Cuidad-Rodrigo*, *Ledesma*, *Salamanca*, and *Bejar*, were the chief Cities of this Country. Some pretend that *Merida* was the Capital of it. *Andrew Poza* says there were two sorts of People called *Vettones*, or *Vectones*; one that inhabited a part of *Portugal*; and another that was situated near the Springs of the *Duero*.

34 *Appian*'s Account leaves us room to judge, That the *Blasto-Phœnicians*, either possessed a Canton of *Portugal*, or at least one of the little Provinces that bordered upon it. He says, That these People came originally from *Lybia*; and That one *Hannibal*, brought one of their *Colonies* from *Africa* into *Spain*, where they settled among the Natives of the Country.

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covered three Years after; and her Relations, in the Judgment they paſſed upon her of their own Authority, condemned her to die.

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THE Death of one of the *Conſuls* obliged *Rome* to fill up his Place, and the Suffrages fell on *Acilius Glabrio*. The latter went to make War in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, but gained no Advantage. Without doubt, the little Eſteem the Senators had for him, was the Reaſon why they did not ſend him into *Spain* to recover the Affairs of the Republick, which daily loſt Ground there, eſpecially in the *Further Province*. *Opimius* only gained ſome Glory this Campaign. He went into *Tranſalpine Gaul*, and by his Conqueſts, firſt made an Entrance into a Country which *Rome* had not made ſenſible of the Terror of her Arms. What induced the *Romans* to penetrate into *Gallia Celtica* was this.

Q. OPIMIUS NEPOS, M' ACILIUS GLABRIO, Conſuls.

§. XV. THE *Marſeilleſe* were at War with the *Ligures*; and the latter had already taken from them two of their Cities, * *Nicæa* and *Antipolis*. *Marſeilles* itſelf was in Danger; and *Rome* thought herſelf obliged to aſſiſt her old Friends. In the firſt Place ſhe ſent an Embaſſy to enquire into the State of Affairs, and accommodate the Differences upon the Spot in an amicable manner. But this only made the *Ligures* the more inſolent. It was neceſſary then to have recourſe to Arms. They were not to be reduced by dint of Authority, or by Conferences. They were Maſters of *Ægitna* [35]; and as ſoon as they heard that Deputies were coming to them from *Rome* to make them lay down their Arms, they reſolved not to quit them, but begin the Siege of *Marſeilles*. Nevertheleſs the *Roman* Deputation conſiſted of Men of great Figure. One was a *Flaminius*, another *Popilius Lænas*, and the third *L. Puppius*. They came to *Ægitna* by Sea, deſigning to land there. But the *Ligures* diſcovered their Ferocity on this Occaſion. As ſoon as News came that ſome *Roman* Ambaſſadors were arrived in one of their Ports, they ran thither in Arms, and forbad them to come aſhore. But it unfortunately happened that *Flaminius*, with his Attendants and Baggage, was already landed. The *Ligures* gave him to underſtand that he muſt immediately return on board his Ship; and upon his refuſal to do ſo, theſe Barbarians plundered his Baggage, killed two of his Servants, and would have murdered him, if he had not immediately repaired to his Galley, which he did not reach till he was wounded in many Places. Then, the more readily to avoid the Purſuit of the Barbarians, the *Roman* Ship cut off her Anchors, and fled for Refuge to *Marſeilles*, there to get the Head of the Embaſſy cured of his Wounds, which were dangerous.

COMPLAINTS of Proceedings ſo contrary to the Laws of Nations were ſoon brought to *Rome*; and the Senate immediately ſent away the *Conſul Opimius*. He appointed *Placentia* † for the general Rendezvous of his Troops, which all repaired thither without Delay. The *Conſul* led them along the *Apennines*, to the Country of the *Oxybii* [36], and there underſtood that the *Ligures* would ſoon come and meet him. *Opimius* therefore waited for them; and encamped on the Banks of the [37] *Apron*. But he was diſappointed. No Enemy appeared in the Plain. The *Conſul* therefore not inclining to languiſh away his time idly in a Camp, led his Troops before *Ægitna*, beſieged it, and took it by Aſſault. Nevertheleſs he puniſhed the Inhabitants leſs than their Crime deſerved. He only reduced them to Slavery. But he ſent the Authors of the Violence committed on the Ambaſſadors (whoſe Perſons ought to have been inviolable) to *Rome*; and they were there puniſhed with the utmoſt Rigour of Law.

* *Plaiſance*

However, the taking of *Ægitna* was only a Prelude to the greater Puniſhment which the *Conſul* was preparing to inflict on the Enemies of *Rome* beyond the *Alpes*. He heard that the Infantry of the *Ligures* were aſſembled in a Valley to the Number of four thouſand Men; and were there waiting for the auxiliary Troops of the *Deceatæ* [38], which were expected to arrive ſoon. Upon this News *Opimius* inſtantly flies thither. This Handful of Men were not indeed to

35 All we know of *Ægitna* is from *Polybius*, who ſays it was a City of *Liguria Tranſalpina*. But in another Place he ſeems to give it the Name of *Ægialon*, as *Fulvius* has obſerved.

36 The *Oxybii*, according to *Pliny* and *Strabo*, were a People of *Gallia Narbonenſis*. They dwelt in the Neighbourhood of *Frejus*, and *Draguignan*, a little City of *Provence*.

37 We cannot gueſs what River this *Apron* is, which *Polybius* mentions. We know of none of this Name in *Gallia Narbonenſis*. Perhaps he meant the River *Argens*, which divides the County of *Venaiſſin* from *Provence*.

38 Moſt modern Geographers agree, that the *Deceatæ* poſſeſſed the Territory of *Antibes*, and *Graſſe*.

Year of *ROME* DXCIX. Q. Opimius Nepos, M' Acilius Glabrio, Conſuls.

be compared, in point of Numbers, with the *Legionaries*. But the preſent Buſineſs was not Glory. *Opimius* ſought only to revenge a notorious Breach of the Law of Nations. Then Deſpair of being able to appeaſe the Anger of the *Romans* on one Hand, and an Aſſurance of Conqueſt on the other, ſoon brought on a Battel. Nevertheleſs, as the *Conſul* was a prudent Man, and a great Soldier, he ordered his Soldiers to march up very ſlowly to the Enemy, and to reſerve all their Ardour for the Action. And indeed the firſt Onſet of the *Romans* was made with ſuch Vigour, that the Enemy could not withſtand it. They were routed, put to flight, and diſperſed.

The Succours of the *Deceatæ* arrived ſoon after the Battel; were attacked as the *Ligures* had been; and made no longer a Reſiſtance than they. In ſhort, they gave way, and left the *Romans* victorious, and Maſters of the Field of Battel; their Capital was taken; and all their Country ſubdued by the *Conſul*. Then the Conqueror gave the *Marſeilleſe* as much as he could of the Land he had conquered; and to ſecure the Fidelity of the *Ligures*, inſiſted on their ſending Hoſtages to *Marſeilles*, which ſhould be exchanged at certain times. Thus ended the Campaign, and the *Conſul* put his Troops into Winter-Quarters, in the Country of the *Oxybii* and *Deceatæ*. Such was the firſt Conqueſt the *Romans* made beyond the Mountains. They never after forgot that they had penetrated into *Tranſalpine Gaul*; but conceived Hopes of extending their Conqueſts, ſome time or other, as far in the Weſt and North, as they had done to the Eaſt and South. As to *Opimius* 39, we know not whether he obtained a Triumph after his return. His Name is not to be found in *The Triumphal Tables*. But it is probable ſo fine a Campaign was glorioufly rewarded.

§. XVI. During theſe Wars, the Nations in the *Levant* found the *Roman* Senate Buſineſs of another kind. They had continually ſome Diviſions to be quieted, or Complaints to be heard. Young *Ptolomy* appeared once more at *Rome*, at the time that the *Conſul Opimius* ſet out from thence for *Marſeilles*; and the Condition in which he now affected to appear, was more adapted to raiſe Compaſſion than ever. *Phyſcon* ſhewed on his Body the Wounds which he ſaid he had received from his Brother. Indeed the People of *Cyrenaica* had revolted from him, and *Philometor* had promoted the Revolt. And it is alſo true, that the younger Brother had been beaten by his Subjects; and that he might have received ſome Wounds in the Battel. Theſe Wounds he ſhewed the *Romans*, as if they had been given him by the Hand of his Brother. *I went*, ſaid he, *to defend your Orders againſt the King of* Alexandria. *You had adjudged* Cyprus *to me; and under your* Auſpices *I endeavoured to take Poſſeſſion of that firſt part of my Share. But all on a ſudden my Brother armed even my own Subjects againſt me. I ran to reduce them to Reaſon; and though* Rome *is my Buckler, I am wounded with their Darts. Neceſſity therefore obliges me to have recourſe to your Protection. Finiſh your Work, and revenge the Blood which they have made me loſe, in a Cauſe which is yours as well as mine.*

Polyb in Legat. N. 132.

The Republick was conſtant in her Deciſions. She had pronounced in favour of the younger King; ſhe deſired to ſee the Kingdom of *Egypt* equally divided; and the Ambaſſadors in vain pleaded again in Defence of the Elder. The Senate ordered them to leave *Italy*, and openly eſpouſed *Phyſcon*'s Cauſe. It was immediately determined, That five Commiſſioners ſhould be ſent into *Egypt*; and to give the greater Weight to the Embaſſy, on board five different Gallies. And laſtly, *Rome* wrote to all the Kings in the *Levant*, and all other States in Alliance with her, to take up Arms againſt *Philometor*, in caſe he refuſed to comply with the Decrees of the Senate. Nevertheleſs, neither the Deputies of the great Republick, nor the Pomp of the Embaſſy, nor the Threatnings of the King of *Cyrenaica*, nor the Levies he made in the Nations in Alliance with *Rome*, terrified the King of *Alexandria*. Notwithſtanding the Danger of the Enterprize, he reſolved to maintain himſelf in the Poſſeſſion of the Iſle of *Cyprus*, and keep his Brother from it; and he ſucceeded, contrary to the Expectations of all the Eaſt.

Euſeb. in Chronic.

39 The *Opimian* Family was originally *Plebeian*. It ſupplied the Republick with ſeveral *Conſuls*, and Generals of Armies.

The

The brave King carried over with him into the Iſland a great Army, removed the Governor whom he ſuſpected, and there waited to receive his Brother. Year of ROME DXCIX

ACCORDINGLY, it was not long e're *Phyſcon* landed, with the numerous Troops he had aſſembled, out of the Nations which dreaded the Authority of *Rome*. The two Brothers fought a bloody Battel, as it were in an Incloſure. At length the Victory declared for the Elder. The Younger was put to flight, and forced to ſeek for Refuge in the City of *Lapithus* [40], the only one he had left in the Iſland. Being therefore overpowered by his Brother, and forced to acknowledge his Superiority, he expected to have periſhed in an Enterprize, which had ſtripped him both of *Cyrenaica* his firſt Portion, and of the Iſland which he ſo much deſired. He did not ſufficiently know the eaſy flexible Temper of *Philometor*. This wiſe Prince was more intent upon reconciling himſelf to the *Romans*, than delivering himſelf from a reſtleſs Brother. When he was Maſter of *Phyſcon*, and had him in his Power, he choſe rather to come to a Compromiſe with him, than take away his Life. By an Act of Generoſity, or perhaps Policy, which was extremely approved, *Philometor* reſtored *Cyrenaica* to *Phyſcon*; and *Phyſcon*, of his own accord, gave up all Pretenſions to *Cyprus*. Thus *Egypt* was pacified, and the two Brothers lived in a good Intelligence with one another, and with *Rome*.

Q. OPIM. NEPOS, M. ACILIUS GLABRIO, Conſu.

§. XVII. IT muſt be owned, that the Republick had a little prevaricated in the Affair of the two *Egyptian* Kings. Nevertheleſs the *Romans* were equitable at the Bottom. This appeared by the following Event, which did much Honour to the whole Body of *The Tribunes of the People*. A *Roman Citizen* named *Cotta* had obtained the *Tribuneſhip*, I know not how, purely to ſcreen himſelf from his Creditors, who proſecuted him. He thought himſelf ſafe in his new Office, which made his Perſon inviolable. But the *Tribunes* were aſhamed to ſee a Man among them, who had crept into their College by Intrigue, and made it only a Screen to protect him in his Injuſtice. They made themſelves Parties in the Caſe, and threatened *Cotta* to take the Cauſe of his Creditors into their Hands, if he did not pay them, or give them Security. This Steadineſs in the *Tribunes* did much Honour to the Body, and taught the *Romans* not to canvaſs for publick Employments, to ſcreen themſelves from Juſtice.

ABROAD the Republick by her Authority made Peace to reign in all the Countries where her Name was known. The *Syrians*, the Kings of *Aſia*, the *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, *Macedonians*, *Dalmatians*, and *Illyricans*, were all afraid to diſturb the Peace, which *Rome* forced them to preſerve among one another. No ſooner did any Storm ſeem to threaten, but *Rome* diſperſed it, with a Word. *Carthage* indeed began to know her own Strength, and was impatient under her Slavery, in the midſt of Plenty. But if ſhe had at this time any Thoughts of ſhaking off the *Roman* Yoke, ſhe concealed her Preparations for War with all the Diſſimulation that was natural to her. Whilſt *Achaia* appeared openly diſpleaſed with the Proceedings of *Rome*, and complained, That the chief Lords of the Country were detained in *Italy*, when at the ſame time the Senate would neither condemn nor acquit them. The Fury of the *Achæans* was not yet ſpent; they were not yet tired with the ſecret Murmurs, or reſpectful Petitions, with which they teized the *Romans*. *Further Spain* only had erected the Standard of Revolt. Her Armies kept the Field, and the new *Carthaginian* General which ſhe had choſen, ſpread Diſcord every where. Since the Defeat and Death of *Calpurnius Piſo*, the *Roman* Party being deſtitute of Defenders, weakened daily, and the *Luſitanian* Rebels triumphed. It was therefore the Buſineſs of the *Roman* Senate to prevent the Evils with which the Republick was threatened. The Danger was great, and required a ſpeedy Remedy; and *Rome* provided againſt it with Prudence [41].

EVER

40 *Lapithus*, or *Lapathos*, as *Strabo* calls it, was formerly a conſiderable City and Port in *Cyprus*. It is now only a very poor Village, which ſtill retains the Name of *Lapathios*.

41 This Year 599 was cloſed with a *Cenſus* of the People. One of the *Cenſors*, which were *Marcus Valerius Meſſala*, and *Caius Caſſius Longinus*, performed the Ceremony of the fifty fifth *Luſtration*. There were then reckoned up three hundred twenty four thouſand *Roman Citizens* fit to bear Arms, both with regard to Strength and Age. *Livy* obſerves, *Epit. B.* 48. That *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus* was declared *Prince of the Senate* the ſixth time, by the new *Cenſors*. According to *Velleius*, St. *Auſtin*, and *Paulus Oroſius*, theſe two Magiſtrates agreed with Undertakers to build an Amphitheatre between the *Lupercal*, and the Hill *Palatinus*, for the Convenience of the *Citizens*, who

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Q. Fulvius Nobilior, T. Annius Luscus, Consuls.

Ever since the Year 531, it had been customary for the new *Consuls* not to enter upon their Office till *The Ides of March* 42. But this Year, the Necessity of sending a *Consul* to *Spain* immediately, made the *Romans* anticipate their Elections. The People assembled in *The Field of Mars*, several Months before the usual time, and there chose the great Officers of State. *Q. Fulvius Nobilior*, and *T. Annius Luscus*, were promoted to the *Consulate*; and were the first *Consuls* that were installed 43 on *The Calends of January*. But from this time there was no further Alteration made, as to the time of Elections, during the whole time of the Republick. The two Collegues drew Lots for their Provinces. *Cisalpine Gaul* fell to *Annius*; and *Spain*, to *Fulvius*.

And now, *Rome* was wholly intent on the important War she was going to carry on with the *Spaniards*. Above half this vast Continent was in a Flame, and the Fire had spread from *Lusitania* to the *Celtiberians*: So that it was equally necessary to send a *Roman* General, and a great Army, to each of the Provinces of *Spain*, to suppress the Fury of the Seditious. Preparations were therefore made at *Rome* as for the most important Wars. *Masiniſſa* was desired to send to *Spain* from *Numidia* a certain Number of Elephants, and some *Numidian* Squadrons. A Fleet was fitted out with all Diligence, and the *Consul Fulvius* did not delay his Departure. He carried with him the *Prætor Mummius* 44, who was chosen by the *Comitia* to command in *Further Spain*, and take the Place of *Calpurnius*, who had been killed the last Year, with his *Quæstor*, in *Lusitania*. *Mummius* embarked a great Number of new Levies, for a Reinforcement of his Predecessor's Army, which was extremely disordered: and the *Consul* and *Prætor* went together, one to begin, the other to continue, Wars which lasted twenty Years, and did not end, but with the Destruction of *Numantia*.

Strabo B. 3. App. in Iberic.

§. XVIII. As soon as *Fulvius* arrived at the Port of *Tarragona*, he heard of the extraordinary Commotions which were raised in *Celtiberia*. They were founded in what had been done some time ago. Formerly, after *Sempronius Gracchus* had subdued *Spain*, he had imposed Laws upon the Country, which had been accepted by all the Provinces, which he had forced to engage themselves to the *Romans*, by a perpetual Confederacy. These Laws were, *That none of the confederate Cities should repair their Fortifications, without the Consent of the* Romans; *That they should pay an annual Tribute to the Republick*; *and That in case of War, they should furnish the* Roman *Armies with a certain Number of Troops*. And these Laws were strictly observed, as long as *Rome* continued strongest in *Spain*, or used her Power with Moderation. But afterwards, some avaritious *Prætors* made the Yoke insupportable; and then the *Spaniards* shook it off. The Discontented be-

who were present at the publick *Games*. *Scipio Nasica*, who had been *Consul* and *Censor* himself, was grieved to see this Building go on. That Great Man had nothing more at Heart, than to preserve *Rome* from Luxury and Effeminacy; and he thought an Amphitheatre, where the People were to sit down, was a dangerous Superfluity. *Scipio* did not think that a proper Posture for a warlike and laborious People, who ought only to have looked on Shows, as a transient Amusement, and not as a Business of Importance. The least Relaxation, said he, of the ancient Discipline, opens a Door to Indolence and Idleness. And therefore out of Zeal for the publick Good, he made Remonstrances on this Head to the Senators assembled, who all allowed of the Force of his Reasoning. They passed a Decree, That the Edifice should be demolished, the Materials sold to the best Bidder, and the People continue to stand at the Shows. This is *Valerius Maximus*'s Account, *B.* 2. *c.* 5. He observes on this Occasion, That this was the first Amphitheatre that was built within the Walls; and That it was ordered by the same Decree of the Senate, that no Works of this Nature should be built at less Distance than one Mile from *Rome*. *Velleius Paterculus* has preserved the Remembrance of this old Rule. What *Pliny* says, *B.* 17. *c.* 25. looked very like a Fable. He affirms with great Seriousness, that in the *Censorship* of *Valerius Messala*, and *Cassius Longinus*, the *Roman* People saw with Admiration a Fig-tree start up out of the Ground all at once in the *Capitol*. And this Place, according to him, was already famous for the miraculous springing up of a Palm tree, which prognosticated the Victory of the *Romans* over *Perses*, and the Conquest of *Macedon*. Add to this, that this *Marcus Messala*, who was now *Censor*, seems to be the same Person, who, according to *Valerius Maximus*, had been reprimanded and branded with Infamy, by one of the *Censors* of *Rome*.

42 *The Ides of March* answer to our fifteenth Day of *March*.

43 It is clear that the Year of the preceding *Consuls* did not end till the fifteenth Day of *March*: So that both the present *Consuls* abdicated the *Consulship*, on the first Day of *January*, which was long before their Year was expired, to make Way for the *Consuls* for the Year 600.

44 This *Lucius Mummius* was the same Person, who some Years after acquired the glorious Surname of *Achaicus*, by the Conquest of *Achaia*, and *Corinth*. He succeeded *Lucius Calpurnius Piso Cæsoninus*.

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gan first to shew their Uneasiness at *Segeda* [45], a City then very populous, and formerly exceeding strong; but *Gracchus* had dismanteled it. Through the Industry of the Inhabitants, the Number of the Citizens of this vast City, which was now only a great Village, increased prodigiously. People came thither from all the Towns and little Cities in the Neighbourhood: So that *Segeda* wanted nothing to make it formidable, but to be surrounded with Walls, Towers, and Bulwarks. The *Segedani* asked leave to build them; but the *Roman* Senate refused to grant it. They also rigorously demanded the Quota of Men and Money, which the *Segedani* were obliged to furnish, by the Treaty of *Gracchus*. Whilst on the other hand, the *Segedani* resolved to build themselves Walls, and absolutely refused to pay the Tribute, and furnish the Number of Soldiers demanded of them. The specious Pretence they made use of for it was this. *Gracchus*, said they, *only required the* Spanish *Cities not to repair their old Fortifications; but he did not command them not to build new ones. And the Republick has exempted us from Tribute, and from furnishing our Contingent, ever since* Gracchus's *time.* But these artful People suppressed a Clause which the *Romans* never failed to add, to all those Grants of Privileges; which was, *That the privileged Persons should enjoy those Privileges, only during the Pleasure of the Republick.* This was the Cause which the *Segedani* resolved to maintain by Force of Arms. They did not expect, that a *Consular* Army would so soon appear again in those Parts.

They were under the highest Consternation upon receiving the News that the *Consul Fulvius* was marching towards them at the Head of thirty thousand Men; and their Fear made them abandon defenceless Houses, which had no Ramparts to secure them. They fled for Refuge, and removed their Effects, to the Country of the *Arevacæ* [46], a neighbouring People, who were uneasy under the *Roman* Dominion: So that the united *Segedani* and *Arevacæ* together, undertook to withstand all the Forces of a *Consul.* They jointly and unanimously chose one *Carus* for their General; a Man of Bravery and Resolution, whose long Experience in Arms had made him an able Soldier. Besides that the *Spaniards* of that time were naturally brave, as they now are; they had long learnt the Art of War, under the two Nations that best understood it of any People in the World, the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*. *Carus* therefore entered upon his Office with Confidence, and for his first Essay, performed a masterly Exploit against *Fulvius.* Three Days after his Election, he marched his Troops into the Field, to the Number of twenty five thousand Men, Foot and Horse; and his first Step was to lay all his Army in Ambush in a Wood, through which the *Consul* must necessarily pass. *Fulvius* came thither, and marched on his Troops, in as good Order as the Nature of the Ground would admit of; and *Carus* sallied out of his Ambuscade. The *Spaniards* followed him with the Swiftness of Stags, fell upon the *Roman Legions* with the Fury of Lions, and killed six thousand of them in the first Onset; So that the Victory was then unquestionable. But the Assailants did not know how to temper their Ardour. The *Spaniards* pursued the routed *Romans*. *Carus* gave his Soldiers the Example. He broke into the middle of the Fugitives, and made a terrible Slaughter of them, till they at length gained the Plain; and then the *Roman* Cavalry, which not being able to act in Ground covered with Trees and Bushes, had been left to guard the Baggage, had their Turn. They fell upon the *Spaniards* with their usual Valour, and made their Loss as great as that of the *Romans*. *Carus* himself did not survive his Victory, but perished in the Battel. Nevertheless, the News of this Defeat exceedingly affected the *Roman* Senate and People. Though each Party had lost about

45 *Mariana* agrees exactly with *Appian* as to the Situation of *Segeda*. Both place it in the Country of the *Celtiberians*, between *Soria* and *Osma*, near the Ruins of old *Numantia*. The *Spanish* Author thinks the Remains of it are to be seen at the little Town of *Seges*, which belongs to *New Castile*. Some will have it to have stood on a Hill near *Canales*, in a neighbouring Place which still retains the Name of *Segeda*. *Baudrand* says there is another *Segeda* in *Estramadura Castilliana*. But some don't distinguish it from *Caceres* on the *Tagus*. Others confound it with *Zasra*. Add to this, that old *Segeda* must have been one of the greatest Cities in *Spain*, if, as *Appian* affirms, it was forty *Stadia*, or near two Leagues in Circumference.

46 According to *Ptolomy*, the *Arevacæ* took their Name from the little River of *Areva*, which the *Spaniards* now call *Arlance*. What the Ancients have said of these People makes us judge, that their Country was near the Springs of the *Duero*. There were several Cities in it; some of which are entirely destroyed, and others have changed their Name. The greatest part of *Old Castile* belonged to them. This Country now contains the Bishopricks of *Valladolid*, *Merida*, *Osma*, *Burgos*, and *Segovia*.

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ſix thouſand Men on the Spot, the Action was looked on at *Rome*, as infinitely more to the Diſadvantage of the *Romans*, than of their Enemies. The Republick thought the Loſs of a Body of *Legionaries* tranſported into *Spain*, greater than that of the like Number of *Spaniards* in their own Country. And when the Senate underſtood that this unfortunate Battel had been fought, on the Day that a Feſtival was celebrated to *Vulcan*; they ordered that this Day ſhould ever after be deemed 47 *Unlucky*, like thoſe on which the *Romans* had loſt the Battels of the *Allia*, the *Cremera*, *Cannæ*, and others. But was there not a little too much Animoſity againſt the *Conſul Fulvius*, in this Order?

§. XIX. However, the *Segedani* and *Arevacæ* knew their Advantage. They aſſembled under 48 *Numantia* the ſame Day, and choſe themſelves two new Generals, to ſupply the Place of the brave *Carus* whom they had loſt. *Ambo* and *Leuco* were the Names of theſe Generals; and *Fulvius*, who wanted to ſound them, advanced near them, and came and encamped twenty four *Stadia* 49 from *Numantia*. There he received the ten Elephants, and three hundred Horſe which the Republick obtained of *Maſiniſſa*; and upon the Strength of this Reinforcement, the *Conſul* drew up his Army in Battalia, and hid his Elephants behind his firſt Line, which had Orders to open itſelf on the firſt Signal, and give a free Paſſage to theſe furious Animals. The *Spaniards* of this Country had never yet ſeen any. The unexpected Sight of them muſt therefore probably frighten them; and the Succeſs was at firſt anſwerable to the Expectations of the *Romans*. The firſt Shower of Darts was ſcarce thrown, before the *Haſtati* of the firſt Line retired into the Spaces of the ſecond. Then the Enemy's Battalions inſtead of *Romans*, had nothing before them but ſtrange Beaſts, laden with Men, who overwhelmed them with Darts, as from the Tops of Ramparts. The Stink only of the Elephants put the *Spaniſh* Horſe into Diſorder. They fled, and the Infantry followed them. But it fortunately happened, that *Numantia* was not far from the Field of Battel; and it ſerved for a Refuge for the Fugitives.

Then the ſame Ardour that had hurried on *Carus* to his Ruin, tranſported the *Conſul Fulvius*. He thought to have been able to have broken down the Gates of the City, or at leaſt ſcaled the Walls, by the Help of his Elephants. But the Project was a chimerical one, and he ſunk under it. How could he take a Place by Aſſault, which was defended by a whole Army? Nevertheleſs he brought the Elephants near the Wall; and the Towers on their Backs ſupplied the Place of thoſe moveable Machines, with which beſieged Cities were uſually ſurrounded. But *Fulvius* was ſoon made ſenſible, that little Dependence was to be had in ſuch Enterprizes on Animals, which being wild by Nature, are eaſily affrighted. One of the Elephants was ſtruck on the Head by a Stone, thrown from the Top of the Rampart. His Pain made him cry out much, and his Cries alarmed the other Elephants, and put them into Diſorder. They retired, ſhook themſelves, turned upon the *Romans*, broke through the *Manipuli*, deſtroyed the Order of the *Legions*, and diſperſed with their Trunks, or trod under Foot, all that oppoſed them. The *Spaniards* ſaw this Diſorder from the Tops of the Walls, and inſtantly made ſo brisk and vigorous a Sally, that they completely overthrew the *Romans*; though the Reſiſtance of the latter was as couragcous as it could be, in ſuch Diſtreſs. The *Conſul* loſt four thouſand Men upon the Spot, and his Enemies two thouſand. The Joy of the *Spaniards* after their Victory is not to be expreſſed. They were Maſters of the Field of Battel, ſtripped the Dead, and ſent the Arms they had taken to all the neighbouring Cities, to encourage them to revolt. And laſtly, they returned to *Numantia*, dancing. For Dancing was the moſt common Diverſion of the old *Spaniards*. They uſed it in Camps; and in funeral Solemnities, it was cuſtomary to dance round the Pile.

As for the *Conſul*, he would willingly have repaired his Loſſes by the new Levies he raiſed, in the Nations in Alliance with the Republick. *Biaſius*, one of the Horſe-Officers, ſet out to conduct the new Reinforcement to the *Roman* Camp. But the *Spaniards* were not ignorant of his March, lay in Ambuſh for him at his Return, beat him,

47 See what we have ſaid, *Vol.* 2. of the Superſtition of the ancient *Romans*, with reſpect to *unlucky* Days.

48 We ſhall have Occaſion to give a particular Account of this famous City, when we come to ſpeak of the Siege it maintained with ſo much Glory againſt all the Efforts of the Republick.

49 Twenty four *Stadia*, make three *Italian* Miles or one common League.

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killed him together with moſt of the *Legionaries* of his Guard, and ſuffered the Squadrons of the Allies, which he was conducting to the *Conſul*, to eſcape. At length, all theſe repeated Misfortunes gave the People of the Country, who had been moſt attached to it, a Diſlike to the *Roman* Party. The City of *Ocilis* [50], which the *Romans* had made their Magazine of Arms and Proviſions, and where they kept their military Cheſt, voluntarily ſurrendered itſelf up to the Enemy. By that means *Fulvius* was deprived of his Proviſions and Money, and he durſt not any more ſeparate his diſcouraged Troops, or quarter them in different Cantons. He kept them all the Winter in a Camp which he fortified, and defended as well as he could, both againſt the Injuries of the Air, and the Attacks of the Enemy. But the Seaſon ſoon became ſo ſevere, and the Want ſo great in his Army, that the *Roman* Soldiers had need of all their Conſtancy, to continue in the open Fields in Froſts and Snows. So that many of the Wretches periſhed with Cold, Want, and Fatigues, in a Winter which was as pernicious to them, as the Arms of the Enemy had been during the Campaign. In this State *Fulvius* continued, till his Succeſſor arrived.

Year of ROME DC. Q. FULVIUS NOBILIOR, T. ANNIUS LUSCUS. Conſuls.

§. XX. IN *Luſitania*, the *Prætor Mummius* made War with a little more Succeſs than the *Conſul*. Indeed, he had not the *Carthaginian* General to contend with, who had gained a bloody Victory over the *Prætor Calpurnius* the laſt Year. This brave General of the *Luſitanians* was killed by a Blow on the Head with a Stone, whilſt he was beſieging a City of the *Roman* Party. The Rebels had choſen a *Luſitanian* named *Cæſaras* for his Succeſſor; and the latter, though no leſs courageous than his Predeceſſor, was not at firſt ſo ſucceſsful. *Mummius* offered him Battel, immediately after his Arrival; and *Cæſaras* accepted it. The *Luſitanian* Army was beaten, and fled. But the *Roman* Generals were grown ſtrangely precipitate, ſince they made War with the Rebels of *Spain*; and now the Deſire of Revenge carried *Mummius* too far, after his Victory. He imprudently purſued the Enemy, who rallied, returned to the Charge, killed nine thouſand of his Men, took his Camp, and plundered it. The *Prætor*'s Army was then reduced to five thouſand Men, and he durſt not face the Enemy for a long time. However, he poſted himſelf advantageouſly, and kept the ſmall Remains of his Troops in continual Exerciſe. And at length an Opportunity offered, to gain ſome Advantage over his Conquerors. He was informed, that a Detachment of *Luſitanians* were removing from one Place to another, the Spoils which *Cæſaras* had taken from him; and *Mummius* led his little Company to meet the Detachment, fell upon it on a ſudden, cut it in pieces, and recovered the *Roman* Standards. A poor Comfort after ſo great a Misfortune! But it raiſed the Courage of his Soldiers, and kept them from Deſpair.

Idem App. in Iberic. N. 286.

AND this little Succeſs made *Mummius* more enterprizing. He found Means to enlarge his *Corps* with four thouſand Men, doubtleſs of the Militia which he had raiſed in the Countries of the Allies. With this Reinforcement he paſſed the *Tagus*, and found the Nations on the other Bank of the River in as great a Revolt from *Rome*, as thoſe of the Country, where he had fought his unfortunate Battel. The General of theſe new Enemies was one *Caucænus*, an audacious Man, who entered the Country of the *Cuneans* [51], Allies to *Rome*, beſieged the City of *Cuniſtorgis* [52], and made himſelf Maſter of it. From thence he paſſed *The Streights*, pillaged the Coaſts of *Africa*, returned to *Spain*, and attempted the Siege of *Ocila* [53], a different City from the *Ocilis*, which had treacherouſly fallen off from the *Romans*. *Mummius*, with his weak Army of nine thouſand Foot and five hundred Horſe, followed cloſe after *Caucænus*, killed fifteen thouſand of his Men who were diſperſed over the Fields for Plunder, and forced him to raiſe the Siege of

50 All that *Appian* tells us of the ancient City of *Ocilis* is, that it was not far from *Numantia*. Some have confounded it with *Orcelis*, or *Oribuela*, as it is now called. Others place it in the Kingdom of *Leon*, upon the Banks of the *Duero*, near the River *Tormes*. They think this City the ſame as *Formoſello*. But *Andrew Poza* thinks the Situation of *Ocilis* agrees better with that of *Zamora*.

51 Father *Mariana* in his Hiſtory of *Spain*, reckons the *Cuneans* among the People of *Bætica*. According to him, this Nation inhabited the Territory of *Niebla*.

52 *Cuniſtorgis*, one of the greateſt and moſt powerful Cities in *Spain*, was the Capital of the *Cuneans*. It is ſuppoſed to have been the ſame Place as *Niebla*. *Brietius* places it where *Couna* now ſtands in the Dioceſe of *Elvas*.

53 *Ocila* ſeems to be the ſame Place which *Ptolomy* calls *Ocellum*. It was a City of *Galicia*, pretty far up in the Country. Some think it ſtood in the Place where we now find a Caſtle, called by the *Spaniards*, *Otero del Rey*. But others make it the ſame City as *Modonedo*.

Year of ROME DC.
Q. Fulvius Nobilior, T. Annius Luscus. Conſuls.

Ocila. Afterwards, he fell upon the Guard which was conducting the Booty taken from the *Cauceans*; defeated it; did not ſuffer one *Luſitanian* to eſcape; diſtributed a part of the Spoils among his Soldiers and burnt the reſt, in honour to the Gods. And we would here add with *Appian*, that *Mummius* returned to *Rome* and triumphed, had we any Monument left of his Triumph. *Mummius* had not yet ſufficiently repaired, by his late Advantages, the Loſs which the Republick had ſuffered in his firſt Battel. Such were the beginnings of the new and long War of the *Romans* in *Spain*; and by this Beginning it is eaſy to ſee, that the *Luſitanians* and *Celtiberians* were no contemptible Enemies. The *Romans* ſtood in need of all their Valour, and all their Conſtancy, in order to overcome them.

§. XXI. However, the Check the *Conſul Fulvius* received in *Spain*, did not leſſen the Reſpect which was paid to the *Romans* in other Places. In the *Levant*, *Eumenes*, the laſt King of *Pergamus*, had left a Son, whoſe Name was *Attalus*. During his Minority, the Infant-King continued under the Guardianſhip of his Uncle *Attalus*; a Prince equal in Point of Probity to the moſt virtuous of the *Romans*, whom he made his Patrons. As ſoon as the true Heir to the Throne was of Age to govern, his Guardian ſent him to *Rome*. All Kings came thither to do Homage for their Crowns; and among the reſt *Attalus* came, as it were to receive his, at the Hands of the Senate. He was introduced with all the Honours due to his Perſon and Rank; and there demanded the Friendſhip of the Republick, and the Continuance of the Rights of Hoſpitality, which his Father had ſo religiouſly obſerved with the *Roman* People. *Rome* with Pleaſure acknowledged the Son of *Eumenes* to be King of *Pergamus*; renewed the ancient Treaties with him; and after many Careſſes and Honours, permitted him to return to his Dominions. And the Prince who had been thus reſpected at *Rome*, and declared a Friend of the Republick, was received with great Demonſtrations of Joy in all the Cities of *Greece*, through which he paſſed.

Demetrius Soter alſo, King of *Syria*, did much the ſame thing, with regard to the *Roman* People. He had a Son named *Demetrius* as well as himſelf: and believing that the young Prince would, ſome time or other, meet with Oppoſition in his Succeſſion to the Throne, unleſs his Title was approved by the *Roman* Senate; *Soter* thought it neceſſary to rob himſelf of this dear Son, and ſend him to *Rome* to be brought up there. But at the Sight of him, the *Romans* called to mind their old Reſentments againſt the *Syrian*, who had eſcaped from *Rome*, to take Poſſeſſion of a Scepter which the Republick had not put into his Hands; and the Prince was very coldly received in the Capital of the World. No Preparations were made for his Reception; he was ſcarce acknowledged to be a King's Son. Theſe Proceedings therefore were much reſented by the young Prince's Governors; and they had ſcarce ſhewn him there, before they carried him back to *Syria*. Then *Rome* was offended in her Turn, at the Eſcape of the Son, which was almoſt as ſudden as that of the Father; and ſhe immediately revenged it. *Heraclides* [54], one of the greateſt *Syrian* Lords, had been at *Rome* ſome Months. He had been affronted by *Demetrius*, and had privately eſcaped from his Courr, and brought with him ſufficient Matter to raiſe a great Diſturbance in *Syria*. There were then at *Rome* a Prince and Princeſs, who were ſaid to be the Children of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the laſt King of *Syria*, and in all Appearance were ſo. *Heraclides* waited only for a favourable Opportunity to produce before the Senate theſe two Children of a King, whom the Republick had reſpected in his Life-time; and he ſeized this, when *Rome* was full of Reſentment at the ſudden Eſcape of young *Demetrius*. He demanded an Audience for [55] *Alexander*, and *Laodice*, which

54 *Heraclides*, ſupported by the Authority of the Senate, was now wholly bent on raiſing Troops in all Parts. He brought into *Alexander*'s Intereſt, the Kings of *Egypt*, *Pergamus*, and *Cappadocia*. A great Number of *Syrian* Lords joined him. He came with all Diligence to *Epheſus*; and from thence marched againſt *Demetrius* at the Head of a formidable Army. Add to this, That he was probably the ſame *Heraclides* whom *Antiochus the Great* had ſent Ambaſſador to *Rome* in the Year 563, during the *Conſulate* of *Lucius Scipio Aſiaticus*. Nine Years after, near the Year 572, he was again ſent Ambaſſador to the *Roman* Senate, with *Meleager* and *Soſiphanes*, about the Affair of *Cœlo-Syria*; the Poſſeſſion of which was diſputed by *Ptolomy* and *Antiochus Epiphanes*.

55 The prophane Hiſtorians all repreſent *Alexander* King of *Syria* as an Impoſtor. According to *Juſtin*, he was a Man of mean Extraction, whom *Ptolomy*

which were the Names of the Prince and Princeſs; and it being granted, *Heraclides* ſpoke for them in theſe Words.

Year of *ROME* DC. Q. Fulvius Nobilior, T. Annius Luscus, Conſuls.

The Senate now ſee at their Feet two illuſtrious Seleucidæ, *the unfortunate Remains of a ruined Family.* Antiochus *their Father rendered himſelf worthy of your Protection, and in* Aſia *merited the glorious Title of* Epiphanes, *or* The Illuſtrious. *The martial Spirit which he had imbibed among you, made him formidable to his Neighbours; but he knew how to reſtrain it with Prudence, and keep it ſubject to your Commands. He reſpected the Republick in the Perſons of her Ambaſſadors. One Word from them was ſufficient to ſtop him in his Career, though in Purſuit of certain Victory. This Monarch, who was ſo worthy to have perpetuated the Happineſs of* Syria, *and to have there conſtantly preſerved the Submiſſion which was due to the City, which is Miſtreſs of the World, left at his Death only three Children, which it has pleaſed Fate to make ſucceſſively unhappy. The eldeſt, when very young, was deſtroyed with his Tutor, by* Demetrius; *that Fugitive from* Rome, *that Rebel againſt your Laws, and that Tyrant over a People who are your Allies. You know him,* Conſcript Fathers, *and my Complaints will add nothing to the publick Opinion of him. You have already openly diſcovered your Sentiments, by the Reception you gave young* Demetrius. *You did not think the Son of an Uſurper worthy of your Education; nor would you form for the Throne, a Subject deſigned to perpetuate Injuſtice upon it. Nevertheleſs, You did not then know,* Conſcript Fathers, *That the two Children of the Race of* Antiochus Epiphanes, *who are ſtill living, had ſurvived their Father, and their Brother* Eupator, *who was cruelly aſſaſſinated. Appear then, Ye illuſtrious Offspring of one of the Heroes of* Aſia. *I have reſcued you from Want and Oppreſſion, only to preſent you before the powerful and equitable Tribunal of* Rome. *Make your Demands your ſelves; and be aſſured that the Protection you will meet with, will be as favourable as your Cauſe is juſt.*

Accordingly *Alexander* ſpoke himſelf. He was of an Age to claim his Rights at the Head of an Army; and he ſaid to the Senators, *All the Favour I ask, is, That you would remember King* Antiochus *my Father. If his Conduct was agreeable to you, You may as much depend on the Submiſſion of his Son. Aſſiſt him with your Protection, and you may depend on his Gratitude. That Virtue was inſtilled into me with my Blood. But if you will not honour me with your Alliance, give me leave at leaſt to return Home.* Many *Romans* looked on this Story as a meer poetical Fiction. *Polybius* alſo, who was then at *Rome,* (but diſpleaſed with the Republick, on Account of her detaining in Baniſhment ſo many *Achæan* Lords) thought this Appearance of two Children of *Antiochus,* a mere Fable, carried on by the Intrigues of *Heraclides,* to pleaſe the *Romans.* So that the People were much ſurpriſed to hear the Decree which the Senate paſſed in favour of *Alexander* and *Laodice.* It was this. *Having examined into the Petition of* Alexander *and* Laodice, *the Children of* Antiochus Epiphanes *King of* Syria, *the*

Polyb. Legat. N. 140.

App in Syriac. Polyb. n. citato. Florus in Epit. Liv.

Ptolomy Philometor King of *Egypt*, *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, and *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia*, ſet up againſt *Demetrius* their Enemy. This Cheat, ſays that Author, to conceal the Meanneſs of his Birth, changed his Name of *Pompalus*, or *Pompanus* into that of *Alexander*, and gave out that he was the Son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. Being ſupported by all the Forces of the Eaſt, he ventured to aſſume the Title of King, to the Prejudice of the lawful Heir. *Polybius*, and after him *Sulpicius Severus*, and *Euſebius* in his *Chronicon*, repreſent him as a vile Perſon, who aſſumed a great Name, the better to compaſs his Deſigns. *De Lyra* and *Andrichomius* are much miſtaken, when they ſay that this Uſurper was the Son of *Antiochus Eupator*. It is certain this laſt Prince died at twelve Years of Age, at moſt; and left no Child behind him. Beſides, the Authority of the ſacred Hiſtorian, who acknowledges *Alexander* to have been one of the Children of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, is a deciſive Proof againſt theſe two Authors. And it is no leſs falſe, that the Father of this pretended Adventurer was one *Bala*, as one of the Interpreters of *Euſebius* aſſures us. That was his Mother's Name, according to *Appian*. But be that as it will, *Alexander*, in order to ſecure to himſelf the Kingdom of *Syria*, married *Cleopatra*, the Daughter of *Ptolomy Philometor* King of *Egypt*, in the Preſence of the High-Prieſt *Jonathan Maccabæus*. But at length, being become odious and contemptible in the Sight of his People, by his great Debaucheries, he loſt both his Crown and Life together, after a Reign of five Years and an half, or thereabout. *Alexander* had a formidable Enemy in *Demetrius Nicator*, the Son of *Demetrius Soter*. This Prince, when ſtripped of his Dominions, took Advantage of the new Diviſions which aroſe between the Kings of *Syria* and *Egypt*, in order to recover the Throne of his Anceſtors. *Ptolomy* declared againſt the Uſurper, took away his Daughter *Cleopatra* from him to give her to his Rival, and joined his Forces with thoſe of *Demetrius*. *Alexander* being forced to give Way to the powerful Efforts of the two united Armies, fled into *Arabia*. There, being deſerted by all the World, he was betrayed by one of the Lords of the Country named *Zebet*, according to ſome, or *Diocles* according to others. This perfidious Man cut off his Head, and ſent it to the Conquerors.

Year of ROME DC. Q. Fulvius Nobilior, T. Annius Luscus, Conſuls.

Friend and Ally of the Roman *People, we give the Son Leave to recover the Rights of his Father; and our Will and Pleaſure is, that our Allies aſſiſt him in recovering his Dominions by Force.* Some prophane Authors have indeed pretended, that this Decree was purely the Effect of Policy, or Reſentment in the *Roman* Senate, becauſe *Alexander* was not the Son of *Antiochus*; but in vain. Theſe Writers have in this only copied *Polybius*, whoſe Reſentments againſt *Rome* made him throw out ſo ſevere a Reflection. A much ſurer Authority than that of this famous Hiſtorian, makes it indiſputable, that *Alexander* was the Son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. The Sacred Books give us an infallible Proof of it. They affirm it; and *Jonathan*, that virtuous High-Prieſt of the Holy Nation, preferred his Alliance to that of *Demetrius*. We allow, that the Mother of *Alexander* was *Bala*, a Concubine of *Antiochus*; but Children born out of lawful Wedlock, were not in all Places excluded from ſucceeding their Fathers, in caſe of Failure of lawful Heirs: So that the Decree of the *Roman* Senate was not ſo unjuſt as *Polybius* pretends. Perhaps indeed the Republick might come into it, upon Motives of Intereſt. *Rome* was not diſpleaſed to ſet up a Rival againſt *Demetrius* in *Syria*. And as to *Judæa*, it reaped great Advantages by it. *Jonathan* followed the Directions the *Romans* had given the Nations of the *Levant*. In taking *Alexander*'s Part, he joined with the ſtrongeſt Side, and by favouring his Victory, procured the *Jews* perfect Liberty, and conſiderable Advantages. But to return to the Wars of the Republick in *Spain*.

1 *Mac.* 10. *Joſeph. B.* 13. *c.* 3. & 8.

Livy in Epit.

XXII. The People at *Rome* were ſo confounded at the Misfortunes that had befallen *Fulvius* in *Celtiberia*, that they ſtrictly examined into the Cauſes of the Inſurrection of the *Spaniards*. Upon this Enquiry, they found that their Diſcontents had been occaſioned by the Avarice of the *Prætors* who had governed them. The Adminiſtration of the latter was therefore rigorouſly examined into; and thoſe who were found faulty, were puniſhed with heavy Fines. After this *Rome* elected new *Conſuls*. *Annius* preſided in the *Comitia*, ; and *M. Claudius* [56] *Marcellus*, and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, were promoted to the *Conſulate*. The former probably was elected to this Office a third time, merely in hopes that he would cure the Diſorders in *Spain*; and there is Reaſon to preſume, that this Province was authoritatively aſſigned him, preferably to his Collegue. But be that as it will, it is certain, that with *Marcellus* was joined a *Prætor* named *Attilius Serranus*, whoſe Commiſſion was to command the *Roman* Army in *Further Spain*.

Year of ROME DCI. M. Claudius Marcellus, L. Valerius Flaccus, Conſuls.

Whilst *Marcellus* was preparing for his Departure, and was raiſing in *Rome* eight thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe, *Alexander* appeared in *Syria* with a formidable Army. It conſiſted of the Succours he had received from the Kings of *Pergamus*, *Cappadocia*, and *Egypt*, at the Sollicitation of the *Romans*. This Son of *Antiochus* had already made himſelf Maſter of [57] *Ptolemais* in *Phœnicia*. *Jonathan*, that faithful Ally of *Rome*, had brought all the *Jewiſh* Nation into the Intereſt of *Alexander*; and the Nations of *Syria* were ſubmitting in Crowds to the new King, when *Demetrius* left the Retreat, to which the Love of Indolence and Pleaſure had confined him. He then conſidered whence this Attack came. It was *Rome* that ſet up this Rival againſt him. He therefore endeavoured to appeaſe the Senate, and ſacrificed to *Rome* an Impoſtor named *Andriſcus*, who pretended to be the Son of *Perſes*, and was at the Court of *Syria*, ſolliciting his Eſtabliſhment on the Throne of his Father in *Macedon*. *Demetrius* ſent this Mock-King to *Rome*; from whence he afterwards eſcaped, to diſturb the Republican State, which had been ſettled in *Macedon*, under the Protection of the *Romans*.

1 *Mac.* 10.

Nor was this all *Demetrius* did. He endeavoured to draw off *Jonathan* from *Alexander*; and made him the moſt tempting Offers. But both the *Romans* and *Jews* kept ſteady to the Son of *Antiochus*, who ſoon after gave the King of *Syria* Battel, routed his Army, and with the Battel *Demetrius* loſt his Kingdom and his Life.

[56] *Cicero* commends the *Conſul Marcellus*, in his *Oration againſt Lucius Piſo*, and in his ſecond Book *De Divinatione*. After he had been three times advanced to the *Conſulſhip*, he was ſhipwrecked at Sea, and periſhed in the Waters.

[57] *Ptolemais*, a maritime City of *Phœnicia*, bordered upon *Paleſtine*. It was formerly the Refuge of the Kings of *Jeruſalem*, after the Loſs of the Holy City. It is now almoſt entirely deſtroyed. This City, once one of the moſt famous in the Eaſt, is nothing but a miſerably poor Village. It is known in the Hiſtory of the *Croiſades*, by the Name of *St. John d'Acra*.

Thus

Thus *Alexander* mounted the Throne of *Syria*, through the Protection of *Rome*, and the Aſſiſtance of her Allies in the Eaſt. Year of ROME DCI.

§. XXIII. THIS Succeſs in *Syria* gave the *Romans* Hopes of the like in *Spain*, under the Conduct of the *Conſul Marcellus*, and the *Prætor Attilius*. They arrived at their reſpective Provinces; one in *Hither Spain* with a *Conſular* Army; the other in *Further Spain*, to continue the War with the *Luſitanians*. The *Spaniards* had gained conſiderable Advantages the laſt Year over the *Conſul Fulvius*, whoſe Army, which had ſuffered much in the Campaign, had been forced to ſpend the Winter in a miſerable manner in a Camp. Proud therefore of their paſt Succeſſes, the Rebels hoped for new ones over the new *Conſul* ſent againſt them. To this end they prepared Ambuſcades for him; but *Marcellus*, who was an old Soldier, found means to avoid them. Without receiving any Loſs or Check in his March, he came and encamped before *Ocilis*, which had ſurrendered to the Enemy the laſt Year; and the Preſence of the *Roman* General being enough of itſelf to intimidate Traitors, they ſurrendered at Diſcretion. However, *Marcellus* uſed his Advantage with Moderation, and did not puniſh the Inhabitants as they had deſerved. He only demanded of them thirty *Talents* [58], and forced them to give him Hoſtages; which mild Treatment encouraged the *Nergobrigians* [59] to implore the Clemency of the *Conſul*. They ſent to him to know whether it was poſſible for them to reconcile themſelves to *Rome*, and upon what Terms they might be reſtored to her Friendſhip; and he only obliged them to furniſh him with a hundred of their Horſe to ſerve in his Army. This was the Flower of the Nobility of the Country, and would be ſo many Hoſtages for the Fidelity of their Countrymen. But theſe perfidious Horſemen did not anſwer the Expectation of the *Conſul*. They behaved themſelves like Enemies, and fell on the Baggage of the *Romans*. Upon this they were ſurrounded, ſeized, and examined; and their Anſwer was, *That they knew not what Agreement the* Conſul *had made with their Chiefs*. But this was thought a bad Excuſe, and the whole Nation were deemed Accomplices in the Hoſtility of the hundred Hoſtages. The *Roman* Army therefore diſperſed themſelves all over the Country, plundered it, ſacked it, and the Booty was given to the Soldiers. Nor was this all. *Marcellus* beſieged the Capital, which gave Name to the Country. *Nergobriges* was terrified to ſee a *Conſular* Army round its Ramparts; and the Machines of War, and the Breach made in the Wall by the *Ram*, made the Rebels follow more ſalutary Counſels. They ſent one of their Officers to the *Roman* General dreſſed in the Skin of a Wolf, to ſue for Peace. It was cuſtomary among them to appear in this Dreſs when they treated with an Enemy, as much as it was in other Nations to ſhew a *Caduceus*, or Branch of Olive.

M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. VALERIUS FLACCUS, Conſul.

App. in Hiſp. N. 281.

Polyb. in Leg. N. 141.

MARCELLUS's Point in view was, to ſettle a general Peace in *Luſitania*, that he might triumph at his Return, in quality of a Peace-maker; and therefore he would not promiſe the *Negobrigians* Peace, but upon Condition, that the whole Country of the Rebels ſhould lay down their Arms, after their Example. The Propoſal was accepted; and nothing remained but to get it ratified by the Senate of *Rome*. The *Spaniards* therefore ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome*, and eſpecially the *Arevacæ*, who had been moſt remarkably mutinous. With theſe went others from two Cantons, which were in Friendſhip with the *Romans*, namely, the *Belli* [60], and the *Titthi* [61]; and ſome Meſſengers from *Marcellus*, with his Inſtructions.

Polyb. ibid.

THESE *Spaniards* from different Nations came to *Rome*, to act very different Parts, and met with very different Receptions. The *Belli* and *Titthi* were permit-

58 The thirty *Talents* * amount to thirty thouſand *French Crowns*, or ninety thouſand *Livres*, at the Rate of a thouſand *Crowns per Talent*.

59 *Nergobriges*, called alſo *Nertobriga*, and according to *Ptolomy*, *Virtobriga*, ſtood in *Catalonia*, between *Catalaynd* and *Tarragona*. Both ancient and modern Geographers give it this Situation. There was alſo another City of this Name in *Beturia*, a Province of *Andaluſia*, near the Place where *Frexenal* now ſtands.

60 *Appian* ſpeaks of the *Belli* in ſuch a manner, as inclines us to judge, that theſe People were a Part, and as it were a Branch of the Nation of the *Arevacæ*. This Hiſtorian places them in the Neighbourhood of *Oſma*. *Ortelius* makes their capital City to be *Segeda*; a different Place from the *Segeda*, which belonged to that part of *Bætica*, which was called *Eſtramadura Caſtilliana*.

61 The ancient Geographers have not told us enough of the *Titthi*, to enable us to judge where they dwelt. *Appian*'s Account gives us room to conjecture, that they inhabited a Diſtrict of the *Arevacæ*, near *Numantia*.

* 581 *l.* 10 *s. Sterl.*

ted

Year of ROME DCI. M. Claudius Marcellus, L. Valerius Flaccus, Conſuls.

ted to lodge in the City. They were faithful Allies, and old Friends to the Re-publick. But the *Arevacæ* were forbidden to lodge ſo much as in the Suburbs. The Senate aſſigned them a Place beyond the *Tiber*, where they lived in Tents till ſuch time as it ſhould pleaſe the *Conſcript Fathers* to give them Audience. And at length the Day came for treating of the Affairs of *Spain*. The *Belli* and *Titthi* were firſt introduced into the Aſſembly. They had ſome Remains of Barbariſm in their Manners; but there was a Fund of good Senſe in the Repreſentation they made of their Affairs. *All the Cantons in our part of* Spain, ſaid they, *are divided into two Parties, which divide and trouble it. Some ſtill hold out for the* Roman *Confederacy, and continue to obſerve the Laws which* Gracchus *impoſed upon them. Others have ſhaken off the Yoke of the Republick, and treat their Neighbours who adhere to it, as Enemies. Your Enemies have weakened the latter, but not ſubdued them. Fear and Neceſſity oblige them to ſeek for a tranſient Peace, which they are fully reſolved to break, as ſoon as the great* Conſular *Armies have left our Continent. Will you then give us up to the Mercy of our Enemies, and your own? What Reproaches and what Violences ſhall we then ſuffer, for having perſevered in our Alliance! We ſhall be treated as baſe Citizens and Traitors to our Country! And what will be the Conſequence? The Countries which were formerly faithful, when deſtitute of your Support, will eaſily be carried away with the Stream, and you will loſe* Spain, *by having been too mild to an Handful of factious Men. Continue then,* Conſcript Fathers, *your* Legions *in our Country, and ſend thither every Year a* Conſul *to command them. Don't truſt to fallacious Pretences of Peace. The* Arevacæ, *and other Rebels, will no longer ſubmit to you, than whilſt the Dread of your Puniſhments makes them afraid to lift up their Heads.*

This ſenſible Diſcourſe was a Juſtification to the Senate of *Fulvius*'s Conduct the laſt Year. That *Conſul* would not hearken to any Propoſal from the *Arevacæ* till they were firſt entirely diſarmed and had ſurrendered themſelves up to the Republick at Diſcretion. This had brought ſome Misfortunes upon him; but *Marcellus* had lately repaired them by the Succeſs of his Arms. All the Senators were therefore inclined to treat the Rebels with the utmoſt Rigour, when the *Arevacæ* were brought before them; and the bare Appearance of theſe proud *Spaniards* gave them ill Impreſſions of their Sincerity, in ſuing for Peace. Their Diſcourſe was full of Rhodomontades and Threatnings. They at firſt put on an Appearance of Humility; but wholly aſcribed the Overthrow they had received to the Inconſtancy of *Fortune*, who pulls down, and raiſes up, when ſhe pleaſes. They even ventured to inſinuate, that all things conſidered, they had had the Advantage, in the general Battels they had fought with the *Romans*. *Nevertheleſs*, ſaid they, *if* Rome *ſhall think fit to inflict ſome ſlight Puniſhment on us, we will ſubmit to it; but upon this Condition only, That we ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed on the Foot of the old Confederacy, which* Tiberius Gracchus *ſettled in the two* Spains. Theſe haughty Airs ill became Supplicants, and made their Sincerity ſuſpected. However, the Senate would not come to a Determination, till they had heard the Meſſengers from *Marcellus*.

The *Conſcript Fathers* eaſily ſaw thro' the Deſigns of the *Conſul*. They were convinced, That he would not ſo readily have granted a Peace to the *Celtiberians*, on ſuch eaſy Conditions; had it not been for the Sake of the Honour of having ſettled *Spain* in Peace, before the End of his Year; and in order to get a Triumph afterwards, at *Rome*. This they inferred from the Pains the Meſſengers took to incline the Aſſembly to favour the *Arevacæ*. However, upon theſe Diſcoveries, the Senate did not think proper to pronounce a definitive Sentence. They only told the Parties, That *Marcellus* ſhould declare to them the Will of the Senate, upon the Spot. But they ſent private Orders to the General-Officers under the *Conſuls* whom they ſuſpected, to continue the War with the *Arevacæ* with the utmoſt Fury; and immediately reſolved, to ſend a Perſon to ſucceed *Marcellus*. As to the *Prætor Attilius*, he had made a ſucceſsful Campaign in *Luſitania*. After having reduced to Obedience to *Rome* the City of *Oxthracæ* [62], one of the chief Places

App. in Iber. N. 287.

62 *Appian* is the only Author who mentions *Oxthracæ*. We know not its Situation; which is one of the Myſteries of the ancient Geography.

in the Country; he had turned his Arms againſt the Territory of the *Vectones*, taken many Cities by Force there; and then led his Army into good Quarters. The *Conſuls*, on the other hand, ſpent the Winter at *Corduba* [63], which was then only a Village, and which, if we may believe a celebrated Author, was made a great City by the Care of *Marcellus*. But his Project of a Pacification vaniſhed, and *Spain* was threatened with a more cruel War than ever.

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§. XXIV. IN the mean time, a War began to break out in *Africa*. *Carthage*, being continually harraſſed with the Invaſions of *Maſiniſſa*, and tired out with the Injuſtice of the *Roman* Republick, formed a bold Deſign, which was the firſt Cauſe of her Deſtruction. The *Carthaginian* Senate reſolved to make that *Numidian* King, who poſſeſſed the Throne of his Grandfather *Syphax*, take up Arms. He entered into an Alliance with *Carthage*, and led a great Army to the Frontiers of thoſe Dominions which acknowledged *Maſiniſſa* for their Sovereign. *Archobarzanes*, full of the Spirit of *Syphax* his Grandfather, came in Perſon, at the Head of his Troops, and threatened the Dominions of the King his Neighbour. *Rome* was not long without Advice of it. The Senate were informed of the Step *Archobarzanes* had taken; and almoſt all the *Conſcript Fathers* looked on this ſingle Act as a Breach of the Treaties made between *Rome*, *Carthage*, and the King of *Numidia*. Neither of theſe Parties was to have taken up Arms without the Conſent of the predominant Republick. So that *Cato* had now a fair Opportunity to diſplay the Hatred he had long had to the *Carthaginians*. *It is not ſo much againſt* Maſiniſſa, *as* Rome, ſaid he, *that theſe Preparations for War are levelled. The King of* Numidia *is only the Pretence.* Italy *is the Point in View. Hence that vaſt Number of Galleys which I ſaw in the Port of* Carthage. *To neglect my Advice, is to neglect the Glory and Safety of* Rome. But as great an Authority as *Cato* had in the Republick, *Scipio Naſica* had as much, if not more. This wiſe *Roman* had juſt been promoted to the ſupreme Pontificate. He thought there was more of Animoſity, than of well-grounded Fear, in *Cato*'s Speech; and was therefore againſt entering into a War precipitately. He rather adviſed, the ſending another Embaſſy to *Carthage*, there to examine into the preſent State of Affairs without Paſſion; and more Regard was ſhewn to *Naſica*'s Moderation, than to *Cato*'s Heat. Perhaps the War which it had been reſolved to carry on in *Spain*, ſuſpended that which at another time would readily have been entered into in *Africa*. But be that as it will, the ſame *Naſica* who had adviſed the Embaſſy, was nominated Ambaſſador, and ſet out for *Carthage*. When he had been introduced into the *Carthaginian* Senate, with all the Reſpect the *Carthaginians* had for his Perſon, and all the Gratitude that was due to him for his Services, he harangued them with all that Liberty which he had a Right to aſſume, in a vanquiſhed, ſubdued, and tributary Republick. He, without Ceremony, reproached the *Carthaginian* Senate and People, for the Liberty they had taken of aſſembling together ſo many Ships, and cauſing King *Archobarzanes* to take up Arms, without the Leave of the *Romans*. *It is an Infraction of the Treaties*, ſaid he, *which* Rome *would e're now have avenged, if I had not been your Defender, and your Support.*

Strabo. *Livy in Epit.* *Zonaras, B. 9.*

THE Senate pleaded in their Excuſe, Neceſſity which has no Law, the continual Hoſtilities of *Maſiniſſa*, and the little Regard *Rome* had ſhewn for their Republick, in all her Quarrels. And then the wiſe *Naſica* diſplayed his Goodneſs and his Moderation. He, of his own Accord, offered to treat with *Maſiniſſa*,

63 *Corduba*, now known by the Name of *Cordoüa*, has ever been thought one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in *Spain*. It ſtood in old *Bœtica*, on the Banks of the River *Betis*, now the *Guadalquivir*. *Sigonius* is of Opinion, that *Marcellus*, who was *Conſul* in the Year of *Rome* 601, built this City. But it muſt have been built before his time, ſince he put his Troops into Winter-quarters there, according to *Polybius*. Indeed *Strabo*, *B.* 3. gives us Reaſon to believe that it was built by *Marcellus*. But he might either mean ſome other *Marcellus* who lived before him here ſpoken of; or elſe he only meant, that a *Colony* of *Romans* ſettled there, under the *Auſpices* of the *Conſul*. This he ſeems to imply, when he ſays, that it was the firſt City in *Spain* which had the Title of a *Roman Colony*. To which he adds, that ſeveral *Roman Citizens* ſettled there, as ſoon as it was built. They were probably drawn thither by the Fruitfulneſs of the Soil. *Mariana* the *Jeſuit*, in his ſecond Book of his *Hiſtory of Spain*, takes a middle Way, in order to reconcile *Strabo* and *Polybius*. He ſuppoſes *Cordoüa* to have been founded in the Year of *Rome* 584, when *Marcellus* governed all *Spain*, in quality of *Prætor*. Nevertheleſs *Silius Italicus* ſpeaks of *Cordoüa*, as of a City which was in being as early as in the time of *Hannibal*. And if ſo, we muſt ſay, That *Marcellus* was not the Founder, but the Reſtorer of it; whether only by contributing to its Decoration, or by obtaining the Right of *Roman Citizenſhip* for its Inhabitants.

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Liv. in Epit.

about the Lands in Diſpute, which occaſioned all the Quarrel. Could the King of *Numidia* refuſe any thing to the Requeſt of a *Roman* in ſo much Credit as the Ambaſſador? No; he granted all he deſired; or rather, he complied with his Orders. So that all was ended, and *Carthage* had been ſaved, if a ſeditious *Carthaginian* had not by his Intrigues aſſiſted *Fortune* in precipitating his Country into the greateſt Misfortunes. This pernicious Citizen's Name was *Giſgo*; a Man in Office, and in Favour with the People. The Wretch harangued them in the Place of their Aſſemblies, and ſo highly enflamed the Populace, that they would have offered Violence to *Naſica* himſelf, if he had not eſcaped the Fury of the mad Rabble, by Flight. And then *Giſgo* carried his Rage ſtill farther. There were about forty Perſons in the Senate of *Carthage*, who had Senſe enough to approve of the Peace which *Naſica* had negotiated with *Maſiniſſa*. *Giſgo* repreſented them to the Commons, as Friends to the King of *Numidia*; cauſed them to be condemned to perpetual Baniſhment; and made the People ſwear, that they would never receive thoſe Exiles into their City again, or ſuffer their Reſtoration to be mentioned. So that theſe Victims to popular Fury had no Refuge to flee to, but the Dominions of *Maſiniſſa*; and there they were continually ſtirring him up to make War with their own Country. As for *Archobarzanes*, he was touched with the ready Compliance of *Maſiniſſa* with *Naſica*'s Requeſt, and disbanded his Troops.

App. in Punic.

At *Rome* the Return of *Naſica*, and the Inſults offered him in *Africa*, much affected the Senators; and nothing ſuſpended the Vengeance of the proud Republick, but the War already proclaimed with the *Celtiberians* in *Spain*. *Cato* was charmed to ſee *Naſica* agree with him, That *Carthage* ought to be utterly deſtroyed. But nevertheleſs, his Joy was much damped by his Grief for the Death of the *Prætor Porcius*, his Son by his firſt Wife. He had always loved him tenderly, and neglected[64] nothing in his Education. One Hiſtorian[65] ſays, That *Cato* was ſo very poor that he buried *Porcius* without any Pomp or Ceremony. But this Thrift ought rather to be imputed to the Philoſophy or Avarice of the Father, than to his Indigence. We know that *Cato the Cenſor* amaſſed great Wealth by Trade and[66] Uſury. However, he was not ſparing of moral Reflections at leaſt, on this Loſs, which afflicted him. *Alas!* cried he, *muſt I be forced to carry to a Funeral Pile the Body of a Son, who ought to have carried me to one! I ſhall follow thee, my dear* Cato, *very ſoon. Thy Soul is gone but a few Days before me into that delicious Place, where we ſhall meet, never to be parted more. This Hope is my only Comfort.* Nevertheleſs, *Cato* had ſtill one Son living. He was born him by his ſecond Wife, was named *Cato Salonius*, and was the Stock from whence the famous *Cato of Utica* afterwards deſcended.

Florus.
Plut. Life of *Cato.*
Cicero.

§. XXV. At the Time appointed, the *Roman* People aſſembled in the *Field of Mars*, to chuſe new Magiſtrates; but there was no *Conſul* to preſide in the *Comitia*.

64 See what we have ſaid above of the Education *Cato* gave his Son.

65 This Hiſtorian is *Florus*. But he is contradicted in this Particular by all the Ancients. *Cicero* himſelf, *Cato*'s *Panegyriſt*, in his Treatiſe *Of Old Age*, does not diſown that this rigid *Cenſor* had a great Eſtate; and *Plutarch* more expreſly affirms it.

66 He neglected no means, ſays this laſt Author, to improve his Fortune. He was poor before he was promoted to the Dignities of the Republick; and then boaſted, That he found his Husbandry and Oeconomy an inexhauſtible Fund. But afterwards he was much more intent upon heaping up great Riches. He then did not think Agriculture, either a ſure, or ſhort Way enough to get Money. He for the future conſidered it only as an agreeable Amuſement. He made it his whole Buſineſs to get Ponds, Lands which produced mineral Waters, Woods, and Paſtures; and neglected no means to improve them, by ſettling Manufactures upon them. The conſiderable Sums they annually produced him by this means, were an ample Revenue, which was not ſubject to the Inconveniencies of the Seaſons; or as he expreſſed himſelf, *Which were out of the Reach of the Anger of* Jupiter *himſelf*. He alſo had Recourſe to unworthy Artifices, in order to raiſe an immenſe Fortune, with little Expence. The Uſury that was moſt condemned by Men of Honour, was that of *Shipping*, as it was called at *Rome*; but *Cato* was not aſhamed to purſue a Method condemned by the Laws. He lent Money to a certain Number of Merchants, upon Condition, that they ſhould enter into a Society, to trade by Sea. Theſe Traders engaged not only to return him the Money lent, but he was likewiſe to ſhare all the Profits of their Trade with them. And in order to ſecure the Gain he was to have, *Cato* committed the Care of his Intereſt, to one *Quintio* his *Freedman*, who embarked with the Merchants. But *Chriſtians* are leſs ſcrupulous on this Account, than the ancient *Romans*, who were brought up in the Principles of *Paganiſm*.

67 *Pliny* tells us, *B.* 7. *c.* 14. That *Cato* had his ſecond Son ſurnamed *Salonius*, when he was full fourſcore. His eldeſt Son, which he had by his firſt Wife, was ſurnamed *Licinianus*, and went into the Family from which he deſcended. This Surname gives us room to conjecture, That *Cato*'s firſt Wife's Name was *Licinia*. That of his ſecond Wife was *Salonia*, and therefore her Son choſe to be ſurnamed *Salonius*.

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He who had continued in *Italy*, died towards the Close of the Year. So that *Marcellus* being absent in *Spain*, and *Valerius* dead, the Republick sunk into an *Interregnum*. The Senator (of the five who had the Care of the Republick) who was in Office for the Time being, presided in the Assembly; and *L. Licinius Lucullus*, and *A. Postumius Albinus*, were chosen *Consuls*. *Sulpicius Galba* was chosen *Prætor* to govern *Further Spain*; for it was resolved to send one of the *Consuls* to continue the War in *Hither Spain*, notwithstanding that *Marcellus* had promised to settle Peace there. Indeed *Rome* was almost solely intent on *Spain*; in order to finish, the next Year, that troublesome War there, which retarded that which the *Romans* were willing to make in *Africa*. Orders were given to the *Consuls* to raise Levies, for her *Legions* immediately; and then appeared the Difficulty of raising Troops for *Spain*. None of the *Citizens* would undertake to go thither, either as Officers or private Soldiers. *Spain*, said they, *is a destructive Country, which unpeoples* Rome. *How many of our Men has it devoured? It is a Gulph out of which no Man returns alive*. Marcellus *had great Reason to make Peace with it, to save* Roman *Blood. Why then has not the Senate complied with his Desires? Would they have us all fall, one after another, by the Swords of the* Spaniards? The Soldiers whom *Fulvius* had brought from *Spain* the last Year, had caused these Murmurs to spread. They described, in a lively Manner, the Miseries they had suffered during the Campaign, and the Rigour of a Winter spent in Tents, and in the greatest Want. And in short, the Aversion to going to *Spain* increased to such a Degree, that the old *Romans* declared the Republick had never met with so much Opposition to her Commands. To increase the Misfortune, the [68] *Tribunes of the People* complained as well as the Mutineers; and protected those who refused to inlist themselves. The bravest Soldiers in the Republick protested, That they would not follow the *Consul*, to whose Lot *Spain* should fall, if they were offered the Commissions of Lieutenant-Generals, or *Legionary Tribunes*. And as for the *Roman* Youth, it was in vain to cite them to enroll themselves. None appeared; and the Number of the Disobedient was too great for the State to attempt to punish them. Besides, the *Tribunes* protected them. They even went so far, as to carry the two *Consuls* to Prison, because they would spare no Body. Indeed the wisest of the *Romans* were surprized at the Imprudence, as they called it, of the *Tribunes*, and the Obstinacy of the People. *What is become*, said they, *of the old Ardour of the* Romans, *to take the military Oaths?* It was turned into an open Revolt; and what could put a Stop to it!

Year of *ROME* DCII.

L. Licinius Lucullus, A. Postumius Albinus, Consuls.

Polyb. in Legat. N. 141. *App. in Iberic. Livy in Epit.*

The Senate and *Consuls* were embarrassed, when the Love of his Country stirred up a young *Roman*, not more than thirty three Years of Age, who extricated them out of their Difficulties. This was *Scipio Æmilianus*, the Son of *Paulus Æmilius*, who was adopted in the *Cornelian* Family, and thereby become the Grandson of the Great *Scipio Africanus*. His Age would not yet suffer him to enjoy any Civil or Military Employment. He was yet scarce known, but by the Names of the Families from which he descended, and into which he was entered, and by a greater Prudence than was usual for Men of his Age. One Day, when the People were assembled that they might enroll themselves, he desired Leave to speak, and spake thus. *Hitherto*, Romans, *I have held my Peace in your Assemblies, on account of my Age, and out of pure Respect to you. But now that Examples are more necessary to influence the People than Words, I venture to ascend* The Tribune. *I come to offer my Service to the Governours of the Republick, in this Distress of my Country. Let them dispose of me as they please. I will readily go and serve in* Spain, *in any Capacity which they shall appoint. I freely give up an Employment of Consequence to me, in order to encourage the Youth to go to* Spain, *which they dread. I have been invited to go this Year to put an End to the Differences in* Macedon, *which would certainly be of some Advantage to me. But* Spain

68 Upon the Authority of *Cicero*, in his third *Philippic*, the Promulgation of the *Scatinian* Law is generally fixed to the Year 501. *Scatinius*, a *Tribune of the People*, is said to be the Author of it. By this Law, the Persons who were convicted of having committed, or sollicited others to commit the Crime, which was punished with Fire from Heaven, were condemned to pay a Fine of ten thousand * *Roman Denarii*, or five thousand *French Livres*: A slight Punishment for so monstrous a Crime. The Law likewise probably inflicted corporal Punishments on those who could not pay the Fines.

* 322 *l.* 18 *s.* 4 *d. Sterling.*

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L. Licinius Lucullus, A. Postumius Albinus, Consuls.

shall have the Preference. I dedicate my self to the Spaniſh *Service. The Son of* Paulus Æmilius, *and the Grandſon of the Great* Scipio *has not learnt from one or the other, either to fear Danger, or to prefer his own private Intereſt to the publick Good. I will then go with Joy to a Country which the* Scipio's *my Anceſtors have ſtained with their Blood, and made famous for their Victories. After my Grandfather's Example, I will accept, nay, I will ſollicit for, a Service which terrifies ſo many others. No, no; we ſhall not find in* Spain *three* Carthaginian *Armies to conquer, and three famous Generals to overcome, as the Great* Scipio *did. The Dangers of the Enterprize are magnified to us; and we are terrified with Phantoms inſtead of Realities. I know ſome timorous Men have filled* Rome *with Terror. Where are her brave Youths? Your Fathers were not afraid of all the Forces of* Spain *and* Carthage *united. Will you then degenerate from their Virtue? What! Can an Handful of revolted Barbarians make you tremble? Follow the cowardly Sentiments which are inſtilled into you, as much as you pleaſe; for my part, I am ready to go wherever Glory, my Governors, the publick Good, or the Will and Pleaſure of the Senate, call me.*

This Diſcourſe had its deſired Effect. In the firſt Place, the *Conſuls* and Heads of the City ran and embraced *Æmilianus*; for we ſhall call him by this Name for the future. They thought he would prove a ſecond *Paulus Æmilius*, or *Africanus*; and were not miſtaken. After he had given this firſt Proof of his Virtue, he made ſuch Progreſs in the Paths of Honour, that it may be doubted, whether he did not even ſurpaſs his Father, and his Grandfather. At preſent, People of all Sorts, after the Example of *Æmilianus*, began to rouze their ancient Virtue. Both among the old Officers and the People, there were ſome who were even ſollicitous, either to get military Employments, or to have their Names enrolled. Then the *Conſuls* drew Lots for their Provinces. *Spain* fell to *Lucullus*, and *Ciſalpine Gaul* to *Poſtumius*. Nevertheleſs, in order to humour the People whoſe Minds were yet uneaſy, the two Generals would not themſelves chuſe their own Officers, or *Legions*. Contrary to Cuſtom, it was determined by Lot which of the Lieutenant Generals, *Tribunes*, and Soldiers ſhould follow *Lucullus* to *Spain*, and which continue in *Italy* with *Poſtumius*. Only *Æmilianus* was reſerved for *Spain*, without that Trouble. He had publickly devoted himſelf to that Service. Some ſay *Lucullus* made him one of his Lieutenant Generals; others, that on Account of his Age, *Æmilianus* ſerved only in quality of a *Legionary Tribune*. But be that as it will, we are now going to ſee the young Hero begin his Career with uncommon Diſtinction, eclipſe the Glory of his General, and return to *Rome* with a Reputation which daily increaſed, and at laſt made him the Wonder of his Age.

§. XXVI. When *Lucullus*, and the *Prætor Sulpicius Galba* were landed in the Ports of *Spain*, the two Generals enquired into the State of their reſpective Provinces; and were informed, that *Marcellus* on one hand, and *Attilius Serranus* on the other, had entirely pacified, one *Celtiberia*, and the other *Luſitania*. All the time that *Marcellus* had reſided in *Spain*, whether as *Conſul*, or *Prætor*, till his Succeſſor arrived, he had made it his whole Buſineſs to reconcile all the revolted Nations to *Rome*.

App: in Iber.

Indeed the Senate had ſent Orders to *Marcellus* to continue the War with the *Celtiberians*, and prefer it to a feigned Peace. But theſe Orders had been ill obſerved. During his whole *Conſulſhip*, *Marcellus* had been bent on granting the *Celtiberians* advantageous Terms, in order to induce them to lay down their Arms. And very lately, this *Roman* General had had long Conferences with the Ambaſſadors, which the *Celtiberians* had ſent to *Rome*, and which had been ſo ill received there. In ſhort, he had at length perſuaded them, That in the end their Revolt muſt prove fatal to them or their Children; That they could not do better than accept the Conditions which he offered them; and That upon his return to *Rome*, he ſhould have Intereſt enough in the Senate to get them ratified by them. His Scheme was, to grant the *Celtiberians* a general Amneſty, procure them perfect Liberty, and demand nothing of them but certain Sums of Money, to make the Republick amends for the Expences of the War.

Nevertheless *Numantia*, a proud City, ſtill held out for War, and could not reſolve to lay down her Arms. A leading Man of Reputation, named *Litenno*, encouraged the *Numantini*, and kept them ſteady in their Revolt. *Marcellus* had therefore drawn near to the City, and encamped five *Stadia* from it. The Garriſon

riſon had ventured at a Sally, but had been repulſed with Loſs. Then *Litenno* had immediately demanded a Conference with the *Roman* General; and in the Interview it had been agreed, That the *Arevacæ* ſhould pay the *Romans* three hundred *Talents* * for *Tribute*. Which proves, that theſe People were wealthy, notwithſtanding the Barrenneſs of their Soil. *Numantia* had given *Marcellus* Hoſtages; and *Marcellus* had granted the *Celtiberian* Rebels their Liberty, and the Friendſhip of the *Romans*. After this he had ſet out for *Rome*, in full Hopes of obtaining a Triumph. But it is ſaid, that he died at Sea, near the Coaſts of *Africa*, doubtleſs in his Paſſage from *Spain*. The *Prætor Attilius* had alſo left *Luſitania*, becauſe he thought it in Tranquillity, and had retired into Winter-quarters.

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L. Licinius Lucullus, A. Postumius Albinus, Conſuls.
* 58125 *l. Sterl.*
Cicero in Piſo.

This News ſurprized *Lucullus* and *Sulpicius* after their landing. Nevertheleſs the *Prætor* went to take Poſſeſſion of his Province, and govern it. But the *Conſul* was utterly diſconcerted. The Commiſſion he had received from the Senate was, to make War with the *Celtiberians*; but upon his Arrival, he found that his Predeceſſor had granted them a Peace. So that it ill became him to deſtroy what *Marcellus* had done, and bring Diſgrace on his Republick by the Infraction of ſo late a Treaty. He therefore determined to find himſelf Employment out of the Country of the *Arevacæ*. *Lucullus* was a pretty good General, enterpriſing, and audacious. Beſides, he was covetous to exceſs, and did not make War ſo much for the Glory of conquering, as the Profit of the Spoils of the Vanquiſhed. So that leſt he ſhould continue idle all his *Conſulſhip*, which he wanted to reap ſome Profits by, he went to ſeek for Enemies to fight with, in the Corners of *Spain* which were till then unknown to the *Romans*, or at leaſt had no relation to them. He reſolved of his own Head, without Orders, to go and make War in the Countries of the [69] *Turduli*, and *Cantabri* [70]. Theſe Provinces were yet untouched, and therefore promiſed the greedy *Conſul* plenty of Booty. In order to get to them, he muſt croſs the Country of the *Vaccæi* [71]. He therefore paſſed the *Tagus*, came and encamped before [32] *Cauca*, a City of the *Vaccæi*, and was ready to lay Siege to it. Theſe unexpected Enemies, whom they had not drawn upon themſelves by any Acts of Hoſtility, terrified the *Vaccæi*; and they ſent to the *Roman* General, to know what Offence they had committed to deſerve his Reſentment. A frivolous Pretence will ſerve for a Reaſon, with a Man greedy of Gain and Plunder. *You have been at War*, ſaid he, *with the* Carpetani, *and I, who have taken upon me to maintain their Quarrel, am come to puniſh you for it*. Upon this Anſwer, the *Cauсans* reſolved to defend themſelves, and ſuſtain the Attacks of the *Conſular* Army. They often ſent out Parties, which fell upon the *Roman* Soldiers as they were cutting Wood in the neighbouring Foreſts. Their way of Fighting was to throw their Darts whilſt they were hovering about the Enemy, and keep in continual Motion. They were well ſkilled in this Sort of Skirmiſhing; but were not at all inured to fight, keeping their Ground. When therefore they were to come to a general Action, they only threw their Javelins, with ſurpriſing Readineſs and Succeſs, and then returned in all haſte to their Ramparts. But they were not ſucceſsful in their Retreat. The *Romans* followed cloſe after theſe Fugitives, who had thrown all their Darts, and were exhauſted with Fatigues; and killed three thouſand of them, before they entered the City. This Blow diſcouraged them, and made them turn their Reſiſtance into humble Submiſſions. They came out of their City with Olive Branches in their Hands, and threw themſelves at the *Conſul*'s

App. in Iberic.

69 The Country of the *Turduli* reached the Eaſt and Weſt, from the Port *Mneſtheus*, now the Port St. *Mary*, beyond the *Guadalquivir*, a little below *Cordova*. It ran up into the inland Country, almoſt to the Confines of *Bætica*, along the Mountains of *Morene*, now called *La Sierra Morena*. We have mentioned theſe People ſeveral times already.

70 The *Cantabri* formerly poſſeſſed *Biſcay*, *Guipuſcoa*, part of the *Aſturias*, of *Santillana*, and of the Kingdom of *Leon*. So that it was not true, as ſome have imagined, that only the *Biſcayans* were the ancient *Cantabri*. *Mariana* ſpeaks of a City of *Campania*, which was formerly the Capital of the Country. He places it upon an high Hill, which commands the Banks of the *Ebro*, beyond *Logrogno* and *Viana*; And ſays that the Place where it ſtood is called *Cantabria* to this Day. St. *Eulogius* the Martyr, mentions a River which he calls *Cantaber*. Some Geographers take it for the *Ebro*, or *Ega*, into which the little River of *Aragon* runs. But others pretend, that the latter was the *Cantaber*. Add to this, that *Cantabria* was deſtroyed in the Reign of *Leovigilda*. It had then the Title of an Epiſcopal City.

71 The *Vaccæi* poſſeſſed part of the Kingdom of *Leon*, on both ſides the *Duero*, and part of *Old Caſtille*. We have ſpoken of them elſewhere.

72 The City of *Cauca*, or *Caucia* ſtill retains the ſame Name. It ſtands in *Old Caſtille*, between *Segovia* and *Valladolid*.

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† 19375 *l.*

Feet. He demanded of them a hundred *Talents* † and Hoſtages, and was obeyed. But the *Caucans* had ſcarce executed theſe Orders, how unjuſt, and how rigorous ſoever, before the *Conſul* made new Demands upon them. *I will give no Quarter*, ſaid he, *unleſs you receive a* Roman *Garriſon.* And Neceſſity obliged the unfortunate Inhabitants of a City, which had been guilty of no Offence againſt *Rome*, to comply with this Demand likewiſe. They received two thouſand *Legionaries* within their Walls. And then, what Treachery followed! What greater Cruelty could Barbarians have been guilty of? As ſoon as the *Romans* were in Poſſeſſion of *Cauca*, they opened the Gates to their Army. The *Conſul* entered it, and put all the Inhabitants to the Sword, without Regard to Age, or Sex. The Slaughter was terrible. Of twenty thouſand *Caucans* very few eſcaped; and in ſhort, the City was plundered, and *Lucullus* found wherewithal to glut his Avarice.

§. XXVII. Then the Terror and Infamy of the *Roman* were ſoon ſpread together thro' the whole Country. The *Spaniards* abandoned their Towns, ſet fire to their Houſes, deſtroyed all they could not carry away, and retired to inacceſſible Places, or the beſt fortified Cities: So that the *Conſular* Army croſſed a vaſt Deſert before it came to 73 *Intercatia.* This was alſo a City of the *Vaccæi*; and as the Enemy was expected, all the Militia of the Country were aſſembled there, to the Number of twenty two thouſand Men. The *Spaniſh* Army was equal to the *Conſular* in Number, but the love of Plunder quickened the Ardour of the *Conſul.* He thought every thing poſſible that would enrich him; and he ſent to ſummons the *Intercatians* to ſurrender. But the Example of *Cauca* was too freſh in their Minds, and too affecting for them to truſt to the Promiſes of a General, ſo infamous for Breach of Faith. The Deputies of *Intercatia* ventured to reproach him with his Perfidiouſneſs to his Face. *We have had time enough to know you*, ſaid they, *ſince you entered into our Regions. The Misfortunes of* Cauca, *have ſhewn us but too plainly your true Character.* But the Truth of theſe Reproaches ſerved only to exaſperate *Lucullus.* He began with ſacking the neighbouring Country about *Intercatia.* Then he endeavoured to draw out of the City the numerous Army of *Spaniards* which had ſhut themſelves up in it. He often offered the Garriſon Battel; but they, without running the Hazard of a general Action, only marched out in Detachments to skirmiſh. Challenges were frequently made by the brave Men of the two Armies; and the *Spaniſh* Troopers often invited the *Romans* to ſingle Combats. Among theſe Champions there was one *Vaccæan* in particular, of a gigantick Stature, who generally appeared in the Field, and with great Cries, challenged the boldeſt of the *Romans*, to come and fight him; and as none came, he returned triumphantly to the City, beat the Air with his glittering Arms, and reproached the Enemy with Cowardice.

Young *Æmilianus* then ſerved in the *Conſul's* Army, as *Legionary Tribune*. He had too much Equity, to approve of an unjuſt Enterprize, undertaken without Orders, in a Country hitherto very peaceable; or of his General's Rapines. But after all, he was only a Subaltern; and Obedience was his Province. He was piqued in point of Honour to ſee the ſwaggering *Spaniard*, who continually repeated his Bravadoes, and deſired leave to fight him. *Æmilianus* was not large of Stature, but he was robuſt and active; and his Art and Addreſs made Amends for his want of bodily Advantages. He engaged his Adverſary on Foot, and killed him. By this firſt Act of Valour the young *Roman* gained a great Reputation, raiſed the Courage of his Countrymen, and a little diſconcerted the *Vaccæi.* The Siege was continued, notwithſtanding that the *Romans* began to want Proviſions. The *Conſular* Army for want of other Food, lived only on the Fleſh of Deer, and Hares, with which the Foreſts and Fields abounded, and which they ate raw, without Salt or Bread. This brought Diſtempers among the Soldiers, who died in great Numbers of the Bloody-Flux; and this made them neglect their Duty. Only weak Guards were ſet round the Camp; and for that Reaſon the *Conſular* Army was ſtruck with a Pannick. In a dark Night, as the *Spaniſh* Horſe were returning from forraging,

Vell. Paterc. B. 1. c. 12. App. in Iberic.

73 The City of *Intercatia* was alſo called *Ingalvia*, and *Imaria*, if we may believe *Andrew of Poza.* He pretends that it ſtood near *Gironne*, at a little Diſtance from the Town of *Junquera.* If ſo, there were formerly two Cities of that Name in *Spain.* It is certain, that this which *Appian* here mentions ſtood in *Old Caſtille*, between *Valladolid* and *Burgos.*

they

they found the Circumvallation round the City finiſhed, and made great Shouts, that they might be heard by the Garriſon. The Garriſon anſwered them with great Shouts from the Town, and this Noiſe which was heard in the *Roman* Camp, filled it with Terror for ſome Hours. The *Romans* were afraid that their advanced-Guards were attacked: but the Alarm ceaſed, as ſoon as the Sun appeared.

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However, the *Conſul* was not a Man that would deſiſt for ſlight Obſtacles, and he ordered *Intercatia* to be battered with freſh Fury. The Machines were built round the Place. A Breach was made with the *Ram*, whilſt the *Romans* ſcaled the Walls on another ſide; and then *Æmilianus* ſignalized himſelf. He firſt mounted the Wall, and had his Valour been ſeconded, would have taken the Place. But the Beſieged made ſo vigorous a Reſiſtance, and brought ſuch Numbers of Men againſt the Beſiegers, that they were forced to retreat, and come down from the Ramparts. Nevertheleſs the Action was not eſtimated by its Succeſs, but by the Intrepidity of *Æmilianus*. He had obeyed imprudent Orders, with a Valour which gained him the Eſteem even of his Enemies. However, the Attempt itſelf turned to the Diſadvantage of the *Romans*, and coſt the *Conſul* dear. As his Men were returning from the Aſſault, a great Number of the Soldiers, who were not well enough acquainted with the Place, fell into Pits of Water, which the Enemy had dug round their Ramparts, and there periſhed. In the mean time, the *Intercatians* ſpent the whole Night in repairing the Breaches, and the City ſeemed to be in as good a Condition as ever. Whereas the Attacks grew Feint on the ſide of the Beſiegers. They were deſtroyed both by Want and Diſtempers. So that the *Conſul* would have retired with Shame, if he had not obſerved a Languor in the Looks of the Beſieged, like that of his own Troops. The Multitude of its Defenders had exhauſted the Proviſions in the City. They wanted every thing there, and had no means of procuring themſelves Food. This extreme Neceſſity therefore to which both Parties were reduced, diſpoſed the *Conſul* to offer favourable Terms, and the Garriſon to accept them. In ſhort, they treated. Some Deputies from the City came to the Council of War in the *Roman* Camp; and the only thing that hindered the Concluſion of the Treaty, on the part of the Beſieged, was their fear of depending on *Lucullus*'s Word. His Perfidiouſneſs to the *Caucans* continually came into their Thoughts; and *Æmilianus*, who perceived it, offered to be Guaranty for the Capitulation. With that Air of Sincerity which was natural to him, he proteſted to them, That the Conditions ſhould be faithfully obſerved; and upon the Aſſurances of a Subaltern, they laid aſide all their Diſtruſts. It was agreed, That *Intercatia* ſhould furniſh the *Conſular* Army with Stuffs to cloath ſix thouſand Men; ſhould ſend to the *Roman* Camp a certain Number of Sheep and Goats; and ſhould give Hoſtages. But to *Lucullus*'s great Mortification, nothing was ſaid of Gold or Silver. Though all the other *Spaniards* had them, the *Intercatians* deſpiſed theſe Metals, and made no uſe of them. So that the *Conſular* Army was not very well ſatisfied; and *Æmilianus* had gained all the Glory that was acquired in it. Beſides the Reputation he had gained for Valour and Probity, which made him eſteemed even by Barbarians, his General could not refuſe him two diſtinguiſhing Marks of Honour, which he had merited. *Lucullus* gave him a *Mural*, and a *Civic* Crown; one for having firſt mounted the Walls of *Intercatia*; and the other for having, during the Battel, covered a *Roman Citizen* with his Buckler, when one of the Enemy's Soldiers was going to ſtab him. So that the Glory of the *Tribune*, eclipſed that of the *Conſul*; and we cannot ſay, whether Jealouſy was not *Lucullus*'s real Motive, to ſend *Æmilianus* to *Numidia*, under Pretence of deſiring ſome Elephants of King *Maſiniſſa*. However, we ſhall ſoon ſee, that wherever an Hero appears, he ſhines.

§. XXVIII. From *Intercatia* the *Conſular* Army marched towards [74] *Palentia*. The avaritious *Conſul* imagined, that by taking of this Place he ſhould make himſelf ſome Amends for having gained ſo little by the Siege of *Intercatia*. And indeed *Palentia* was thought a rich City. Though deemed to belong to the Country of the *Vaccæi*, it abounded with Gold and Silver. This was the great Attractive that brought the *Conſul* thither. His Friends in vain adviſed him to turn his Arms another Way. *The City*, ſaid they, *is ſtrong, and the* Spa-

74 *Palentia* ſtill retains its ancient Name. It belonged to the Kingdom of *Leon*. The River formerly called *Piſoraca*, and now *Piſuerga* waters its Diſtrict, and afterwards falls into the *Duero*.

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niſh *Militia are aſſembled there from all Parts to defend it.* Nevertheleſs *Lucullus*'s prevailing Paſſion got the better of the Remonſtrances of the Council. He conſidered nothing but the immenſe Riches which he hoped to get by plundering it; and he came before it, and encamped near it. But in this Siege he ſuffered the Shame that was due to his Injuſtice, and his Obſtinacy. The *Palentini* had poſted round the Place Squadrons of light Horſe, which laid the Country waſte, and fell on the Convoys of Proviſions which were brought to the *Roman* Camp. By this means the *Conſular* Army was reduced to ſo great Want, that they could not poſſibly ſubſiſt in a ravaged Country. Nor could the *Roman* retreat quietly. The *Palentini* followed cloſe after him, as far as to the River *Durius* [75], and never left off haraſſing him, till he had paſſed it. From thence *Lucullus* went to take up his Winter-quarters, in the Country of the *Turdetani*; from whence his reſtleſs Temper ſoon brought him to *Luſitania*.

The *Prætor Sulpicius Galba* had indeed made as ſhameful a Campaign in *Luſitania*, as the *Conſul Lucullus* had done, among the *Vaccæi*. Though his Predeceſſor had left him his Province almoſt pacified; the latter had found Reaſon to renew the War there. The *Luſitanians* had entered the Countries of the Allies of *Rome*, and kept them blocked up. This News exaſperated *Galba*, when he was yet upon his March to take Poſſeſſion of his Province; and with the Reinforcement of Troops he brought, he made all haſte to join the Enemy, and marched Day and Night, without giving his Army any Reſt. He marched fifty *Stadia* [76] in four and twenty Hours, and led his Men thus fatigued to the Enemy. The Rebels thought this too fair an Opportunity to be loſt, and they gave Battel. Nevertheleſs, as fatigued as the *Romans* were, as long as they had nothing to do but to ſuſtain the Shock of the Enemy, they had Vigour enough to repulſe them, and continue the Fight as they retreated. But at length the Strength of the Victorious failed. Some were forced to take Breath, whilſt others purſued the Fugitives in Confuſion, without keeping their Ranks; and this occaſioned the entire Defeat of theſe ſeparated *Manipuli*, which had been victorious when united. *Galba* fled in his Turn, and took Refuge in a City called [77] *Carmelis*, after he had loſt ſeven thouſand of his *Romans* on the Spot: So that the *Prætor*'s Reſource was in the Auxiliaries of the Allies. Of the Remains of his Soldiers, and of the *Spaniards* his Friends, he formed an Army of twenty thouſand Men, which he put into Winter-quarters, in the Country of the [78] *Cunæans*.

In the mean time, *Lucullus* was uneaſy at ſitting ſtill in the Country of the *Turdetani*, to which he had retired. The Nearneſs of *Luſitania*, and the Progreſs of the *Luſitanians* after the Defeat of *Galba*, were continually prompting him to ſuppreſs the Inſolence of theſe People, and lay their Country waſte. He began with ſending ſuch Detachments thither as were fit to make Incurſions. His Lieutenant Generals were ſucceſsful in the firſt Battel they fought with the *Luſitanians*. The latter had drawn too near to *Turdetania* [79]; and the *Romans* killed four thouſand of them. The ſecond Action was not ſo bloody, but it diſconcerted the Rebels. Fifteen hundred of them were ſlain near *Gades*. And at length the *Conſul* himſelf entered *Luſitania*, and ſatisfied his Thirſt for Plunder.

§. XXIX. The *Prætor* ſeeing the Diverſion the *Conſul* made took Advantage of it in order to gratify both his Revenge, and his Avarice. *Galba* was as ſelfiſh as *Lucullus*, and more cruel. What Monſters did *Rome* then ſend to command her Armies in *Spain*! *Galba* penetrated into *Luſitania*; deſtroyed every thing with Fire and Sword; and glutted himſelf with the Spoils and Blood of theſe unhappy People.

75 We have already ſpoken of the *Durius*, or the *Duero*, one of the greateſt Rivers in *Spain*.

76 At this rate, they marched no more than two Leagues and an half, or ſeven thouſand two hundred and fifty geometrical Paces.

77 We know of no City in old *Luſitania*, which was called *Carmelis*. *Appian* is the only Author that mentions it. Some take it for *Carmona*, a City on the Banks of the *Bætis*, between *Seville* and *Cordoba*.

78 The *Cunæans* poſſeſſed a Canton of *Andaluſia*, between the *Guadalquivir*, and the *Guadiana*, inclining towards *Portugal*, and pretty near *Niebla*. The City of *Cuniſtorgis* of which we have already ſpoken, is thought to have been the Capital of theſe People.

79 The *Turdetani* poſſeſſed that part of *Andaluſia* which lies between the *Guadiana*, and the *Guadalquivir*. Afterwards the Neighbourhood of *Tervel* in *Arragon* was inhabited by a People of the ſame Name; this Canton having been conquered by the *Turdetani* of *Andaluſia*, or the latter having ſettled a *Colony* in this Country. We have ſpoken of theſe People in the preceding Volumes.

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The Horror which he ſpread through all the Country, obliged the Inhabitants at laſt to ſue for Peace; and they ſent to *Galba*, to deſire that *Rome* would receive them again on the ſame Conditions, which the *Prætor Atilius* had offered them the laſt Year. Indeed the *Luſitanians* had then rejected theſe Conditions, and had taken up Arms after the Departure of *Atilius*. But ſhould an Act of Levity have been puniſhed, with the moſt notorious Perfidiouſneſs? *Galba* received the *Luſitanians* with Demonſtrations of Friendſhip. *I am well ſatisfied*, ſaid he to them, *that your Revolt proceeded more from Neceſſity, than any Malice or Hatred to the* Roman *Name. You live in a barren Country, which does not ſupply you with Neceſſaries. Hence your Readineſs to invade the Territories of your Neighbours, and our Allies. You are become our Enemies, without deſigning it. Let us then for the future find a Remedy for the Calamities which your Wants have brought upon you. Indeed it is not in my Power to remove you all into one fruitful Country, where you may live in Plenty. But if you will divide your ſelves into three Bodies, you ſhall be carried into different Countries, where you ſhall live at Eaſe.*

Theſe credulous *Luſitanians* were ſilly enough to divide themſelves, and to ſuffer themſelves to be tranſplanted into other Countries. Each third part of the People were carried into a new Country, removed their Effects thither, and ſettled there. The *Prætor* had taken care to leave a great Tract of Land between each of the three Settlements; and nothing was more natural, than to let theſe Rebels live in Peace, after they had been ſo divided, as to put it out of their Power to do any more Miſchief. They quietly waited in their ſeveral Allotments for the coming of *Galba*, to diſtribute among their Families the Ground which he had put into their Poſſeſſion. The *Prætor* came; but with an armed Force. He firſt entered the Diviſion that was next to him, and afterwards the two others. He ordered the People of the firſt, to deliver up their Arms, which were become uſeleſs, ſince the Pacification. Then he ſurrounded them with Barricadoes; ſent in his Soldiers among them; and maſſacred them almoſt all. This done, he repeated the ſame Cruelties in the two other Plantations. They who did not loſe their Lives, were ſold to the beſt Bidder. Some ſay, that in theſe three Butcheries thirty thouſand *Luſitanians* were killed. Others reduce the Number to nine thouſand. However, as Providence, generally ſpeaking, rewarded the Virtue of the *Romans* with temporal Proſperities, when they made themſelves worthy of them; ſo it now ſignally puniſhed the execrable Treachery of the *Prætor Sulpicius Galba*. It ſuffered one Youth to eſcape from the Slaughter of theſe unfortunate People, who was a Man of ſingular Valour, and whoſe Arms proved fatal to the Republick. This was the famous *Viriathes*, who long haraſſed the *Romans* in *Spain*, killed more of their Men than *Galba* had ſacrificed of the *Spaniards*, confounded their Generals, and performed Exploits equal to thoſe of the *Roman* Heroes. We ſhall hereafter admire his Behaviour at the Head of the Armies of his Country; and ſhall ſee in his Succeſs the Hand of an avenging God. Indeed, after theſe unjuſt Proceedings of the *Conſul Lucullus*, and the *Prætor Galba*, in the two *Spains*, it is ſurpriſing, that the former was not condemned, or ſo much as accuſed, either before the Senate, or People. The *Romans* were ſo prejudiced againſt the *Spaniards*, that they thereby authorized in ſome ſort the Injuſtice of their Generals. And therefore we ſhall not be ſurprized to ſee the Revolt continue in that Country.

§. XXX. Indeed, the Expectation of an approaching War with *Carthage*, ought alone to have determined *Rome* to have treated the *Spaniards* with more Humanity, if not to have appeaſed them. News came to the Senate from ſeveral Quarters, that Preparations were making at *Carthage* for an open Declaration of War with *Rome*. *Guluſſa*, the Son of the King of *Numidia*, who was lately come to *Italy*, confirmed theſe Reports; greatly alarmed the City and Senate; and ſometimes by Suſpicions, ſometimes by well-grounded Complaints, made the *Carthaginian* Name odious to the *Romans*. *I went to* Carthage *my ſelf*, ſaid he, *with my Brother* Micipſa, *to deſire leave for thoſe to return thither, whom the factious People had baniſhed. Theſe Exiles are Friends to* Rome, *and to my Father* Maſiniſſa. *It was their Fidelity to us, which drew upon them the Rage of the People. Judge then from thence, what Affection the* Carthaginians *have for your Republick. As for my Brother and myſelf, the Head of the* Carthaginian *Nation would not vouchſafe us an Audience. He denied us Entrance into the Capital. We were retiring* *App. in Punic.*

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tiring with Shame, when one Hannibal, *ſurnamed* Samnis, *ſallied out of an Ambuſh which he had prepared for us, fell upon us, and obliged us to ſeparate. Is treating the Friends of* Rome *in this manner, and inſulting her moſt faithful Allies, to be reconciled with the Reſpect that a vanquiſhed and tributary People ought to have for her?*

Upon hearing this Speech, the *Conſcript Fathers* were divided in Opinion. *Cato*, ſtill an implacable Enemy to the *Carthaginians*, repeated what was ſo often in his Mouth, *There is no Safety for* Rome, *till* Carthage *is utterly deſtroyed.* But *Scipio Naſica* was again of a contrary Opinion. This great Man had indeed been perſonally affronted in *Africa.* But the very Reſentments of *Naſica* were of Service to the *Carthaginians.* He was ſcrupulous of hearkening too much to his own Paſſions. Out of an Exceſs of Probity he was afraid, leſt his Reſentments ſhould influence his Judgment; and therefore inclined to Clemency. *We ought not to declare War with* Carthage, ſaid he, *till we are abſolutely certain of her bad Deſigns. Shall we oppreſs a flouriſhing Nation which has rivalled us in Glory, upon bare Suſpicions, or uncertain Reports? Too much Precaution often degenerates into Injuſtice. Let us take care how we bring Diſhonour on our ſelves, by giving the World Reaſon to believe, that we are too fearful of* Carthage! And this Opinion was followed. Before *Rome* would conclude on a War, ſhe ſent ten Deputies to *Africa*, with Orders to watch the Steps of the *Carthaginians*, viſit their Ports, and inform themſelves upon the Spot, of the Preparations they were making by Sea and Land.

These Deputies ſoon returned to give an Account of their Commiſſion. It was viſible at firſt Sight, that *Carthage* had a Deſign to make War in ſome other Place, beſides the Continent of *Africa.* Her Fleet was numerous, and well fitted out, and her Land-Forces made a formidable Army. Upon this Report, the Senators trembled. *Guluſſa* confirmed the Report; and *Cato* would have gained all the Votes of the Senate by his Eloquence, if he had not been again contradicted by *Naſica*, who had a greater Intereſt, and higher Reputation for Virtue. The one was more ſincere in his Philoſophy, the other took more Pains to appear ſo. Notwithſtanding the Mask *Cato* put on, the Strength of his Paſſions was ſeen through it. Whereas *Naſica* ſeemed never to have had any, or to have brought them into Subjection to Reaſon. The latter was the moſt learned in the Civil Law, the former moſt eloquent. *Cato* had made himſelf many Enemies, by the Violence of his Accuſations. *Naſica* had merited the Surname of *Corculum*, by the wiſe Advice which he freely gave to all who conſulted him; and had gained the Affections of all People. Both theſe great Men had ſerved the Republick in Arms, but *Cato* with a more impetuous kind of Valour; *Naſica* with a Conduct more temperate and altogether as efficacious. In the Decline of their Lives, they were the two main Springs which governed all the Reſolutions of the Senate.

In this laſt Deliberation about *Carthage*, *Naſica* again got the better of *Cato*. He, by his ſole Authority, ſuſpended the Decree which was going to be pronounced againſt the Capital of *Africa. We ought to try all means,* ſaid he, *before we come to Extremities.* Carthage, *it is true, has been guilty of an Infraction of the Treaties; but may ſhe not repent of her Fault? And does it not become the Magnanimity of* Romans, *to give her room for it? Let us order the* Carthaginians *to burn their Fleet, and diſband their Troops; and then regulate our Reſolutions by their Submiſſion or Diſobedience.* The immoveable Moderation of *Naſica* was again applauded, and all the Senators came over to his Opinion. *Rome* gave the *Carthaginians* time to breathe, and to ſubmit.

§. XXXI. And now, the Regard the People at *Rome* had for *Naſica* increaſed beyond Expreſſion. He did whatever he pleaſed. Even the ſmalleſt Affairs were wholly ſettled by his Advice; and the Republick gave the two following remarkable Inſtances of her Deference for his Judgment.

1. *NASICA* had taken for his Companion in his Studies the famous *Polybius*, whoſe Works have gained him great Reputation, and who was a greater Philoſopher than Hiſtorian. By the Agreeableneſs of his Converſation, and the Regularity of his Life, the *Achæan* had gained the Confidence of the *Roman.* And *Polybius* made uſe of his Intereſt in *Naſica*, to procure by his Interpoſition the Deliverance of the Lords of his Country, whom *Rome* had long detained in a tedious Baniſhment. *Naſica* granted *Polybius* his Requeſt, and by his Intereſt, obtained a Favour,

Favour, which had been refuſed many others. The Senate gave the *Achæans* Leave to return Home; but their Number was much diminiſhed. Of the thouſand that came from *Achaia*, no more than about three hundred returned thither. The reſt had periſhed in *Italy* with Hunger or Grief. As for *Polybius*, he did not deſert the Friends he had made himſelf at *Rome*. He either lived with *Naſica* to be a Comfort to him in his old Age; or with *Æmilianus*, to attend him in his military Expeditions. Year of *ROME* DCII. L. Licinius Lucullus, A. Postumius Albinus, Conſuls.

2. The *Cenſors* had ordered a very fine Theatre to be built, for acting the Comedies which the *Roman* Poets than made, upon the Model of the *Greeks*. The Foundation of it was laid, and the Walls already raiſed above the Ground. But the virtuous *Naſica* thought it a Scandal to have a Theatre built at the Expence of the Publick. He complained of it to the Senate; and repreſented to them the Inconveniencies of a School for Licentiouſneſs and Effeminacy, where the *Romans* would learn to become Vitious by Imitation. The Remonſtrance he made to the *Conſcript Fathers* was full of that Zeal, which prompted him to attempt a Reformation of Manners, in an Age already corrupted by the Licentiouſneſs of *The Scenic Games*. And whatever Reſpect the Senate had for *Games* inſtituted in honour to the Gods, they had ſome Regard at leaſt to *Naſica*'s Requeſt. They paſſed a Decree, whereby it was enacted, *That the Theatre begun to be built ſhould be demoliſhed*; *That all the Materials bought for decorating the Stage ſhould be ſold to the beſt Bidder*; *That no Theatres ſhould be built within the Walls*; *That no Comedies ſhould be acted nearer than one Mile to* Rome; *and That the People ſhould not be permitted to ſit at them.* A wiſe Regulation, which in effect is highly commended by a great *Chriſtian* Writer, when he is doing Juſtice to the Author of it. St. *Auſtin* ſays, That *Naſica*, by proſcribing all theatrical Performances in *Rome*, *better deſerved to be honoured in the Temples, than the Divinities to whom thoſe* Games *were conſecrated.* *Val. Max. B.* 2. *c.* 4. *App. B.* 1. *de Bell. Civil.* *D. Aug. B.* 1. *de Civ. Dei c.* 32.

§. XXXII. As for the Republick, the Weight of all the Affairs that ſprung up one after another, in the three parts of the World, could not ſink her. In the Eaſt of *Europe*, *Macedon*, which was reduced to a tributary Republick, was tired with the *Roman* Yoke, and wanted a King. In the Weſt of *Europe*, *Spain*, which had been worſe treated than ever by villainous Governors, was wholly bent on revolting; and *Celtiberia* and *Luſitania*, which joined together, were in a Flame. *Aſia* indeed was in more Tranquillity. The Kings of *Pergamus*, *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, which were at Peace with one another, kept up a faithful Correſpondence with the *Roman* Senate, and were eaſy enough under their Subjection. *Judæa* alſo enjoyed ſome Repoſe, under the Adminiſtration of the High-Prieſt *Jonathan*, and the Perſecutions had ceaſed there. In *Africa*, the War which *Carthage* was preparing to make with *Maſiniſſa*, was only a Trial of what ſhe propoſed to do ſome time or other, in *Italy*: So that the Republick had three Enemies to fear at preſent, and ſoon after three Wars to maintain, in three very diſtant Countries. *Lucullus* and *Galba* continued their Ravages among the *Spaniards*. *Andriſcus* made himſelf a Party in *Macedon*, and aſpired at nothing leſs than the Inheritance of *Perſes*, whoſe Son he pretended to be. And laſtly, the *Carthaginians* were arming both by Sea and Land, and gave the *Romans* greater Grounds for Jealouſy than bare Suſpicions.

This was the Situation of Affairs when the *Conſuls*, *T.* [80] *Quinctius Flamininus*, and *M' Acilius Balbus* entered upon their Office. They were choſen in *The Field of Mars*, more in Compliance with Cuſtom, than from any Want *Rome* was in of new Heads, to lead her Armies into the Field. Though the Republick was threatened from different Quarters, ſhe had no Troops but in *Spain*. *Lucullus* and *Galba* were ſufficient to keep the *Spaniards* in Awe, and the Proceedings of theſe two Generals, notwithſtanding the Injuſtice of them, were not diſagreeable to the Year of *ROME* DCIII. T. Quinctius Flamininus, M' Acilius Balbus, Conſuls.

80 Moſt of the Ancients and Moderns differ as to the *Prænomen* of the *Conſul Quinctius*. *Caſſiodorus* calls him *Lucius*; as *Cicero* does in his Book *Of Old Age*. *Pliny* calls him *Caius*, *B.* 7. *c.* 36. But upon the Authority of the moſt correct Copies of *Cicero*'s Works, we give him the *Prænomen* of *Titus*. He is ſo called in the *twelfth Book of the Epiſtles to Atticus*. Nor do the ſame Writers agree better as to the Name, and *Prænomen*, of the ſecond *Conſul*. And though ſome call him *Marcus Acilius*, others *Manlius*, or *Attilius*, we adhere to the *Faſti Capitolini*, which ſay, that the Collegue of *Titus Quinctius Flamininus*, was *Manius Acilius*.

Senate:

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Senate: So that they were ſuffered to exerciſe their Violences againſt the *Luſitanians* and *Celtiberians*, at leaſt for the greateſt part of the current Year. As for the two new *Conſuls*, the Hiſtorians have not told us what was done with them. It ſeems probable, That they were made to draw Lots for their Provinces; That one of them had *Spain*, and the other *Ciſalpine Gaul*, as uſual; and That he, to whom *Spain* fell, was detained at *Rome*, on ſeveral Occaſions. There was one Regulation in particular, which it ſeemed very natural to commit to the Care of the *Conſul*, who was detained in the City. This was the puniſhing and putting a Stop to the Poiſonings, which had grown more and more frequent in *Rome*, for ſome time paſt, and created terrible Diſorders there. But after all, there were ſcarce any but Women [81], who were found capable of theſe cowardly Aſſaſſinations. The Wives of theſe Blood-thirſty Husbands, ſeem to have been permitted by Heaven, to revenge at Home, the Cruelties they exerciſed in War. Nevertheleſs they deſerved to ſuffer the utmoſt Severity of the Laws, for their Fury. Several of them were condemned to die; but one of them was ſaved from Death, by the Piety of her Daughter. The Story was much admired by the Ancients; and plainly ſhews us, That if there were then many vicious Women in *Rome*, there were alſo others, whoſe Virtue took off the Reproach from the Nation.

Plin. B. 7. c. 36. Feſtus in Littera P. Val. Max. B. 5. c. 4. §. 7.

A [82] Woman of free Condition, but of the meaneſt of the People, was convicted of being an Accomplice in ſome of theſe Poiſonings, and had been delivered up by the *Triumvir Capitalis*, to the Goaler, to be put to Death in a private Dungeon. (For Women were ſcarce ever publickly executed at *Rome*.) The Goaler ſhewed her ſo much Favour, that he would not immediately ſtrangle her; but choſe rather to let her be ſtarved to death, in the deep Hole to which he had confined her. In the mean time, the Daughter of the Priſoner, a young Woman, who had juſt lain in, obtained Leave to viſit her Mother; and before the Dungeon was opened ſhe was ſearched, and care taken that ſhe ſhould not carry any Proviſions to the Criminal. But this Search was vain; the Daughter carried in her own Body enough to prolong the Life of her Mother. She offered her her Breaſt and let her ſuck. The young Woman came very often, and at laſt was ſuſpected. The Goaler was ſurprized to find his Priſoner ſtill alive, notwithſtanding the great Care he had taken to keep all ſorts of Proviſions from her; and he watched the Daughter more narrowly, and caught her offering her Breaſt to her Mother. The Adventure was new, and related by the *Triumvir Capitalis* to the *Prætor*, and by him to the Judges, who had pronounced Sentence of Death upon the Mother. All approved of the Charity of the Daughter; and *Rome* thought her ſelf obliged to record it. In regard to her, the Mother was pardoned. And in order to perpetuate the Memory of an Action, which might be a good Example to others, and of Service to the Publick, this Priſon was turned into a Temple. *Acilius Balbus*, one of the *Conſuls* for the Year, built it, and dedicated it to *Piety* [83], that is, the Affection Children owe their Parents. Nothing was talked of in *Rome*, but the new Prodigy of a Daughter's ſuckling her Mother; and the Senate ordered a Maintenance to be given them both, for Life.

§. XXXIII. All was quiet at *Rome*; but in *Africa* all Preparations were made for War. *Maſiniſſa* had been extremely exaſperated by the Treatment the *Carthaginians* had given two of his Sons. They had not only denied them Entrance into *Carthage*, but had laid Ambuſhes for them in their return, and had like to have killed them. And the Affront partly affected the *Romans* too. Some of their Ambaſſadors had accompanied the two *Numidian* Princes, and they likewiſe had

81 *Valerius Maximus* has preſerved the Names of two of theſe Furies, *B.* 3. *c.* 6. The firſt, who was called *Publicia*, got rid of her Husband *Aulus Poſtumius Albinus*, by Poiſon. He had been *Conſul* in the Year of *Rome* 602. At the ſame time one *Claudius Aſellus* had been poiſoned by his Wife *Sulpicia*. This enormous Crime was ſoon proved upon them. The *Prætor* referred it to their Relations to puniſh them. They did not wait for the Judgment of the Magiſtrate, but exerted the Right the *Roman* Laws gave them on ſuch Occaſions. Sentence of Death was pronounced upon them; and *Publicia* and *Sulpicia* were immediately ſtrangled.

82 *Feſtus* and *Solinus* relate the ſame Fact. They ſay the Father of the young Woman was condemned to be ſtarved to Death. But their Authority is not of Weight enough, to bear down the whole Torrent of ancient Writers, who ſay, that it was the Mother, and not the Father, on whom the Magiſtrate pronounced Sentence of Death.

83 This Temple conſecrated to *Piety*, was built near the *Flaminian Circus*. Some Authors, deceived by the Reſemblance of the Names, have confounded this Building with that which *Manius Acilius Glabrio* had dedicated to the ſame Goddeſs in the *Herb-Market*, about the Year of *Rome* 572.

been refuſed Entrance into the City. *Maſiniſſa*, notwithſtanding his great Age, had as much Vivacity as ever: And under Pretence of avenging the Cauſe of the *Romans*, and in reality to revenge himſelf, he reſolved to beſiege [84] *Oroſcopa*, a City belonging to the *Carthaginians*. Upon the firſt News of this Siege, *Carthage* ſent out twenty five thouſand Foot, and four hundred Horſe, under the Command of *Aſdrubal*, then the Head of the Republick. And even this Army would not have been equal in Strength to that of *Maſiniſſa*, if all the Forces he had on Foot had continued faithful to him. But it happened, through a Levity not uncommon with the *Numidians*, that two Officers of the King's Cavalry, one named *Aſaſis*, and the other *Suba*, quarrelled with the Officers of the *Numidian* Infantry, and being reprimanded by *Maſiniſſa*, they drew off from him ſix thouſand of his beſt Horſe, and carried them to the Enemy's Camp. Then *Aſdrubal* with ſo conſiderable a Reinforcement, and at the ſame time ſo great a Diminution of the King's Forces, thought himſelf in a Condition to attempt any thing. He drew near to the *Numidian* Camp, and fought ſeveral ſmall Battels, in which he had almoſt always the Advantage.

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MASINISSA was now an old Officer, who had been inured to War from his Youth, and who, after he had ſerved an Apprenticeſhip to Arms againſt the *Romans*, had become their Friend, and learnt the Art of War, under the Great *Scipio*. This skilful King knew how to profit even by his Diſadvantages. He gave way before the Enemy, and drew them inſenſibly into a Place, where he could fight more conveniently. He retired, affected Fear, and encamped farther and farther off, ſtill drawing nearer to his own Country. *Aſdrubal* followed him, and thought himſelf ſure of deſtroying a fugitive Army, which trembled at the Sight of his. At length they arrived in a dry ſandy Plain, ſurrounded with Hills; and there the *Numidian* King reſolved to give Battel, and reſtrain the Audaciouſneſs of the fiery *Aſdrubal*. He therefore encamped in the Place which he had choſen, and to take off all Suſpicion from the *Carthaginians*, ſuffered them to ſeize the Eminencies, and fortify themſelves there. The two Armies continued ſome Days in Sight of each other, to pave the Way for a general Action. Every one admired the Head of the *Numidian* Army, this old King now almoſt ninety; whoſe Age had neither abated the Vigour of his Mind and Courage, or the Strength of his Body, ſo as to render him unable to ſuſtain military Labours. He mounted and diſmounted his Horſe with the Activity of a young Man. He rode the Steed he uſed in Battel without a Saddle, and continued all Day, and ſometimes all Night, on Horſeback. He could live upon a little dry Bread, as well as the meaneſt Soldier; and though never ſo hard, his Teeth were ſtrong enough to bite it. In ſhort, *Maſiniſſa* was not old in any reſpect, but his long Experience in Buſineſs and Arms, and his more extenſive Memory of paſt Events.

ALL Preparations were making for a Battel, which was to be fought the next Day, when News was brought to the *Numidian* Camp, That *Scipio Æmilianus* was come from *Spain* to *Africa*; and That he, in the Name of the *Conſul Lucullus*, deſired ſome Elephants to carry into *Spain*, where *Rome* was making War. Upon the bare Name of *Scipio*, *Maſiniſſa*'s Affection and Gratitude for a Family to whom he owed his Grandeur, revived. *Æmilianus* indeed was only the Grandſon of his Benefactor, and that only by Adoption. But at *Rome* the Adopted inherited all the Rights of the Families into which they were entered; and the Will of the Adopter gave them the ſame Claims, as if they had been of his Blood. *Maſiniſſa* therefore looked on *Æmilianus* with the ſame Regard, as if lineally deſcended from *Scipio*. He would have gone in Perſon to have met the *Roman*, if he had not been engaged in preparing for the Battel, which was to be fought the next Day. And being thus prevented, he ſent the Princes his Sons, with all his Cavalry, to receive and guard him. When *Æmilianus* came into the Camp, he ſeemed to bring with him ſome of that Succeſs which always attended him, when at the Head of the *Roman* Armies. Not that he took up Arms, either for the *Numidians*, or *Carthaginians*. He was barely a Spectator of one of the greateſt Battels that had been fought in *Africa*. *Rome* had not yet broken with *Carthage*, and

[84] We know nothing certain of the Situation of *Oroſcopa*. Only it is conjectured, from *Appian*'s Account, that this City bordered upon the Territory of *Carthage*.

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ſhe was in Alliance with *Maſiniſſa*. The *Conſul*'s Meſſenger therefore did not think it lawful for him to engage in either Party, or have any Share in the Action. He poſted himſelf on the Ridge of an Hill, at the Foot of which he ſaw a hundred and ten thouſand Men drawn up in Battalia. As the Battel was going to be fought on the Confines of the *Carthaginian* and *Numidian* States, great Numbers of Soldiers daily arrived in both Camps, and both Armies increaſed.

§. XXXIV. Early in the Morning began the Action, which was not to end but with the Day. Both Parties performed great Exploits, and the Victory was long in Suſpence. But at length, towards Night, it declared for *Maſiniſſa*. Then *Æmilianus* came down from his Eminence on which he ſpent the Day; and often declared afterwards, that he had never ſeen a finer Sight. What was the Show of a Company of Gladiators in an Amphitheatre, in Compariſon to that of a hundred and ten thouſand Men fighting in one Plain? *If*, ſaid he, *according to* Homer, Jupiter *had ſo much Satisfaction, in looking from the Top of Mount* Ida, *and* Neptune *from the Shores of* Samothrace, *on the* Greeks *and* Trojans, *as they were fighting by Sea and Land; what Pleaſure muſt it have been to me to ſee an Engagement between two ſuch great Armies, and to be at the ſame time free from Care or Concern my ſelf?* After this agreeable Day, *Æmilianus* returned to the Conqueror's Camp, and congratulated him upon his Victory. *Maſiniſſa*, on this joyful Occaſion, doubled his Careſſes of the *Roman*, renewed the Bonds of that Friendſhip which he had had always for the Family of the *Scipio's*, granted him the Elephants he deſired, and kept him with him as long as he could.

App. in Punic. N. 39.

App. in Punic. ibid.

But after all, the Battel which *Æmilianus* had ſeen was not deciſive. The *Carthaginians* continued ſtill in their Camp, and were reſolved not to abandon it. They thought to have made their Advantage of *Æmilianus*'s Preſence in the *Numidian* Camp, and ſent to deſire him to be the Mediator between the two Parties. This was too glorious an Office for the young *Roman* (who had not yet paſſed through the *Curule* Offices) to refuſe; and being appointed Arbitrator between *Maſiniſſa* and the Republick of *Carthage*, he heard what both had to offer. *Maſiniſſa* inſiſted, That the Territory ſo long in diſpute ſhould be given up to him; That he ſhould be immediately paid two hundred *Talents* * in Money, for the Expences of the War; That *Carthage* ſhould be obliged to pay him eight hundred † *Talents* more, at different Payments; and That ſhe ſhould deliver up to him the Deſerters who had fled to *Aſdrubal*'s Camp, under the Command of *Aſaſis* and *Suba*. And the *Carthaginians* agreed to every thing but the Surrendry of the Deſerters. They were immoveable as to that Article; and upon this the Conferences were broken off. *Æmilianus* returned to *Spain*, ſtrongly attached to *Maſiniſſa*, and as much enraged againſt the *Carthaginians* for their Obſtinacy. This was the firſt Opportunity he had to know them. But we ſhall ſoon ſee him humble their Pride, and puniſh them an hundred-fold, for their unjuſt Attempts againſt *Rome* and her Allies.

* 38750 *l. Sterl.*
† 155000 *l. Sterl.*

§. XXXV. After the Conferences ceaſed, Hoſtilities were renewed between the King and *Aſdrubal*, with more Animoſity than ever. They continued encamped in the ſame Place, and were continually fighting ſlight Battels. *Maſiniſſa* ſo blocked up the *Carthaginian* Camp, that no Convoys could be brought to it, or Detachments ſent out of it, without great Difficulty. But in the mean time, the King himſelf began to want Proviſions. However, his frugal Management of what he had, and the Abſtemiouſneſs of his Troops ſupported them. The *Numidians*, as well as their Horſes, could live upon very little Food; and very ſeldom drank any Wine. They were uſed to long Abſtinences, and by that means prolonged their Lives to an extreme old Age. But the *Carthaginians*, who were more uſed to the Plenty Trade produces, could not ſo well bear Want. Nevertheleſs they flattered themſelves without Grounds, That *Maſiniſſa* would firſt ſink under the preſent Diſtreſs; and That they ſhould find it eaſy to make a Prey of his Troops in their Retreat. And therefore *Aſdrubal* reſolved to continue upon his Hills. But he ſoon felt the ill Effects of his Obſtinacy. He was ſurrounded on all ſides by the Works, and advanced-Guards of the Enemy, and ſaw the Famine daily increaſing in his Camp. However, he ſtill kept up his Courage, and was at length told, That there were ſome Ambaſſadors come from *Rome*, to put an end to the Differences between *Numidia* and *Carthage*, in an amicable Manner. But *Aſdrubal* knew not the Refine-

ments

ments of the *Roman* Policy. Theſe Ambaſſadors had private Inſtructions, not to put an end to the War, unleſs *Maſiniſſa* was overcome. If, on the contrary, he got the better, their Directions were to encourage him to continue his Hoſtilities. So that the *Romans*, who knew what Advantages the King of *Numidia* had, ſuffered him to ſurround the *Carthaginian* Camp, and reduce it to the laſt Extremity by Want.

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INDEED the *Carthaginian* Troops wanted Corn, Wine, and Meat; and at firſt lived upon the Fleſh of their Horſes. Then they boiled the very Skins of the Harneſſes of their Carriages, and for want of Wood, which *Maſiniſſa*'s flying Camps would not ſuffer them to cut, they burnt their Bucklers and the Shafts of their Arrows. How then could Soldiers, pining away with Want, and in a manner diſarmed, reſiſt the Army that inveſted them? The Famine produced a Plague, and the Plague carried off more Men than had been killed in the Plain. It was a terrible Sight, to ſee under the Tents Heaps of dead Bodies which were rotting, and which none durſt remove to bury them. The Heat of the Climate alſo, which was then moſt intenſe, increaſed the Infection. The whole Air about the Camp was burning-hot, and full of deadly Poiſon. And in this Extremity, *Aſdrubal* conſented at laſt to ſurrender up the Deſerters to *Maſiniſſa*, pay him all the Sums demanded, put him in Poſſeſſion of the Country in diſpute, and receive at *Carthage* all thoſe who had been baniſhed from thence, for being Friends to the *Romans* and the King. Upon theſe Conditions the *Carthaginian* Soldiers were permitted to return home, half naked, with one ſingle Tunick only, and after they had *paſſed under the Yoke*. Theſe Wretches, though thus branded with Ignominy, and ſo weak that they could ſcarce ſtand, comforted themſelves with Hopes of ſeeing their native Country again. But Revenge inſpired *Guluſſa* with a very cruel Deſign. He remembered the Ambuſh that *Carthage* had prepared for him, at his return to *Numidia*; and to revenge this perfidious Act by another, he let looſe the *Numidian* Horſe on the diſarmed Multitude. Whether *Maſiniſſa* conſented to his Son's Deſign, or whether the latter gave theſe Orders of his own Head, was never known. But be that as it will, the *Numidian* Horſe ſoon came up with the Foot Soldiers, who were exhauſted with Hunger and Diſtempers; and the *Carthaginians*, on whom the *Numidians* fell ſuddenly, had neither Courage enough to reſiſt them, nor Strength enough to fly from them. They were butchered like ſo many Victims: So that of an Army of fifty eight thouſand Men, only *Aſdrubal* and ſome other Officers of Diſtinction returned to *Carthage*. A Loſs, which how great ſoever in itſelf, did not ſo ſtrongly affect the *Carthaginians* at preſent, as the fatal Conſequences of it afterwards did. *Rome* took Advantage from thence, to declare War with them, and utterly deſtroy them.

§. XXXVI. THE *African* Republick was ſenſible of her Weakneſs, and dreaded the Danger with which ſhe was threatened. She had on one Side a powerful Enemy in *Maſiniſſa*; and on the other, had not acted with Caution enough with reſpect to *Rome*. In her Proſperity, ſhe had not been fearful enough of giving Umbrage to theſe Maſters of the World. And to her great Misfortune, the Perſons ſhe had diſpleaſed in *Italy* and *Africa*, were united againſt her both in Intereſt, and by old Alliances. So that if *Rome* ſhould attack *Carthage*, ſhe had no Succours to hope for from *Maſiniſſa* her near Neighbour; and if *Maſiniſſa* ſhould renew the War, *Rome* had already given but too plain Proofs of her favouring his Pretenſions. Nay, it was not improbable, that both *Romans* and *Numidians* would join together to ruin her. However, ſhe had juſt concluded a Peace with *Numidia*, and had nothing to do, but to appeaſe *Rome* by all kinds of Submiſſion. The *Carthaginian* Senate therefore thought it proper to ſend an Embaſſy thither, and the Orders of the Ambaſſadors were to leave it to the Senate to propoſe their own Terms, and not reject any that ſhould be offered them. This they thought was carrying their Submiſſion as far as poſſible: but it was not enough to ſatisfy *Rome*. *Cato* had ſo often told the Senate that *Carthage* muſt be deſtroyed, that he had prepoſſeſſed them with an Opinion, that the Republick could never enjoy any perfect Security, as long as her Rival ſubſiſted. The Ambaſſadors were brought into the Aſſembly of the *Conſcript Fathers*; were permitted to declare their Weakneſs, and make their Submiſſions; and then were ordered to withdraw, whilſt the Senate deliberated about the Fate of their Capital.

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T. Quinctius Flamininus, M' Acilius Balbus, Conſuls.

It is natural to believe that the Senators were divided in Opinion concerning the moſt proper Method to put it out of the Power of *Carthage* to hurt *Rome*: And at length *Cato* ſpoke in his Turn. He was not content with ſaying as uſual, *Carthage muſt be deſtroyed*; but he employed all his Eloquence, to prove to the Houſe what he had ſo often aſſerted. *Is it poſſible*, Conſcript Fathers, ſaid he, *that the Remembrance of what is paſt, ſhould not make us wiſe for the preſent? Perhaps indeed my great Age, and my having lived nearer to the Times when* Carthage *firſt became our Enemy, may have been one Cauſe of my having early learnt to know her and deteſt her. In my earlieſt Infancy I heard it ſaid, That theſe Republicans, who came originally from* Phœnicia, *had made themſelves the Tyrants of the Seas; That they had uſurped the Iſlands; That when they were become Maſters of* Corſica *and* Sardinia, *they threatened all* Sicily *with approaching Slavery; and That they had both by gentle and forcible Methods endeavoured to get into our Ports in* Italy. *Indeed we aſſiſted the* Sicilians; *but how many Battels were we forced to fight, before we could drive out theſe bad Gueſts? Both Land and Sea were a thouſand times dyed with* Roman *and* Carthaginian *Blood. Neither the Deſtruction of our Foreſts, (which we were forced to cut down on a ſudden to fit out the Fleets which it was neceſſary to put to Sea;) nor the diſpeopling of* Rome *by the Death of our braveſt Citizens, nor the exhauſting our Finances, then diſcouraged us. And at length by Valour, Conſtancy, and the Favour of the Gods, we became ſuperior to* Carthage. *She ſubmitted, and ſigned a diſadvantageous Treaty. But with what Sincerity? The Author and Negotiator of the Peace himſelf, only gave us up* Sicily, *to carry the War into* Spain. *And with what Fury! Before* Hamilcar *left* Africa *he ſwore his Son upon the Altars, that he ſhould be an eternal Enemy to the* Romans. *An execrable Oath! which did not indeed free* Hannibal *from the Engagements he had entered into with us, in the Preſence of the Gods! But nevertheleſs* Hannibal *was true to the Hatred he had imbibed. Such is* Carthaginian *Fidelity! He broke the Peace, took* Saguntum *from our Allies, and utterly deſtroyed it. Unfortunate City! Thy Ruin is not yet ſufficiently avenged! Nothing but the reducing* Carthage *to Aſhes can repair the Injuries thou haſt ſuffered! After this firſt Act of Injuſtice and Perfidy, the Son of* Hamilcar *broke through all Bounds. He aimed at nothing leſs than the Deſtruction of our Cities, Houſes, and Temples; and his Hatred lent him Wings. He croſſed the* Pyrenees, *and paſſed the* Alpes. *The Cruelties he committed before our Eyes, are freſh in Memory, and our Tears on their Account are ſcarce yet dried up. He appeared before our Gates, as thirſty of Blood as an* African *Tyger. Alas* Rome! *What would have become of thee, if* Jupiter *thy Protector had not ſent thee Relief from the* Capitol! *However, we have ſince had our Revenge.* Carthage *ſaw* Scipio *as near her Gates, as* Hannibal *was to thoſe of* Rome; *but with this Difference, that* Carthage *had recourſe to mean Supplications, as ſoon as ſhe found herſelf oppreſſed. And then, ſome ſtrange Fit of Compaſſion ſoftened you. We ſpared* Carthage *the Treatment which* Hannibal *would have given* Rome *with Pleaſure, if he could have made himſelf Maſter of it. He would have ſacked, and demoliſhed it. Not that I pretend to reproach you for an Act of Clemency: it does you Honour. Nor did you proceed without Prudence. You reduced your Rival to ſuch a low State, as put it out of her Power to enter into Competition with us. You cut off her Nerves, if I may ſo ſpeak; and no other City would ever have riſen again, after ſo great a Dejection. But ſtrange as it is, her advantageous Situation, her trading to the Ports in* Europe, Aſia, *and* Africa, *and in all the Countries of the World, have raiſed her, even from this low Condition. She is become rich and proud. She grows weary of her Dependence. She multiplies her Ships, fits out Fleets, and keeps ſixty thouſand Land-Forces in Pay. She attacks our Allies, and is ready to fall upon us.* Hannibal *did not enter* Italy *with more formidable Forces, than thoſe ſhe lately ſent into the Field. Indeed,* Maſiniſſa *has weakened them; and let us not ſtay, till they are recruited. Let us ſeize this Opportunity, when the* African *Serpent is ſtunned, to give him the fatal Stroke. His Head muſt be cruſhed. The Capital muſt be deſtroyed. Perhaps it may yet produce another* Hannibal, *more terrible than the firſt. Shall the News of this Misfortune be brought me to the* Elyſian Fields, *to which my Son invites me, and whither I muſt by Courſe of Nature ſoon follow him! O ye Gods, Let me but live to ſee*

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ſee Carthage *buried in Ruins, and thereby my Children, Grandchildren, and my Country, abſolutely ſecured; and I ſhall be ſatisfied!*

§. XXXVII. This Diſcourſe of *Cato* ſeemed to contain many important Truths, and it cauſed many Speculations. Then *Scipio Naſica* roſe up in his Turn, and ſpake a very different Language. *What will become of the Manners of the* Romans, ſaid he, *if* Carthage *ſhould ceaſe to be her Rival! Indeed, whilſt we have been under Apprehenſions from her, we have preſerved good Order among ourſelves. There is ſomething very ſtimulating in Emulation, which animates the Slothful, conquers Vice, and awakens Virtue. We are aſhamed to trip before a Man who is jealous and watches our Steps; and that perhaps with the more Attention, the more ſenſible he is of his Inferiority. I will venture to affirm, That we owe the beſt Parts of our Conqueſts to* Carthage. *As much humbled as this great Republick is, ſhe ſtill excites our Ardour, and in a manner forces us to take care not to ſuffer her to run away with any part of our former Reputation. She is now in ſuch a Condition, as to be uſeful to us, without being able to hurt us. Her Territories are large; and ſhe commands Reſpect enough to keep our Virtue always in exerciſe. But when once* Carthage *is no more, the* Romans *will fall into the ſame Faults that are common with Powers, whoſe Dominion is very extenſive, and meets with no Oppoſition. Our Provinces will be plundered by our* Prætors; *our Allies will be tired out with our Exactions; our Enemies will be made untractable by the Pride of our Generals; and our Unfaithfulneſs will make us the Curſe of all neutral Powers. For the Truth of this,* Conſcript Fathers, *I even appeal to yourſelves. Has not the Conſideration of* Carthage *a great deal of Weight, in the equitable Decrees you daily paſs for and againſt the People of the Eaſt, Weſt, and South? When we are to pronounce concerning the Fate of Foreigners, don't we privately ſay to ourſelves, and often aloud, Let us act with Moderation; Let us not exaſperate Nations which may enter into Meaſures with* Carthage? *What Happineſs then ſo great, as that of having a continual Reſtraint upon us; which keeps us from Acts of Injuſtice, and giving a Looſe to our Deſires! It is to thee,* Carthage, *that we are indebted for that Reputation for Probity, which makes us the Maſters and Arbiters of the World! Shouldſt thou fall, the true Glory of the* Romans *will fall with thee! When we have nothing more to fear Abroad, what will become of us at Home? Indeed Union and Peace are now preſerved here, whilſt* Carthage *makes a Figure, and forces us to continue united. But when ſhe ſhall ceaſe to be formidable to us, the Commons will riſe up againſt the Senate; the* Tribunes of the People *will want to get the Aſcendant over the* Conſuls; *and the Subalterns will put themſelves upon an equal Foot with their Generals. Inſtead of Wars Abroad, we ſhall have inteſtine ones at Home; and* Rome, *for want of other Enemies, will become the moſt cruel Enemy to herſelf. O ye Gods, Avert, I beſeech you, the Evils I foreſee! It is your Buſineſs,* Conſcript Fathers, *to prevent them. Keep up then in* Africa, *what will be a continual Exerciſe for your Valour, a Barrier againſt the Prevalence of Injuſtice, and a Preſervative againſt civil Broils. That is, Let* Carthage *ſtand. Weaken her as much as you will. But what am I ſaying? In the Condition to which* Maſiniſſa *has reduced her, what impending Danger can ſhe now threaten you with? You will ſay, her Commerce will enrich her, and ſhe will by Degrees recover herſelf. I grant it; and therefore would have ſuch a Superiority always kept over her, as will enable us to ſink her again in Proportion to her new-gained Wealth. Let her Merchants trade if they will; ſo much the better for* Rome. *It will always be in our Power to reap the Fruits of their Induſtry. Upon their firſt Breach of Fidelity, we will enrich ourſelves with the Taxes we lay upon them; and* Carthage *will be a perpetual Fund of Treaſure for* Rome. *Perhaps ſhe may produce another* Hannibal! *Vain Terror! Idle Prognoſtick! As much as* Africa *abounds with Monſters, ſhe does not produce new ones every Day. The* Fates *think it enough to have ſhewn the World one* Hannibal. *Take Courage then,* Conſcript Fathers; *Chaſtiſe* Carthage, *and impoveriſh her; but don't deſtroy her.* And this indeed was the Part *Rome* choſe to act. It ought not to be taken for granted, that ſhe formed the Deſign of deſtroying *Carthage* ſo early as from the beginning of the third *Punic* War. It was the Chain of Events which led her to take this ſurpriſing Reſolution; which perhaps coſt the *Romans* more than the *Carthaginians.* When we ſee *Carthage* reduced to Aſhes, we ſhall find all the Predictions of *Naſica* verified. *Rome* will become cruel to her Subjects, inſupportable to her Allies, unjuſt in her Decrees,

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crees, covetous, incontinent, reſtleſs, tempeſtuous, fruitful in civil Wars at Home, and almoſt as contemptible Abroad, as terrible. This will fully appear in the Courſe of this Hiſtory.

However, before the People declared the third *Punic* War in the *Comitia*, the Senate took proper Meaſures to pave the Way for it. They ordered, That the *Conſuls*, who ſhould be choſen at the enſuing Election, ſhould go together into *Africa*; and one Command the Fleet, and the other the Land-Forces. Not that *Rome* had not important Affairs to carry on in *Spain* and *Macedon*; but ſhe ſeemed to be wholly intent on the *Carthaginian* Expedition: So that the *Tribes* were aſſembled in all haſte, in *The Field of Mars*; and *L. Marcius Cenſorinus*, and *M' Manilius Nepos* [85], were choſen *Conſuls*. The ſame Aſſembly choſe *Prætors* alſo, who drew Lots for their Provinces. *C. Vetilius* was appointed to go to *Spain*; and ſucceed the *Pro-Conſul Lucullus*, and the *Pro-Prætor Galba*, who had both made themſelves hated in their Provinces, by their Rapines and Cruelties. *Macedon* fell to the *Prætor P. Juventius Thalna*. *Lucullus* and *Galba* returned from *Spain*, and with them *Æmilianus*, who had gained great Glory in his firſt Campaign. The two *Prætors* beforementioned went each to his Province, and there we ſhall for the preſent leave them, to attend the *Conſuls* into *Africa*, whither they went to begin that famous War, which ended in the utter Deſtruction of the City and Republick of *Carthage*.

Year of *ROME* DCIV. L. Marcius Cenſorinus, M' Manilius Nepos, Conſuls.

85 We have an inconteſtable Proof of the *Prænomina*, Names, and Surnames, of the *Conſuls* for the Year 604, in the *Faſti Capitolini*. Their Authority is deciſive againſt thoſe of the Ancients, who give the ſecond *Conſul* the *Prænomen* of *Marcus*, or *Manilius*.

THE

THE Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK XLVIII.

§. I. AS ſoon as the two Collegues, *Marcius* and *Manilius*, were entered upon their Office, they cauſed Proclamation to be made in the *Comitia* of the People, in due Form of Law, That the *Carthaginians* ſhould for the future be treated as Enemies to the *Roman* People, who were required to purſue them with all ſorts of Hoſtilities. The Reaſons for this Declaration were; *That, contrary to her Covenants in the laſt Treaty,* Carthage *had fitted out and armed a great Number of Ships of War; That ſhe had gone beyond her Limits, to attack the King of* Numidia, *the Friend and Ally of the* Roman *People; and laſtly, That ſhe had refuſed to let* Guluſſa, *the Son of* Maſiniſſa, *enter within her Gates, though conducted by* Roman *Ambaſſadors.*

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L. Marcius Censorinus, M' Manilius Nepos, Conſuls.
App. in Punic. N. 43.

NOT one of theſe Accuſations was frivolous, or forged. The *Carthaginians* themſelves were conſcious of the Juſtice of theſe Proceedings, and dreaded the Conſequence of them; and therefore made it their whole Buſineſs to appeaſe the Anger of a Republick, which was ſuperior to them in Forces, and juſtly provoked. To make the *Romans* believe, that the laſt Enterpriſe againſt *Maſiniſſa*, and the Affront offered his Son, were not to be imputed to the Body of the Republick, but to the Fury of ſome private Perſons; they pronounced Sentence of Death againſt *Aſdrubal*, the Head of the Expedition, and *Carthalo* his Lieutenant General. This Sentence was proclaimed by an Herald; but it was not put in execution. And the Senate of *Rome* were not to be impoſed upon by ſo groſs a Deceit. Nevertheleſs, the *Carthaginians* thought it might ſucceed, and ſent away an Embaſſy to *Italy*. The Inſtructions of the Ambaſſadors were, to make the beſt Uſe of the publick Diſavowal of the Conduct of the two raſh Magiſtrates, and to throw all the Blame of the laſt War on *Maſiniſſa*'s Ambition. They were admitted into the Senate; and their Juſtification was heard with Patience. But when they touched upon the Article of the Sentence of Death pronounced upon *Aſdrubal*, and his Accomplice, a Senator interrupted them. *If* Carthage, ſaid he, *did ſo much diſapprove of the raſh Enterpriſe of theſe two Chiefs, why did ſhe not condemn them, till after their Defeat, and till after the* Romans *had declared War? We are not to be impoſed on by an Artifice ſo ill contrived. You have long had nothing in view but a Revolt. You have made Preparations for it; and your* Numidian *War was only a Specimen of what you wanted to do in* Italy.

THIS confounded the Ambaſſadors; and then from Apologiſts they became Supplicants. *Since then you think us ſo highly criminal,* ſaid they, *tell us at leaſt by what Means we may appeaſe your Anger. By making full Satisfaction,* replied the Preſident haughtily; and immediately diſmiſſed them.

UPON their return to *Carthage*, the Ambaſſadors increaſed the Uneaſineſs there, and filled the Senate with Perplexity. The moſt timorous fancied, that the Satisfaction *Rome* demanded would be moſt ſevere and moſt intolerable. Nevertheleſs, even their Imaginations fell ſhort of what it really was. They, who loved to flatter themſelves, thought that *Rome* would content herſelf with enlarging the Tribute *Scipio* had laid upon them, and with only obliging them to put *Maſiniſſa* in full Poſſeſſion of the Territory which had been the Cauſe of the Diſpute. They did not know to what Exceſs the *Romans* carried their Reſentments. In order therefore to diſcover more fully what *Rome* intended to do with them, the *Carthaginians*

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ginians ſent another Embaſſy, and ordered their Ambaſſadors to enquire explicitely, what Reparation it was that they were condemned to make. *We are ready to ſubmit*, ſaid they, *and are come to know by what Atonements we may recover your Favour.* To which the *Conſcript Fathers* ordered this Anſwer to be given, with more Coldneſs than before, *That they ought to proportion the Puniſhment to the Offence; and That no body could judge better, either of the Crime, or the Satisfaction, than themſelves.* And Anſwers ſo indeterminate doubled the Terror in *Carthage.*

§. II. In the mean time, the *Romans* continued their Preparations by Sea and Land, in order to fit out a Fleet, and get ready an Army, worthy to be commanded by the two chief Magiſtrates in the Republick. Beſides the two *Legions*, which were always the main Strength of the *Conſular* Armies, the Senate had the laſt Year ordered conſiderable Levies to be made in the *Colonies*, *Municipia*, and among the Allies in *Italy*; and they were all ready in time. Nothing now remained but for the two *Conſuls* to draw Lots. The Command of the Fleet fell to *Marcius*, and that of the Land-Forces to *Manilius*. All things were ſettled; when the Affairs of *Africa* took a new Turn, upon the Arrival of ſome Ambaſſadors at *Rome* from *Utica*. This was the moſt conſiderable City in the *African* Republick, *Carthage* only excepted. It ſtood on the ſame Coaſt as the Capital, and was but ſix Miles diſtant from it. *Utica* had long been tired with the ſevere and inſupportable Government of the *Carthaginian* Senate; and as ſhe only waited for a favourable Opportunity to ſhake off the Yoke, ſhe ſeized the preſent one, as ſoon as ſhe heard that War was declared between *Rome* and *Carthage*. The *Uticans* ſent to deſire *Rome*, to continue her Protection to them, and receive them into Alliance with her; and they ſurrendered up themſelves and their City to her, at Diſcretion. This new Accident much raiſed the Courage and the Pretenſions of the Republick. *Rome* was now ſenſible that ſhe ſpread great Terror in *Africa*, ſince ſhe drew over to her the ſtrongeſt Cities in the Country. The Senate made new Reflections on the preſent State of Affairs, and reſolved to purſue their Advantages as far as poſſible. The *Conſcript Fathers* aſſembled again, accepted the Offers of the Inhabitants of *Utica*, and as if they had been ſure of Conqueſt, gave their *Conſul* the moſt ſevere Orders before their Departure. They inſiſted, That they ſhould neither give any Quarter, nor put an end to the War, till *Carthage* was utterly deſtroyed: So that the Surrendry of *Utica* contributed more than all *Cato*'s Harangues and Hatred, to the Deſtruction of one of the moſt flouriſhing Cities in the World.

Before the *Conſuls* ſet ſail, they firſt paid ſome Regard to the Piety of the *Romans*. It was cuſtomary for them, before they began any important Expeditions, to render Heaven propitious by ſome extraordinary Ceremonies of Religion, and thereby to encourage both the People and the Soldiers. *The* [1] *Secular Games*, ſome of the moſt auguſt of any *Rome* had inſtituted, happened very opportunely to coincide with the Year of *Rome*, which was to give Birth to the third *Punick* War. This Feſtival had been but three times celebrated, ſince the Foundation of *Rome*; and the laſt time was ſo long ſince as the firſt *Carthaginian* War. The *Decemviri* therefore conſulted the *Sybilline* Books, which they interpreted ſo as beſt ſuited the preſent Views; and pretended to find out there, that the time was come, for offering the God of Hell that Sacrifice, which was not to be repeated till after a Century. The Ceremony was performed on the Banks of the *Tyber*, in the Place called *Tarentum*, according to its firſt Inſtitution; and it is eaſy to judge, that an Year diſtinguiſhed by ſo auſpicious an Epocha, was thought a very fortunate one, by the ſuperſtitious *Romans*.

Liv. in Epit. Valer. Antias ex Varrone.

§. III. The *Conſuls* went on board, amidſt the Acclamations and good Wiſhes of the People, and embarked their Troops. *Scipio Æmilianus* followed them, and ſerved in the Land Forces, as one of the *Tribunes* of the fourth *Legion*. He was not to derive his Luſtre from his Rank, or Employments, ſo much as from his Valour and Merit. As ſoon as *Carthage* underſtood that the *Roman* Fleet was at Sea, ſhe ſhuddered for fear. How could ſhe poſſibly avert the Storm? What! Surrender to the *Romans!* And from being tributary, become ſubject to them! *Utica* had

1 See what we have ſaid of the Origin, Inſtitution, and Solemnity, of *The Secular Games*, *Vol.* 1. *p.* 223, *Note* 85; *Vol.* 2. *p.* 128. *Note* 102; and *Vol.* 3. *p.* 7. *Notes* 13, 14.

prevented

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prevented her in that Scheme, and by her Surrendry leſſened the Merit of ſo dangerous a Step. Beſides, it ſeemed now too late to make this Satisfaction; and in all Probability, *Rome* would not be content with it. Indeed the *Carthaginians* had depended on this as their *dernier reſort*; to which they would not have recourſe, till reduced to the laſt Extremity; but the Advances of the *Uticans* ſeemed now to have rendered it uſeleſs. *Formerly*, ſaid the *Carthaginian* Senators, *our Fathers choſe rather to ſuffer any Calamities than be enſlaved to* Rome. *But now, we are under a Neceſſity of delivering our ſelves up to her, though uncertain, whether ſhe will vouchſafe to accept of our Homages! O ye Gods! This was your Will! And we muſt ſubmit to your Decrees. Enſlave us then, ſince we cannot preſerve any Remains of Liberty. However, let us make our laſt Efforts to appeaſe the* Roman *Senate! Let us ſend to* Rome *other Ambaſſadors, with Orders to pronounce on our behalf, the terrible Word* DEDITION! *O Fortune, it is thou who doſt extort it from us! Ought it ever to have come out of the Mouth of a* Carthaginian?

THE Conſequence of DEDITION, according to the Law of Nations, was the loweſt State of Servitude and Miſery, to which a State, Province, or City, could be reduced. To deliver itſelf up to another by way of DEDITION, was to give up all its Rights, Authorities, and Titles whatſoever. It was giving Foreigners an abſolute Authority over every thing in the Country, Cities, Towns, Lands, Rivers, Temples, and Tombs; and over all the Inhabitants, Men, Women, and Children. And this was the Method *Carthage* was obliged to take. Her Ambaſſadors ſailed for *Rome*; but did not arrive there till after the Departure of the *Conſuls*, and their Troops. Nevertheleſs they were introduced into the Senate; and then with Tears pronounced the fatal Word DEDITION. The *Conſcript Fathers* were ſatisfied with it; *Rome* readily accepted the Offer; and the Ambaſſadors began to be graciouſly received. The Senate immediately gave them to underſtand, That ſince their Republick had ſubmitted to Reaſon, Regard would be had to their Submiſſion; and then they were told, That *Rome* would not only accept of their Offer, but alſo remit a part of the Puniſhment, which they had inflicted on themſelves. *We reſtore you*, ſaid the Preſident of the Senate to them, *your Liberty, Goods, Lands, the Uſe of your Laws, and in ſhort, all your Privileges and Enjoyments both publick and private, upon Condition, that you ſend to* Sicily, *to our* Conſuls *who are there, three hundred Hoſtages, all Sons of Senators, or of your moſt conſiderable Citizens. We demand theſe Hoſtages, as Pledges of your Fidelity, in putting in execution the Injunctions of our* Conſuls.

THIS unexpected Succeſs gave the Ambaſſadors, if I may ſo ſpeak, new Life. They immediately took their Leave of the Senate, and flew to *Carthage* with the good News. The Eyes of the *Carthaginians* were dazzled with this Moderation, at firſt Sight. But afterwards, when they came to conſider, and examine into it, they began to ſuſpect, that *Rome* concealed ſome Artifice under this Appearance of Clemency. *Why*, ſaid they among themſelves, *did ſhe make no mention of our Cities in this Reſtitution; when ſhe was ſo very particular, as to other Matters, our Fields, our Goods, and our Liberty? Has* Rome *a Deſign upon the fortified Towns, and ſtrong Holds in* Africa? *If ſo, her Preſent is not ſo conſiderable as is pretended.*

THESE firſt Suſpicions grew up into Complaints and Murmurs, which were made in the *Carthaginian* Senate; and Fear and Anxiety appeared painted on every Face. In this almoſt univerſal Diſquietude, a Man of good Senſe roſe up, and removed their Fears. His Name was *Mago*, and his Surname *Bretius*. *After the Step that we have taken*, ſaid he, *and delivered up our ſelves to the* Romans *by way of* DEDITION, *all Deliberations are vain. We had time to deliberate before we ſent that Meſſage. But now we are bound down by our Engagements. To what Purpoſe is it, for us to enquire here, what Injunctions the* Conſuls *will give, and within what Bounds they will confine themſelves? To foreſee Misfortunes at ſo great a Diſtance, is to labour to torment ourſelves before the time. Shall we make Reſolutions on mere Conjectures? Let theſe* Conſuls *ſpeak firſt, and explain themſelves! If they run into ſuch Exceſſes as are not to be borne, it will then be time enough to conſider, whether it will be better to endure all the Calamities of War, or to ſubmit. Since we have voluntarily run to meet our Chains, we have now nothing to do but to obey like Slaves. Let us bear the Yoke; at leaſt till ſome extremely unjuſt Orders oblige us to ſhake it off!*

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App. in Punic. N. 44.

This Diſcourſe was thought the Dictates of Wiſdom itſelf; and the Senate of *Carthage* paſſed a Decree, commanding, That *Rome* ſhould be obeyed at preſent; and That the three hundred Hoſtages ſhould be ſent to *Lilybæum*, where the *Roman* Fleet lay at Anchor. But when this Order came to be put in execution, the Conſternation of the People increaſed. The Grief of the *Carthaginians*, when they ſaw that the Children of the greateſt Families muſt be torn from them, is not to be expreſſed. The Mothers long oppoſed it; and filled the Air with their Shrieks and Lamentations, when they found they muſt deliver up to the Mercy of the *Romans* thoſe who were moſt dear to them. They accompanied their Children to the Port in Tears, ſaw them embark, and purſued them with longing Eyes, till they were out of Sight. The *Conſuls* received theſe Youths as the Firſt-fruits of a City which they were going to aboliſh. They were ſent on board a Squadron to *Italy*, and carefully guarded. Then the Fleet and *Conſular* Armies immediately croſſed over from *Sicily* to *Africa*. The *Conſuls* had a ſure Retreat in *Utica*, which had ſurrendered to the *Romans*; and there they landed. This vaſt Armament was very terrible to the *Africans*, who viewed it from the Shore. Fifty *Quinqueremes*, together with a great Number of Flutes, Barks, flat-bottomed Boats, and Brigantines, brought on board them ſeventy four thouſand Men, Horſe, and Foot: So that all *Rome*, and all *Italy* ſeemed to have borne its part in this famous Expedition. The People were very forward to follow the *Conſuls*.

§. IV. The *Roman* Fleet ſailed into the Port of *Utica* with great Pomp, amidſt the Acclamations of the Inhabitants. And as ſoon as the Troops were landed, *Manilius* went to take Poſſeſſion of the ſame Ground, on which the Great *Scipio* had encamped, when he inveſted *Carthage*, and forced her to receive the Peace. It is eaſy to judge of the Trouble, which the Neighbourhood of a terrible Enemy muſt ſpread, in a City threatened with utter Deſtruction. At the ſame time that the *Carthaginians* ſaw the *Romans* at their Gates, they heard that Declaration of War proclaimed, which had hitherto been kept a Secret from them. And then they were ſenſible when it was too late, that they had depended too much on the Submiſſions they had made to *Rome*, and on the fine Words which the *Roman* Senate had given them. *Carthage* wanted the neceſſary Stock of Proviſions to ſuſtain a Siege; and had neither Auxiliaries, nor Mercenaries. Beſides, all the Flower of her Youth had been deſtroyed in the laſt Battel with *Maſiniſſa*; her Fleet was not fitted out; and that of the *Romans* was ſtronger, and barred up her Port. However, ſhe ſtill built ſome Hopes upon the ready Obedience ſhe reſolved to pay to all the Orders of the *Conſuls*. The *Carthaginians* waited with Impatience to hear the *Roman* Generals declare themſelves; continued unactive whilſt the *Roman* Army refreſhed themſelves after their Fatigues; and no Act of Hoſtility was committed on either Side.

ÆMILIANUS choſe this time of general Inaction, to pay a Viſit to *Maſiniſſa*, who was an Ally of the *Romans*, a Friend of the *Scipio's*, and perſonally attached to himſelf. The *Numidian* King received the adopted Grandſon of the Great *Scipio*, with great Marks of Affection. The old King oft embraced the young *Roman* with great Tenderneſs; and with Eyes lifted up to Heaven, cried out, *O thou Sun, who ruleſt the Lives of Men, and ye Gods, who prolong or ſhorten it at Pleaſure, what Thanks have I to return you, for ſuffering me to ſee* Scipio Æmilianus *once more before I die!* Their Converſation turned upon the preſent State of the *Roman* Republick, and *Numidia*. They both repoſed a mutual Confidence in each other, and converſed with great Freedom. After a fine Entertainment, the two Friends continued their Converſation till the Night was far advanced, and ſpake much of the Great *Scipio*. *Maſiniſſa* yet remembered a thouſand private Actions, and Maxims of that great Man, which were very fit to animate his Grandſon to Virtue; and the old King continued his Diſcourſe, till he perceived that his Gueſt wanted reſt. *Æmilianus* was indeed tired with his Journey, and ſlept ſoundly all the Night. And this was what gave Occaſion to *Cicero*, in his Book *De Republica*, to feign that *Æmilianus* had a Dream, which he calls *Scipio's Dream*, wherein the Maxims of the moſt ſound Philoſophy were imprinted afreſh on his Mind. Soon after, *Æmilianus* returned to the *Roman* Camp, and was there a Witneſs of the Tranſactions we are going to relate.

§. V. At

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§. V. The *Carthaginians* had at length reſolved to ſend Deputies to the *Conſuls*, to learn their Fate. All things were got ready in the Camp, to receive the Envoys in great Form. Never did any *Roman* Generals affect to ſhew any Ambaſſadors a finer, and at the ſame time a more terrible, Sight. They ordered all their Soldiers to ſtand to their Arms; the Deputies paſſed through two long Lines of Men drawn up on each Side of them, Colours flying; and were conducted, by Sound of the military Inſtruments of Muſick, from the Gate of the Camp to the *Conſul*'s Quarters. There the two Collegues had ordered two very high Thrones to be erected, and ſate upon them. They were ſurrounded by their Lieutenant Generals, and *Legionary Tribunes*, who were divided from the Crowd by a Bar, within which the Ambaſſadors themſelves were not ſuffered to enter. So that they were admitted to Audience, at a pretty great Diſtance from the *Conſuls*, and their Council of War. At firſt the Deputies continued ſome time in Silence. They expected that the *Conſuls* would order them to ſpeak. Till at length the Noiſe of the Trumpets and the *Roman* Soldiers ceaſed, and then the *Carthaginian* Orator began thus. *No Nation upon Earth is ignorant of the Origin of the ancient City we inhabit. A* Phœnician *Queen founded it, and the* Colony *ſhe ſettled in it, ſignalized themſelves by Sea and Land. As ſoon as the* Roman *Republick was well ſettled, we made an Alliance with her. In the mean time our Arms proſpered in ſeveral Places. The* Carthaginians *extended their Dominions in* Africa, *made themſelves dreaded in* Sicily, *and ſettled in* Spain. *But we had the Misfortune to have the* Romans *our Rivals. We were twice overcome by them, and as oft ſubmitted to the Terms which they thought fit to impoſe upon us. But it is in vain for the Unfortunate to call to mind their paſt Grandeur, in order to make an oſtentatious Show of it. The Recapitulation would be glorious only to You, who have obſcured it; and ſhameful to us, who have loſt it. Nevertheleſs, let the humble State to which you have reduced us, ſerve at leaſt to raiſe ſome Sentiments of Compaſſion in your Hearts! Are you not yet ſatisfied with the Shame we have ſuffered? Our Ships once covered the Seas; but we have now burnt them by your Orders. Our Elephants formerly appeared in our Armies like ſo many walking Citadels; but at your Command we have diſciplined no more. We had enriched ourſelves by Commerce; but our Riches are now exhauſted by the Tributes you have demanded of us. We uſed formerly to demand Hoſtages of vanquiſhed Nations; and now we have more than once delivered up the Flower of our own Nobility into your Hands. Your Fathers were ſatisfied with humbling us; and often readily acknowledged our Punctuality in the Obſervance of our Treaties. And ſurely theſe Treaties oblige mutually; and You are no more at Liberty to increaſe the Burden, than we to break the Conditions, of them. If then we have obſerved them, why are theſe Fleets and numerous Armies brought to our Gates? Why this terrible* Apparatus *for War? Why do you thus rather begin, than proclaim it? What does* Rome *complain of? Have we inſulted your Ships at Sea, or brought our Army into* Italy? *The Pretence we know is, that we have made War with* Maſiniſſa. *But are we forbidden by our Treaties to guard our Provinces againſt the Invaſions of an ambitious Neighbour? How often have we ſacrificed our Intereſts, to the Regard* Rome *has for him! Yet ſtill the* Numidian *breaks the Peace by repeated Uſurpations. Shall* Carthage *then be called to an Account for the Violences ſhe has ſuffered? Will the generous City of* Rome *make an ill Uſe of the lamentable State, to which* Maſiniſſa, *or rather* Fortune, *has reduced us? If we are guilty, have we not made Amends for the Fault charged upon us, by all poſſible Satisfaction? We have ſent no leſs than twenty Ambaſſadors to you, to deſire that you would yourſelves be Arbitrators of our Differences. Nay,* Carthage *has ſubmitted ſo far, as to offer to renew the Peace upon what Conditions you pleaſed. And in the laſt Place, we have even delivered up our Eſtates, Lands, and Goods, to* Rome, *at Diſcretion. Will you then treat your Subjects as Enemies? Let me ask once more, whence comes this Pomp of War, and theſe Menaces of ſpeedy Hoſtilities? Is it in order to ſeize our Dominions, and drive us out of our Provinces? What? Can* Conſuls *be ignorant of the Decrees of their Senate? That Houſe has been pleaſed to accept our Offers, and has reſtored us the Poſſeſſion of our Goods, and our Liberty. Let us then enjoy your Favours; and don't turn our Gratitude into Deſpair.*

THE Head of the Embaſſy was going on, when the *Conſul Marcius* interrupted him. Carthaginians, ſaid he, *You deſire us to give you our Reaſons for making War here.*

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here. Can you be ignorant of them? The Senate of Rome *fully informed your Ambaſſadors as to that Point. Indeed you have ſurrendered yourſelves up to us; and have at laſt pronounced the fatal Word* Dedition. *I commend you for it. You have by that Act, and your Readineſs in delivering up your Hoſtages to us, avoided many Calamities. But you deceive yourſelves, if you imagine that you have nothing more to do. The Senate told you at* Rome, *and we repeated the ſame thing to you in* Sicily; *That we had Orders, which we were not to impart to you till we came to the Gates of your Capital. Let us begin then, with that which requires moſt Diſpatch. We will afterwards communicate the reſt gradually. Since you are under the Protection of* Rome, *and ſincerely deſire Peace, what Uſe have you for that vaſt Number of Arms with which your Magazines are filled? Bring them hither, and thereby give us a freſh Proof, that your Love of Peace is not verbal only.* The Ambaſſadors were at firſt ſtunned with the Propoſal; but afterwards, they recollected themſelves, and their Head remonſtrated to the *Conſuls*, That *Carthage* muſt neceſſarily have had other Enemies to reſiſt, beſides *Romans*, and therefore could not be without Arms. *That* Aſdrubal, added he, *whom we have condemned to die, has gone into the Cities in our Dominions; has haſtened from Province to Province ſince his Baniſhment; and has already got together a Body of twenty thouſand Men. What then will become of* Carthage, *if ſhe ſhould be diſarmed, and he ſhould attack her when ſhe wants the neceſſary Weapons to ſtand to her own Defence?* To this the *Conſul* briskly replied. *Be eaſy*, Carthaginians. Rome *will take care to provide for your Safety. Do you only obey, and reſt ſatisfied as to every thing elſe.* What then could they do, but ſubmit? In a Word, the Ambaſſadors promiſed to prevail on the *Carthaginians*, to deliver up to the *Romans* their Arms, Machines of War, and Ships. Upon this, the *Conſuls* ſent to *Carthage*, the two *Quæſtors*, *Scipio* [2] *Naſica* the Son of the *Pontifex Maximus*, and *Scipio* [3] *Hiſpallus*; with Orders, to burn all the Gallies in the Capital, and to convey all the Inſtruments of War that they found there to the *Roman* Camp. And how great was the Surpriſe of the *Romans*, when they ſaw the long Train of Carts, loaded with Arms, which were brought to the Camp by the *Carthaginians* themſelves? Some Hiſtorians ſay there were enough to have armed all *Africa*. At leaſt it is certain, That there were put into the *Conſul*'s Hands, two thouſand *Catapultæ*, *Cuiraſſes* and complete Suits of Armour two hundred thouſand; and an infinite Number of Swords, Darts, Javelins, Arrows, and of thoſe Beams armed with Iron, which were thrown from Ramparts by the *Balliſtæ*. And indeed, one would have thought this peaceable Sacrifice enough, to have appeaſed the Anger of the *Romans*: But the *Conſuls* had ſtill more ſevere Orders to put in execution. They diſcovered them by Degrees only, for fear of driving the *Carthaginians* into Deſpair; and by this means, one paved the Way for another.

§. VI. This Convoy of Arms brought from the Magazines of *Carthage*, was attended by the moſt venerable old Men, and by the Prieſts of all the Temples in the City, dedicated to the Gods of the Country. This numerous Embaſſy of Men, well qualified by their Character and Age to mollify the *Romans*, appeared before the *Conſuls*, when ſeated on their Tribunals; and expected, to have been treated with ſome Compaſſion. They were dreſſed in their white Robes of Ceremony; they ranged themſelves along the Bar which ſeparated the *Conſuls* from the Aſſembly; and there heard ſuch Words as threw them into a Conſternation. *Marcius*, who had more Fluency of Speech than his Collegue, put on a very ſerious Air, and ſpake thus. *We are well pleaſed with theſe firſt Inſtances of your Obedience, and therefore cannot help congratulating you upon them. Nothing can be more punctual than your Obedience to the Orders of the Senate, both as to your giving Hoſtages, and delivering up your Arms; and I have now but one thing more to require of you, in the Name of the* Roman *People. I will therefore, without further Preamble, or*

2 *Publius Cornelius Scipio Naſica*, the *Quæſtor*, was the Son of the famous *Naſica*, who was choſen *Pontifex Maximus* after the Death of *Marcus Lepidus*, and who by his ſingular Prudence, procured himſelf the Surname of *Corculum*. But the former, notwithſtanding his great Birth, and the Virtues he inherited from his Father, could not eſcape the mortifying Surname of *Serapio*. Which was the Name given to one who killed the Victims, according to *Valerius Maximus*; or to the Servant of a Pig-Merchant, according to *Pliny*. It was ſaid that *Naſica* was like this worthleſs Man in the Face.

3 The other *Quæſtor*, *Cneius Cornelius Scipio Hiſpallus*, ſeems to have been the Son of *Cneius Hiſpallus*, who was *Conſul* in the Year of *Rome* 577.

Digreſſion, plainly declare to you an Order, on which the Safety of your Republick, the Preſervation of your Goods, your Lives, and your Liberty, depend. Rome *requires that you would abandon the City where you live, and build yourſelves another where you pleaſe; provided it be at leaſt eighty* Stadia *from the Sea, and provided this new* Carthage *be built without any Walls or Fortifications. We will take upon our ſelves the Trouble of demoliſhing your old Walls and Houſes. A little Courage and Strength of Mind will conquer the Affection which generally attaches us to our old Habitations, and which is founded more in Habit than in Reaſon.*

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AT theſe Words the *Carthaginian* Deputies felt their Blood run cold in their Veins. Some ſtood ſtupified and ſenſeleſs, through Exceſs of Grief. Others expreſſed their Sorrow in Cries and Lamentations. Some lifted up their Hands to Heaven, to call for Vengeance for the Cheat that had been put upon them; others uttered Imprecations and bitter Reflections on the *Romans*. After this firſt Fit of Rage, which gave them no time to think, they became downright raving upon Reflection. Some laboured to exaſperate the *Roman* Soldiers, thereby to provoke them to kill them. Some lay down upon the Ground, and bit it with Rage. Others ſtruck their Foreheads on the Ground, and tore off their Hair like Madmen. Several of them ſwooned, and lay upon the Ground groveling, and half dead. This was ſo terrible a Sight, that even the pitileſs *Roman* Soldiers were affected with it. But the *Conſuls* on their Tribunal ſhewed no Concern. They viewed theſe lamentable Scenes without Emotion, and gave the Wretches free Leave to vent theſe firſt Tranſports of Deſpair. *Theſe ſudden Fits*, ſaid they, *wear off by Degrees. Time and Neceſſity teach the moſt Unfortunate to bear the Calamities with which they are overwhelmed. The* Carthaginians, *when they recover their Senſes, will chooſe to obey.* But the *Conſuls* were miſtaken in their Conjecture. The Rage of the *Africans* increaſed with Time; and Reflection only made them the leſs tractable. *App. in Punic. N.* 47.

IN the mean while, the Deputies a little recovered their Spirits. Their Tranſports ended in Tears, and they ſpake with more Temper. But at the ſame time they ſuddenly called out upon their Wives, and Children, and even their Country, as if it had been preſent. The Prieſts among others addreſſed themſelves to their Gods; ſometimes invoked their Aſſiſtance, and ſometimes blaſphemed their Names, and reproached them with the Incenſe which they had ſquandered away upon them. But the wiſeſt remonſtrated to thoſe who were moſt diſtracted, that by ſuch Expreſſions of an extravagant Fury, they only expoſed themſelves, without leſſening the Calamity. *In our Situation*, ſaid they, *what have we to do, but to have recourſe to Supplications?* Carthage *has no Arms, and her Ships are burnt. At the ſame time powerful Enemies ſurround us. On one ſide the* Romans, *on another* Maſiniſſa, *and on a third* Aſdrubal *threatens us with an inteſtine War. Our Children are delivered up to our Enemies for Hoſtages; and thoſe Enemies are Maſters of our Lands.* Fortune *has left us nothing but our Lives and Walls to ſave. How then can we ſecure ourſelves, otherwiſe than by the moſt ſubmiſſive Remonſtrances, and Entreaties? Hanno*, ſurnamed *Gillas*, who was more compoſed than his Countrymen, thought he might venture to make a new Repreſentation to the *Conſuls*. Accordingly, he deſired Leave to ſpeak, which was granted; and he expreſſed himſelf in this manner.

§. VII. *Give me leave, illuſtrious* Conſuls, *to trouble you once more with another Addreſs to you. I don't pretend, contentiouſly, to diſpute your Rights over* Carthage, *or tax your Proceedings with Injuſtice. All I aim at, is to raiſe ſome Compaſſion in your Hearts, and draw from you one of thoſe propitious Regards, which* Rome, *as well as the Gods, knows how to vouchſafe to Mankind. Shall we alone be excluded from that univerſal Clemency, which has been experienced by all the World? It is always glorious to forgive; but eſpecially the Unfortunate, whoſe paſt Services have rendered them not altogether unworthy of Pardon. Ever ſince the Great* Scipio *forced us to accept the Peace which he dictated to us, in what Marks of the moſt ſincere Attachment have we been wanting?* Philip, Antiochus, *and* Perſes, *three Monarchs who had not offended us, became our Enemies, becauſe they were yours. Did we refuſe to aſſiſt you with Troops, Elephants, Ships, or Proviſions, in the Wars you made with them? No; we have conſtantly perſevered, in behaving ourſelves to you like faithful Allies. As Allies then, and faithful in our Alliance, caſt one favourable Look upon us. We now no longer rival you in the Empire of the* *App. ibid.*

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Seas, and Land. You are in Poſſeſſion of the Superiority which we have long ſin given up to you. *Upon the firſt Intimation of your Pleaſure, we delivered up o* Hoſtages; *and at your Command, we have ſtripped ourſelves of our Arms. C* we then imagine that Rome *will yet vent her Rage againſt defenceleſs Houſes an* Walls? *Your Senate ſent us Word that we ſhould live according to our Laws.* it not then the firſt and moſt ancient of them, *that we ſhould be under the Juri* diction of a Capital, *that is capable of procuring herſelf Reſpect, and in a Cond* tion to repel the Inſults of Malecontents? *Shall we live according to our Laws, whe* our Metropolis is ſunk into Contempt? *If your Orders are capable of any Mitigation* interpret them, illuſtrious Conſuls, *by the very Words of the Anſwer we receive* from Rome. *If not, vouchſafe at leaſt to hear our Sighs, and behold our Tear* What Object of Compaſſion can equal this! Carthage *in Tears at your Feet!* Ca thage, *that ancient City, which was founded by the Order of the Gods! That Cit* which was formerly famous for her Exploits at Sea, *is now frequented by all Nat* ons of the World, *and is yet full of Sanctuaries, whither all the Gods of Heave* come, to receive the Prayers that are made to them! *There are the Tombs of ou* Fathers; *There we hoped to mix our Aſhes with theirs; There is the Abode of ou* domeſtick Gods. *Hear then the Voice of the Immortals, who deſire you not to dri* them from their peaceable Habitations, and overturn their Altars: *Suffer* Juno *to* dwell in the fine Habitation which Dido *erected for her. If the Inhabitants o* Carthage *have offended you, take away their Lives. Fill the City with Blood an* Slaughter. *But ſpare our innocent Walls, Houſes, and Temples, which could not b* Accomplices in our Crimes. *It is better for us to periſh in the Boſom of our Dome* ſtick Gods, *than to go and lead a languiſhing Life, in an inland Country. The* Ca thaginians *are uſed to the Sea, and cannot live without it. We have breathed tha* Air from our Infancy. *It procures for ſome Plenty, and for others Neceſſaries. Don* then load yourſelves with Infamy, Romans, *by an Act of Cruelty never yet heard o* in any Nation in the World. *Did ever any Barbarians condemn a City to be deme* liſhed, which had ſurrendered to the Enemy, given Hoſtages, and delivered up a her Arms? Surely it is impoſſible, that the Roman *Senate could have attended t* the Inhumanity of their Decree, when they drew up your Orders. *Give us Leav* then to go once more, and remonſtrate to them, that their own Glory is nearly con cerned, in not ſuffering it to be put in execution. *The Paſſage from hence to* Rom is not long. *As uneaſy as this Delay will be to us, the Anxiety of it will at leaſ* be abated by the Hopes, of ſoftening and influencing the moſt equitable Senate in th World.

HANNO's Harangue was long. For under great Afflictions it is difficul not to multiply Words. Nevertheleſs the *Conſuls* heard him without interrupting him. But when he had finiſhed, *Marcius* anſwered him in theſe Words. *It i* with Reluctance that I tell you, That we can neither amend the Orders of the Se nate, nor ſuſpend the Execution of them. Perhaps we are at this inſtant accuſed at Rome *of Dilatorineſs. And give me leave to tell you, That if we remove you* ſome Stadia *from the Sea ſhore, we have your Intereſt more in view in it, than our* own. The Sea has been only a Gulph of Misfortunes to you, which have at laſ ſwallowed you up. It was by Sea that you attempted the Conqueſt of Sicily, an were driven from it. It was by Sea that you paſſed over into Spain, where yo often ſtained the Ground with your Blood. It was by Sea that you exerciſed you Violences againſt Corſica *and* Sardinia; *and that we have chaſtiſed your Pirates.* If this unſettled Element has procured you ſome ſlight Advantages, it has brought more real Evils upon you. *And this was the Caſe of* Athens. *It was joined to the* Port of Piræeus, *by a Range of long Walls, and thereby became a maritime City.* This tempted her to paſs the Seas. She enriched herſelf, and raiſed the Jealouſy of others. Her Enemies deſtroyed her Fleets, took Pleaſure in humbling and impoveriſhing her, and at length forced her to demoliſh that Range of Walls that led to the Port: So that ſhe is become an inland City; and now ſhe enjoys Tranquillity. As to every thing that tends to the real Happineſs of Life, Agriculture abundantly ſupplies the want of the Plenty that Commerce produces. The Earth enriches with more Certainty, and leſs Diſquietude and Hazard, than the Sea. Trade is as ſubject to Storms, as the Seas on which it is carried on. It is an alternative of Gains which ſwell, and of Loſſes which grievouſly deject, the Heart. So that the maritime Cities

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ties are like the Ships which they are continually building; they are afraid of Storms, and are not without their Diſtruſts, even in a Calm. Theſe are the Motives which have induced us to remove you to ſome Diſtance from the Sea. There you will not be any longer ſuſpected by us, and will live in more Tranquillity. But don't imagine that we deſire to demoliſh your Temples, or violate the Tombs of your Anceſtors. They will ſtill remain after your Removal, and your ancient Worſhip, and your burial-Places will continue the ſame as before. As you will have nothing to do but to place yourſelves near enough to your Temples and Tombs to be able to frequent them, Religion will not ſuffer by your Removal. Our Deſign is only to eaſe you of the Trouble and Noiſe of a Port, where People are continually in Motion, loading and unloading Ships. Be gone then as ſoon as poſſible; and get out of the Sight of thoſe fine Keys, large Magazines, noble Barracks for your Soldiers, and ſpacious Stables for your Horſes, and Elephants. Theſe Amuſements detain you, and make you neglect more ſubſtantial Benefits. The ſhorteſt and ſafeſt Way is to forget them. A City ſo ſtrong, and well fortified as Carthage, *will always be an Object of Jealouſy to us. We ſhall always be your Enemies, as long as your Ramparts are in being. If then you fear us, or love Peace, ſacrifice them and your Houſes to it. You will ſoon be accuſtomed to the Place of your new Abode. Your Founders left* Phœnicia; *and the Coaſts of* Africa *became as dear to them as their own Country in* Aſia. *In ſhort, every Place where he comes, is a wiſe Man's Country. Your new Habitation ſhall not be, if you pleaſe, above fourſcore* Stadia *from the Sea. There you may enjoy the Sweets, and reap the Advantages which the Neighbourhood affords.* Rome *is a hundred* Stadia *from the next Port to it; and is it therefore the leſs the Capital of* Italy? *Happineſs does not conſiſt in ſtrong Walls, and Towers, and fine Moles lined with the moſt coſtly Marble. You will not be the leſs* Carthaginians, *or the leſs valuable People, for not dwelling upon the ſame Spot of Ground, as before.*

These Words threw the *Carthaginian* Deputies into profound Contemplations. But the *Conſul* drew them out of them, by again aſſuring them, That the Orders of the Senate were immutable, and muſt immediately be put in Execution. Then theſe Envoys perceived, how difficult a Task it would be to bring their Countrymen to comply with the Will of the Senate; and were afraid of being maſſacred at their return, in the firſt Commotions of the People. They demanded a private Conference, for ſome Minutes, with the *Conſuls*; and ſome of them were let within the Bar, but the reſt were kept at a Diſtance by the *Lictors*. When they were brought into the Generals Tent, they ſaid, *Since you will not ſuffer us to have Recourſe once more to the Senate, and ſince we muſt neceſſarily obey you without Delay, grant us one Favour at leaſt, which will turn to your own Advantage. The News we are going to carry to* Carthage, *will naturally cauſe a Diſturbance there, which may coſt us our Lives, and which will infallibly end in an open Diſobedience to the Orders of* Rome, *if care be not taken to prevent it. We therefore deſire you to ſend away your Fleet, with Orders to appear in the Road of* Carthage, *the Moment we arrive there. Fear will keep the Inhabitants in Awe, and make them receive the News of the laſt of our Misfortunes, with the better Temper. How melancholy a thing is it for us, to bring your Forces againſt our native Country! But who regards Punctilio's of Honour, when oppreſſed with the greateſt Calamities?*

§. VIII. *MARCIUS* readily granted the Requeſt of the Deputies. He ordered twenty *Quinqueremes* to get ready to ſail, and went on board the *Prætorian* Galley himſelf. This great Squadron appeared in ſight of *Carthage*, before the Deputies entered it. Nevertheleſs, even this did not remove all their Apprehenſions. Some of theſe timorous Men would not return into the City, but retired into the Country. Others, in a greater Number, took the great Road to *Carthage*, without ſaying one Word all the Way. The *Carthaginians* waited for their Return, with inexpreſſible Impatience. All the People lined the Ramparts; and as this Delay foreboded no Good, ſome of them tore off their Hair, out of Grief, at the Foreſight of their Misfortunes. At length they perceived at a great Diſtance, the Company coming from the *Roman* Camp; and many out of Curioſity left the City to meet them, and got the earlieſt Notice of the State of Affairs. But by the Silence of the Deputies, and the Sorrow that appeared in all their Faces, they took it for granted that all was loſt. Some burſt out into Tears, others were ſtruck dumb, and all were in the utmoſt Conſternation. They who had Relations or

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Friends among the Deputies, took them aſide to learn the Secret; but they had agreed not to divulge it, till they came before the Senate. The Crowd increaſed at the Gate of the City, and the Deputies had like to have been ſtifled. Nevertheleſs, as they would not ſay one Word, a Way was made for them; and a free Paſſage given them to the Hall where the Senators aſſembled, merely out of Impatience to know the Fate of *Carthage*. The Deputies only were admitted into the ſupreme Council of the Nation; and the People continued about the Palace, very impatient to learn the Deciſion of ſo important an Affair.

The Senate heard the Report of the Deputies with a pretty deal of Patience; but when they came to the capital Article, there aroſe a Cry which was heard to the Place where the Multitude continued. The People anſwered the Voice of the Senators with louder Clamours, and without knowing what their Misfortunes were, took it for granted that they muſt be extremely great, and paſt all Remedy. The Deputies continued their Diſcourſe, and related the Propoſal they had made of ſending again to *Rome*, to obtain ſome Limitations to the Decree; and whilſt they were ſpeaking, the Silence was equally great in the Senate-houſe, and the Market-Place. But when the Envoys added, that this was refuſed them, the Senators began to cry out again; and then the People were no longer to be reſtrained. They forced open the Gates of the Senate-houſe, and crowded into it, as if actuated by ſo many Furies. They firſt attacked thoſe who were the Authors of the Decree, concerning the ſending the Hoſtages into *Italy*, and were not ſparing in Reproaches, or any other bad Treatment of them. Then they vented their Rage againſt thoſe who had voted for delivering up to the *Romans* the Arms in the Magazines, and the Ships in the Port. The Deputies themſelves were not ſpared. The People threw Stones at them, and dragged them through the Streets with Ignominy, as inauſpicious Ambaſſadors, who brought nothing but bad News. And laſtly, the Rage of the People was moſt furious againſt the *Italian* Merchants, of which there were a great Number in *Carthage*. They plundered their Houſes, and beat them; and ſaid, *It was by way of Reprizal, for burning their Ships, and taking away their Arms.* In ſhort, the whole City was nothing but Horror and Confuſion. There was only one Way to ſave a Man's Life, which was to fly for Sanctuary to the Temples; and when he came there, he heard nothing but Exclamations and Blaſphemies againſt the Gods. At the Sight of the Port, Magazines, and Arſenals, the Fury of the People redoubled. *Why*, cried they, *did we ſuffer them to be emptied? Would it not have been better to have ſuſtained a Siege, and to have been buried under theſe Walls, than to have deſerted them?* Theſe were univerſal Complaints, but uttered with moſt Rage by the Women whoſe Children had been forced from them for Hoſtages. They, like ſo many Furies, attacked all that paſſed by them without Diſtinction, reproached them with their Loſſes, and concluded their Invectives with this mad Sneer, *And now, you are juſtly puniſhed for having betrayed us!*

Nevertheless, among this great Number of raving People, there were a few Citizens ſenſible enough, to act with ſome Appearance of Reaſon. They who were leaſt tranſported ſhut up the Gates of the City, and gathered together upon the Ramparts ſome Heaps of Stones, to defend themſelves, in caſe of a Surpriſe. And at length, when the firſt Commotion was a little appeaſed, ſome Senators aſſembled, and in their preſent Heat reſolved on War. But how could a City that was ſtripped of her Arms, and deſtitute of Proviſions, maintain it? Rage made them attempt more, than Reaſon would have ſuffered them to undertake. It doubled their Courage, and made them find out Expedients, in the moſt deſperate Caſe. The *Carthaginians* began with taking the Malefactors out of Priſon, giving the Slaves their Liberty, and joining them with the Militia of the Country. Then a Pardon was granted to *Aſdrubal*, who had been condemned to die, only to pleaſe the *Romans*; and he was invited to employ the twenty thouſand Men he had raiſed, in the Defence of his Country. Another *Aſdrubal*, whoſe Mother was the Daughter of *Maſiniſſa*, was choſen to command in *Carthage*, during the War; and the *Carthaginians* imagined, that theſe new Preparations would intimidate the *Conſuls*, and make them the more ready to give them Leave to ſend a new Deputation to *Rome*. They therefore ſent to deſire them to abate of their Rigour in that Particular, and to grant *Carthage* a Truce of thirty Days; but it was in vain. The two *Roman*

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Generals adhered ſtifly to their firſt Determination, and thereby reduced the *Carthaginians* to deſpair. Upon this Report they all cried out, that they would either ſave their City, or periſh in its Ruins.

And they carried their Reſolutions beyond what they could have hoped for. They found means to make new Arms, furniſh their City with Ammunition, and to have an Army without the Walls, to guard their Convoys, and harraſs the Enemy. What cannot Deſpair compaſs! By order of the Senate, the Temples, Portico's, and in ſhort, all the large covered Places in the City, were turned into ſo many Work-houſes, where Men and Women were continually employed, ſome in making *Cuiraſſes*, others in cutting Wood for the Arrows and Darts, and others in ſharpening the Heads of the Lances and Javelins. All theſe Workers lived in common, at the Expence of the Publick; and their Proviſions were brought them, at ſtated Hours. And as they encouraged one another in their Work, and loſt no time in procuring themſelves the Neceſſaries of Life, they every Day made a hundred and forty four Bucklers, three hundred Swords, a thouſand Darts for the Hand or Machines, and five hundred Lances and Javelins. As to *Balliſtæ* and *Catapultæ*, though they even wanted proper Materials for them, their Induſtry ſupplied that Defect. They wanted Cords for working the Machines, and it came into their Heads to make ſome of human Hair. Firſt the Women-Slaves were ſhaved; and then the Ladies of the firſt Rank, readily dedicated to that Uſe the fineſt Ornament of their Heads. All ſorts of Metals were indifferently employed in theſe Works. For want of Iron and Steel they made uſe of Braſs, Gold, and Silver. They melted down the Statues, Vaſes, and ſome Utenſils of private Families. In this great Neceſſity, the moſt covetous became liberal.

Without the Walls, *Aſdrubal*, now reconciled to his Country, employed the Troops he commanded, in getting together Proviſions on the Coaſt, and conveying them ſafe to *Carthage*. By this means, there was as great a Plenty in the City, as in the *Roman* Camp. The *Conſuls* could get their Proviſions only from *Utica* 4, *Leptis*, *Adrumetum*, and two or three Villages. Whereas, all the other Cities in *Africa* ſent Proviſions to their Capital. Beſides, *Maſiniſſa* did not intereſt himſelf very heartily in the Succeſs of the *Romans*; and therefore gave them no Aſſiſtance. He had juſt Cauſe for being ſo cool towards them. The *Roman* Republick, which was ever haughty, had reſolved upon this new War, without conſulting the *Numidian* King. Nay, ſhe had refuſed, after Application had been ſeveral times made for it, to give him leave to march againſt *Aſdrubal*, and intercept the Convoys he was continually ſending to *Carthage*. *What*, ſaid *Maſiniſſa*, *ought not* Rome *to have placed ſome Confidence in a Prince, whoſe Fidelity ſhe had ſo often experienced? She ſuffered me to begin Hoſtilities at my own Peril. My Arms weakened* Carthage; *and when I had mowed down all the Flower of her Youth, the* Romans *came and ſowed in the Field which I had cleared. Did not I then deſerve to ſhare the Victory, or at leaſt to have been made privy to the Deſign? Theſe Republicans are too proud. They treat their Allies with leſs Reſpect than they do their own Subjects.* The *Numidian* therefore in his Turn, put on an haughty Air. The *Conſuls* ſent to pay him their Compliments; and their Meſſengers, by way of Converſation, ſounded him, as to the Aſſiſtance he might give the *Roman* Army. *I will conſider of it*, anſwered the King coldly, *and will aſſiſt you when I think it neceſſary. And we*, replied the *Romans*, with more Coldneſs, *will deſire it of you, when we think it expedient.* Theſe Coldneſſes, which were underſtood in the worſt Senſe, ſerved only to render uſeleſs to the *Romans* the Prince, who was the moſt faithful, and moſt ready to help them, of all their Allies.

Zonaras, B. 9. c. 26.

In the mean time, the *Conſular* Armies ſtill delayed drawing near to *Carthage*, and beginning the Attacks upon it. The *Romans* hoped to ſee the Inhabitants ſoon ſubmit to Reaſon, acquieſce, evacuate the City, and chooſe themſelves an Habitation elſewhere. *How can they defend themſelves*, ſaid they, *in the Condition to which we have reduced them! Their Rage may ſupport them for ſome Days; but Fear will bring them to their Duty.* The *Conſuls* pleaſed themſelves with the Thoughts that *Carthage* was diſarmed. They did not know, That it was in a bet-

4 We have already given an Account of the three Cities of *Utica*, *Leptis*, and *Adrumetum*, in the preceding Volumes, when we treated of the firſt and ſecond *Punic* Wars.

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Strabo; *App*; *Juſtin*; *Diod. Sic.*; *Oroſ.*; &c.

ter Condition to ſuſtain a Siege than ever; and That the Citizens had made themſelves new Arms, built Machines, and brought thither great Quantities of Corn, and Ammunition. But their Delays and Ignorance coſt their Republick many Battels, and much Blood. Indeed *Carthage* was in itſelf a deſtructive Place for a Siege; and was defended by Men determined to die, rather than be forced into Baniſhment from their native Country. But before we relate this memorable Siege, it ſeems not to be improper to give a Deſcription of the City, by collecting together in one view, all the Particulars that many Authors have told us of it.

§. IX. *CARTHAGE*, which was built above ſixty Years before *Rome*, had been placed by its Foundreſs in a very ſpacious Gulph. At the Bottom of the Gulph there was a piece of Land annexed to the Continent, which jetted out into the Sea, like a Peninſula. It was three thouſand Paces deep, and not above five thouſand and forty in Circumference. The main Body of the City was in this Peninſula, and was in point of Shape oblong, reaching from North to South, that is, from the Sea to the main Land. Generally ſpeaking, the City was fortified with only one Wall, and a ſingle Rampart, with Towers which flanked the *Courtines*. It was almoſt ſurrounded by the Sea, on all Sides. On the Land-ſide, towards the Southern-parts, it was encompaſſed by a Lake of Sea Water, which was called *The Pool*. Between this Lake, or rather Gulph, and the Walls of the City, there was only a narrow Slip of Land, which ran from Eaſt to Weſt, ſerved for a ſort of *Fauſſe-Bray* to the City, and reaching to a great Length, formed a Baſon, which was fit for receiving Ships. For this Reaſon it was called *The Old Port*. And as the Eaſtern Point of this Neck of Land was the only part of the City which Nature had not fortified, that Defect was ſupplied by Art. It was ſurrounded by three Walls, of thirty *Cubits* high. The Towers, which flanked the *Courtines* at two hundred *Perches* diſtance from each other, had four Stories, and were forty *Cubits* high. Theſe Walls were ſo thick through their whole Length, that there was in them a kind of Ground Floor of Rooms, and another Floor over it. In the lower, were Stables for the Elephants, and War-Horſes, and Magazines of Forage. Above, were Lodgings enough to hold twenty four thouſand Men, Horſe and Foot. Theſe vaulted Rooms ſupported the Wall, and probably the flat Roofs of them ſerved for a Rampart. They were two and twenty *Cubits* deep. The Citadel called [5] *Byrſa*, which was divided from the City by Walls, was higher than all theſe Works, and overlooked them. On the Point of the Rock on which it was built, ſtood a Temple dedicated to *Æſculapius*. The Temple of *Juno*, the Protectreſs of *Carthage*, was built in the Center of the City, and ſurrounded by a Sacred Wood. And laſtly, in the Southern Extremity of the City, in the *Iſthmus* that joined to the Continent, there was a Suburbs, or, if you will, a new City, called *Megalia*, or *Megara*. This Place, which was alſo encompaſſed with a Wall, and waſhed to the right and left by the Sea, covered *Carthage*, on the Land-ſide. Such was the Situation of this ſtately City, towards the Continent.

Towards the Sea, the Coaſt which was ſemicircular terminated in two Promontories, and naturally formed the fineſt Port in the World. An Iſland, called *Cothon* for its Smallneſs, or if you will a great Rock, which was almoſt of a round Figure, ſhut up the Entrance into the *Road*, and guarded the Ships againſt the North-wind. There was no entring into the Bay formed by the Sea over againſt

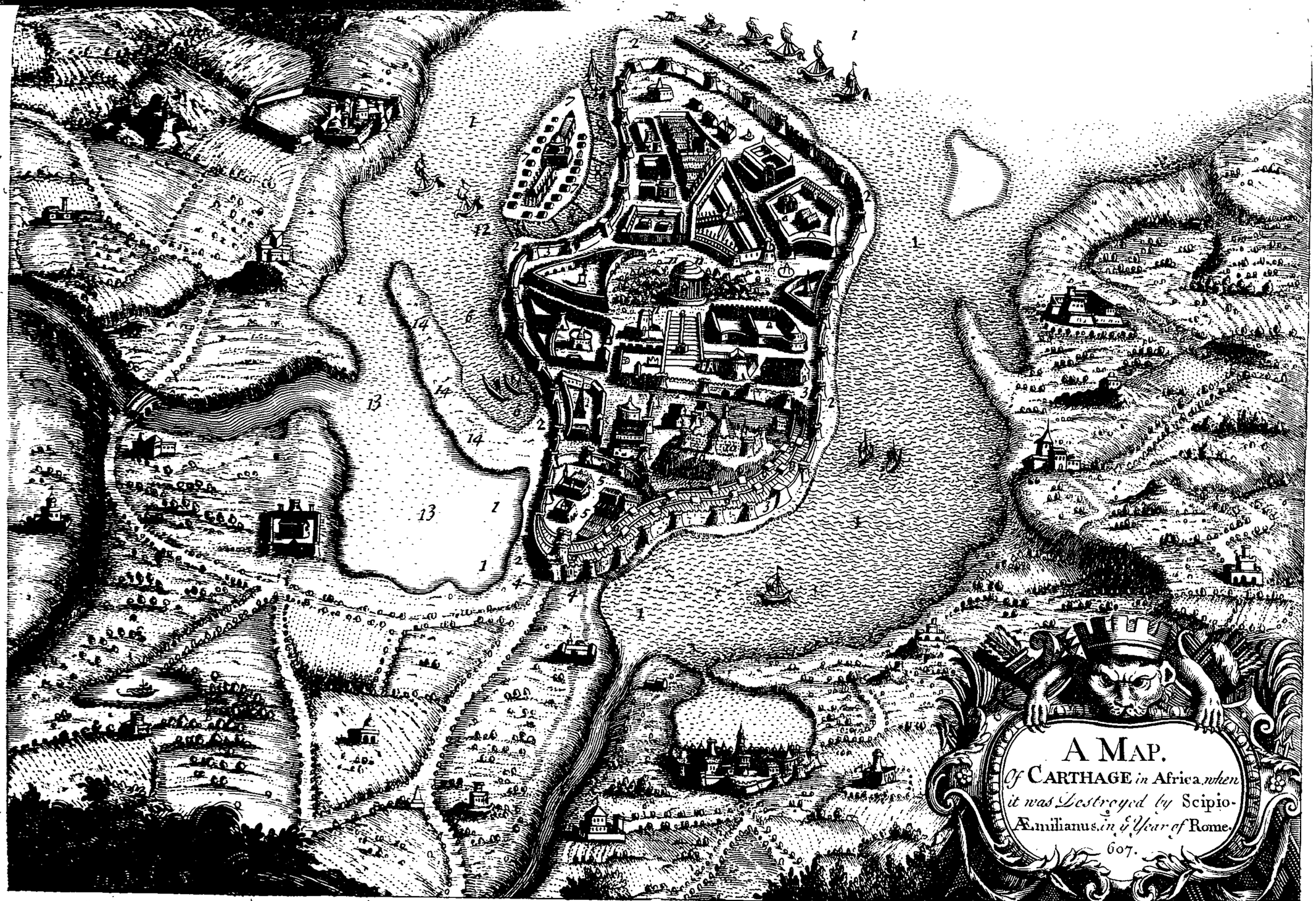
5 According to *Virgil*, *Livy*, *Appian*, the Compiler of *Trogus Pompeius*, *Juſtin*, *Herodian*, and many other Authors, the Term *Byrſa*, alluded to the Stratagem *Dido* made uſe of, to mark out the Circumference of the Citadel of *Carthage*. They ſay, That the Inhabitants of the Country granted her as much Ground as ſhe could contain within a Bull's Hide; and That ſhe cut a Hide into very ſmall Thongs, and thereby made it encompaſs Ground enough for the Citadel to be built on. Hence, ſay they, comes the Name of *Byrſa*, which in *Greek* ſignifies a *Skin*.

Mercatique ſolum, facti de nomine Byrſam,
Taurino quantum poſſent circundare tergo.
Æneid 1.

Donatus is of Opinion, but without Reaſon, that the Fort we ſpeak of was ſo called, becauſe *Dido* paid for the Ground in *Leather*-Money. Nor do ſeveral other Writers Reaſon more ſolidly than *Donatus*, when they ſay, that the Foundreſs bartered Oxen, which ſhe had brought from *Tyre*, for this Ground in *Africa*.

Bochart derives the Word *Byrſa* from the Language of the *Phœnicians*, or *Hebrews*. They, ſays he, call all Fortifications whatſoever *Boſra*; which the *Greeks* changed long after into *Byrſa*. The Criticks who adopt this Conjecture, quote in Proof of it, *Jer.* xlviii. 24. *Judgment is come upon* Kerjoth, *and upon* Bolra, *and upon all the Cities of the Land of* Moab, *far or near*.

Carthage,



2. *The Gulph of* Carthage. 2. *The* Peninsula. 3. *The City and its walls.* 4. *The* Isthmus *which joyn'd the City to the Continent.* 5. *The City called* Megalia *or* Megara. 6. *The Old Port.* 7. *The Island of* Cothon. 8. *The* New Port. 9. *The Treple wall 30 Cubits high.* 10. *The Citadel called* Byrsa *and ye temple of* Æsculapius. 11. *The Temple of* Juno *with a Sacred Grove.* 12. *The two narrow entrances into The* New Port. 13. *The* Pool *or Marsh.* 14. *The narrow piece of land which formed The* Old Port. 15. *The* Mole.

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Carthage, but by two narrow Paſſages at the two Extremities of this Rock; and theſe two Channels were ſhut up at Pleaſure, by Chains which reached from the Continent to the Points of the Iſland. Add to this, that *Cothon* was neither a deſert Place, nor deſtitute of Ornaments. There were two Portico's ſupported by Columns of the *Ionick* Order, at the two Ends of the Iſland. There was a fine Key all round it, and nothing but Shops and Magazines were to be ſeen bordering upon this Key. In the Center of the Rock ſtood the Governor's Houſe, like a Tower. He had from thence a Proſpect of the main Sea, to a great Diſtance; and he there watched the Harbour, and by Sound of Trumpet, gave the Citizens Notice of what Ships were going to enter it. This inner Part, which was called *The New Port*, was chiefly uſed for Ships of War, and the Gallies of the Republick. There they were always afloat, had their Docks for refitting them, and Sheds to guard them from the Heat of the Sun. As to the Merchant-Ships, they ſeem to have ſeldom put in at any but *The Old Port*, and to have ſailed round the City from North to Weſt, in order to come at it.

§. X. But how difficult ſoever the Siege of *Carthage* might prove, the *Conſuls* determined to undertake it. It was a little late indeed; but they thought to have made Amends for their Dilatorineſs, by the Activity of their Troops. The two *Conſular* Armies therefore appeared before the City, and inveſted it. Being ſtill full of that falſe Opinion, That in her preſent Condition, *Carthage* was undertaking more than it was in her Power to perform; the *Romans* flattered themſelves, that they needed only to make an Aſſault on the Place, and they ſhould immediately reduce the Inhabitants. The two Generals divided the Attacks between them. It was reſolved that *Manilius* ſhould make one, at one of the Extremities of the City, on the Side of the *Iſthmus*, which was fortified with a triple Wall; and that *Marcius* ſhould make another, at the weakeſt part of the City, and ſo near the Sea, that he could plant his ſcaling Ladders on his Gallies, in order to mount the Walls. And this Enterpriſe would have ſucceeded, if the *Carthaginians* had been without Arms, as it was preſumed they were. But to the great Surpriſe of the Aſſailants, they found the Ramparts lined with a prodigious Multitude of Defenders, ſhining in the Armour they had newly made: and this Sight alone terrified the *Romans*. They drew back and would have retired, if the *Conſuls* had not led them on to the Charge. However, the ſecond Attempt was not more ſucceſsful than the firſt. The *Romans* gave way; and now thought of nothing but encamping round the Place, in order to beſiege it in form. *Carthage* could not now be taken by Aſſault. Beſides that it contained ſeven hundred thouſand Souls, and a great Number of its Inhabitants were fit to bear Arms; it was the Capital of three hundred Cities, of which the *Carthaginian* State in *Africa* conſiſted. Hence the numerous Troops which *Aſdrubal* had aſſembled together, from all the Places ſubject to the *Carthaginians*. This General was already drawn near to the City to defend it without, as the Inhabitants did within. The Conteſt was now a difficult one, and muſt be drawn out into a great Length. Any other Nation but the *Roman*, would have been diſcouraged, and would have abandoned the Enterpriſe; but Conſtancy was the peculiar Virtue of that People. *App. in Punic.*

Whilst their Fleet was beſieging the Port, the two *Conſuls* encamped ſeparately; *Marcius* between the Pool and the City; and *Manilius* nearer to the City, on the Side where it was ſurrounded with a triple Wall. As for *Aſdrubal*, he pitched his Camp within reach of the *Romans*. After ſome Days repoſe, *Marcius* ſaw that he wanted Materials for making the Machines neceſſary for Sieges; and he therefore ſent the Carpenters of his Army to cut down ſome Trees, in the neighbouring Foreſt. But *Aſdrubal* ſent after the *Roman* Detachment *Himilco*, ſurnamed *Phaneas*, the General of the *Carthaginian* Cavalry. The latter with his Squadrons fell on the Workmen, killed five hundred of them, took up their Arms, and ſent them to *Carthage*, where they ſerved for ſuch of the Inhabitants, as were not yet armed. Nevertheleſs the *Romans* ſaved the Wood they had cut, and carried it to *Marcius*'s Camp. Theſe Proviſions encouraged the *Roman* Troops to try two new Attacks. *Manilius* demoliſhed a part of the Wall on his Side; but when he ſaw that behind this there was a ſecond, and behind that a third, he deſiſted and retired. *Marcius* widened the Neck of Land that led from the Marſh to the Wall of the City, and there built two *Rams*, which he had room enough to work with Eaſe. Then he

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ſet theſe two terrible Machines at work, one by the Land Soldiers, and the other by the Marines. The Emulation between theſe two Bodies increaſed the Activity of both. The *Rams* were driven againſt the Wall ſo violently and ſo often, that at length they made a large Breach. The City was already open; the Houſes next the Rampart viſible; and *Marcius* hoped to have been able to have entered it, through this Breach. Accordingly he ſent in ſome *Legionaries*, who were repulſed by the *Carthaginians*, and returned to the Camp covered with Wounds. Then Night came on; and the Beſieged ſpent it in repairing the Breach with a new Wall. Nevertheleſs, as it was too freſh to reſiſt the *Rams* long, the Beſieged thought it neceſſary to make a Sally, and ſet Fire to theſe Machines. Some bore Arms which were proper to drive off the Enemy; others armed themſelves only with lighted Torches. And the Sally had at leaſt ſome Succeſs. Indeed the *Romans* who ran to defend their Machines, prevented the *Rams* being entirely reduced to Aſhes. But they did not come ſoon enough to preſerve them from being damaged. The *Carthaginians* with their Fire made them uſeleſs. And hitherto the *Romans* had ſhewn neither much Conduct, nor much Valour in the Attacks.

WHEN the Terrors of the preceding Day, and the Shades of the Night were diſperſed, the *Romans* perceived that the Breach was not entirely repaired. They ſaw through the opening a little Place in the City, where the *Manipuli* which entered it might eaſily rally, and draw up in Battalia. Immediately therefore *Marcius* gave his *Legionaries* leave to penetrate into the City through the Opening; and two *Tribunes* led their *Manipuli* through it. *Scipio Æmilianus* then ſerved in the Army in quality of *Tribune*; but he was too wiſe to fall into ſo ill-contrived a Snare. He contented himſelf with forming his *Legionaries* without, at the Foot of the Wall, and there waiting for the Event of an Action which he thought raſh. And indeed there was a prodigious Number of *Carthaginians*, partly regular Troops, and partly armed with Staffs and Stones, waiting to receive the *Romans*: So that the Diſpute was not equal. The Beſiegers were repulſed, defeated and fled. And then *Æmilianus*'s Foreſight was of Uſe. With his freſh *Manipuli* he covered the *Romans* who were retreating in Diſorder, and ſuppreſſed the Audaciouſneſs of the *Carthaginians*, who were proud of their Succeſs. By this means *Æmilianus*, though a ſubaltern Officer in the Army, got more Eſteem than the General. *Though a private* Tribune *only*, ſay they, *he foreſaw what the* Conſul *ought to have foreſeen, but did not.* We find the young Officer always conſiſtent with himſelf, in *Africa* as well as *Spain*, in the Cabinet, as well as in the Field.

§. XI. AND now, the *Conſuls* were ſenſible of all the Dangers of the Enterpriſe in which they were engaged. They found it difficult to get Proviſions by Sea or Land. The City hindered the Ships from bringing them Stores; and *Aſdrubal* intercepted the Convoys by Land, with his numerous Cavalry. Beſides, a Sickneſs was got into *Marcius*'s Camp, by its being ſo near a Marſh, where ſtagnating Waters, and the Exhalations drawn out of it by the Heat of the Seaſon, infected the Air. He therefore ordered the Fleet to draw as near to the Shore as poſſible to receive his Troops, and tranſport them into a healthier Place, but ſtill within reach of *Carthage*. *Aſdrubal*, who commanded in the City, was informed of the Motion of the *Roman* Fleet, and he ordered the People to obſerve what Rout it took. Then perceiving that a brisk Wind blew towards the Place where the Enemy's Gallies lay at Anchor, he formed a Deſign to burn them, though he had no Fleet. What cannot Rage and Neceſſity compaſs! The *Carthaginian* Commander ordered all thoſe old Barks to be got together, which the *Romans* had ſpared, as of no Uſe in the Defence of the Place, and filled them with Faggots, Tow, Sulphur, Bitumen, and other combuſtible Materials. They were firſt towed along the Gulph, in which was the Port of *Carthage*, and ranged in order, without being perceived by the *Romans*. Then as ſoon as they were near enough to the Enemy's Fleet, the *Carthaginians* hoiſted Sails upon them, ſet Fire to them, and let them drive with the Wind. They were inſtantly among the *Roman* Ships, which had no time to get ready to ſail, and cauſed ſuch a terrible Fire among them, that they were almoſt all conſumed.

THUS had the *Conſular* Armies made but a ſad Campaign. Autumn was approaching; and *Rome* called for one of the *Conſuls* to preſide in the Elections. *Marcius* ſet out for *Italy*, and in his Paſſage ſought to make himſelf Amends at Sea, for the Loſſes

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Loſſes he had had on the Continent. He took *Ægimurus* [6], an inconſiderable Iſland between *Sicily* and *Africa*. A poor Comfort, after the conſiderable Loſſes he had ſuffered before *Carthage!* Nevertheleſs, his Abſence revived the Courage of the *Carthaginians*. They thought the Removal of one of the *Conſuls* a happy Preſage of a ſpeedy Deliverance: and therefore the Beſieged acted with new and uncommon Boldneſs. They did not value ſquandering away the Lives of their Soldiers, in Sallies which were always dangerous. *Carthage* abounded in Men; and their Fury made the moſt cowardly of the Inhabitants courageous. One Night, a great Body of *Carthaginians* differently armed, ſilently marched out of the City with an Intention to ſurpriſe *Manilius*'s Camp, and cut the Throats of the *Romans* during their Sleep. The Company was already advanced, without Noiſe, to the Enemy's Entrenchments, and were beginning to break down the Palliſades, when the *Conſul* had timely Notice of the Danger that threatened him. The Darkneſs of the Night, the Uncertainty of the Number of the Aggreſſors, and of the Places where the Enemy might make ſeveral Attacks at once, kept *Manilius* long in ſuſpence. In the mean while, Time was loſt in deliberating, and the *Carthaginians* made the beſt uſe of the Delay. *Scipio Æmilianus* was the only Man who was ſenſible of the Neceſſity of Expedition, in driving away the Enemy. *Rome* ſeems to have ſent him into *Africa*, only to repair the Faults of her Generals. Whilſt the *Conſul* is heſitating in the Council of War, and ſtarting Difficulty upon Difficulty, *Æmilianus* takes ſome Squadrons of his Horſe, marches out at the Gate oppoſite to the Place where the Attack was made, rides round the Camp full Speed, and attacks the *Carthaginians*, who expected nothing leſs, in the Rear. The Shouts that the Aggreſſors heard behind them, were enough of themſelves to put them into Diſorder. The *Carthaginians* were either diſperſed, or returned to their City, after they had left a good Number of their Men dead upon the Place, eſpecially of thoſe who were armed only with Staves. This ſecond Inſtance of Bravery and Conduct increaſed the Reputation of *Æmilianus* among the Soldiers; but created him many Jealouſies among the Officers of his own Rank.

However, this unexpected Boldneſs of the Beſieged forced the *Roman* General to take greater Precautions for the future. He did not indeed change his Camp, but he made it ſtronger, and ſecured it againſt all Attacks without Machines. Beſides the Paliſades and Ramparts of Earth that ſurrounded it, he built a Stone Wall about it. At the Extremity of his Camp, *Manilius* alſo built a Caſtle, which overlooked a little Port in an Elbow of *The Gulph of Carthage*. Thither the Proviſions and Ammunitions for the *Roman* Army were brought by Sea: And a Camp ſo well fortified, gave the *Conſul* the Courage to ſend out Parties to make Incurſions in the neighbouring Countries. The *Legionary Tribunes* took their Turns, each with the Body he commanded, and went to plunder the neighbouring Fields. *Aſdrubal* narrowly watched the daily Marches of theſe Detachments, and gave *Phameas* a Commiſſion to harraſs them. The latter had the Command of all the *Carthaginian* Cavalry, was a Man of great Courage, and was ſingularly induſtrious in ſurpriſing an Enemy unawares. Add to this, that perhaps never were Cavalry better mounted than theſe *Carthaginians*. Indeed their Horſes were ſmall, but full of Fire and Vigour, indefatigable, and ſo ſwift, that the largeſt Horſes could not come up with them. And *Phameas* knew how to make the beſt Uſe of theſe Advantages. He ſet Spies to watch where the *Romans* went to forrage, cut Wood, and raiſe Contributions; and he hid himſelf in the Hollows of the Rocks, and in Coppices, from which he flew out like an Eagle on the Enemy, when divided into Platoons. Theſe Sallies were almoſt always fatal to the *Conſular* Troops. The *Tribunes* ſeldom returned to their Camp with all their Troops: *Æmilianus* only found Means to preſerve his Detachment from Diminution, when it was his Turn to go upon a Party. This prudent Leader ordered his Marches ſo well, both as to Time and Place, forraged with ſo much Order, and placed ſo good Guards every where, that *Phameas* was afraid of him, and durſt not attack him. This Difference between *Æmilianus* and his Collegues was a new Subject of Admiration for the Army, and

6 The Iſland of *Ægimurus* lies above thirty thouſand geometrical Paces, or as others, twenty Leagues from the Ruins of *Carthage*, towards the Coaſts of the Kingdom of *Tunis*. It is now called *Galita*, or *Galata*. See *Vol.* 2.

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of Jealousy for the *Tribunes*, who had suffered themselves to be beaten. They reported, That *Æmilianus* held a Correspondence with *Phameas*, and That *Scipio* his Grandfather had always been a Friend to the Family of the *Carthaginian* General. But the *Consul* and the Army did him Justice, notwithstanding the Discourses of those who envied him.

§. XII. True Virtue generally gets the better of Jealousy at the last. It is always uniform and constant; and by continually performing new Exploits, effaces all those Stains, with which the Envious endeavour to obscure it, at its first Appearance. *Æmilianus* continued to shine so much in the Army, that he at length forced those who were most passionate in reviling him, to hold their Peace. Those who envied him, themselves magnified his Glory even among the Enemy, by the *Contraste* of their Conduct to his. All the Neighbourhood of *Carthage* was full of Castles, which were Country-houses to the Inhabitants of this opulent City. These Castles, which were fortified and guarded by Troops, were often attacked by the *Legionary Tribunes*, when they made Incursions. It happened more than once, that the Garrisons of these little Fortresses capitulated, before they would surrender them up. And the other *Tribunes* made no Scruple of breaking their Faith, and causing to be massacred, or led into Captivity, those who had surrendered upon favourable Terms: Proceedings very unworthy of *Roman* Probity; and *Æmilianus* therefore abhorred them. He did something more than barely keep his Word: He almost always granted advantageous Conditions to the *Carthaginians*, who surrendered, and sent them safe under a good Guard to the City. Hence the Esteem the *Africans* had for him, and the Confidence they placed in him. When summoned to surrender their Posts, they protested they would not capitulate with any Body but *Æmilianus*. By this means the wise *Tribune*, without any Affectation, gained a great Advantage over his Rivals.

In great Emergencies, the *Consul* had scarce any Resource, but in the Valour and Industry of *Æmilianus*. The little Fort the *Romans* had built on the Sea-Shore, to receive the Provisions brought by the Barks, gave the *Carthaginians* great Uneasiness: They resolved to attack it in a dark Night, and endeavour to surprise it. At their going out of *Carthage*, these new Assailants made a great Shout, which was seconded by one from all the Inhabitants of the City. This they did to intimidate the *Romans*, and make them believe, that a prodigious Number of *Carthaginians* were going to take the Castle. The *Consul Manilius* was a General of a narrow Genius, and of little Experience in military Affairs; and he was at once seized with Fear and Irresolution. But *Æmilianus* was very seasonably ready at Hand to deliver him: He invented a Stratagem which succeeded. The *Tribune* took with him only two Squadrons of Horse, put burning Flambeaux in their Hands, and ordered them to run about the Fields, some one way, and some another, to deceive the *Carthaginians*. The latter imagined that the whole *Roman* Camp were coming in haste to defend the Fort, and fall upon them. Upon this they were chilled with Dread, which forced them to retire to the City, and they failed of their Enterprise: And from that Time the *Consul* looked on *Æmilianus* as another *Scipio*. He thought him inspired, and ascribed his Inventions to divine Revelation. And the *Consul* would have acted much more wisely than he did, if he had only hearkened to the Advice of so brave, and so judicious an Officer. But little Minds have faint Hearts, and are more ready to follow Numbers than Merit. One Instance of this will appear in the following Event.

Livy in Epit. App. Zonaras, &c.

§. XIII. *Asdrubal* was a very bad Neighbour to the *Roman* Camp. He had posted himself under a City named *Nepheris*, but twenty four Miles distant from *Carthage*, and situated on the Ridge of a Mountain, which was fifteen thousand Paces high. The City seemed inaccessible on all Sides. The Way that led to it lay over a River, was interspersed with Rocks, and was embarrassed with Defiles, which *Asdrubal* guarded. From thence the *Carthaginian* General made Incursions into the Country, fell on the *Roman* Detachments, and even insulted their Camp. The *Consul* therefore, though I know not what Advice, or Infatuation, resolved to drive *Asdrubal* from this advantageous Post. He proposed the Design in a Council of War; and the Lieutenant Generals and *Tribunes*, whether for want of Consideration, or out of a vain Ostentation of Valour, or to efface the Shame of having made an useless Campaign, all voted for attacking *Nepheris* and *Asdrubal*.

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Æmilianus only uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to divert the *Conſul* from the Enterprize. But notwithſtanding the Regard *Manilius* had for him, he followed the Opinion of the greateſt Number. The *Conſular* Army began their March, and *Æmilianus* the *Tribune* followed his General much againſt his Will. They advanced through difficult Roads, and at length arrived at the Banks of the River, which muſt be paſſed. There the prudent *Æmilianus* renewed his Remonſtrances, ſhewed the Difficulties of the Attack, and foretold the Confuſion which muſt follow. But his Collegues, jealous of his Glory, inſulted him for his Precaution, and laboured to make it paſs for a want of Courage. At length, there being a Majority of Voices for it, the River was paſſed. However, *Æmilianus* hoped to have obtained one thing at leaſt of the *Conſul*, which was, that a Camp ſhould be formed on the Banks of the River, to ſerve for a Retreat for the Army, in caſe of ill Succeſs. *Misfortunes*, ſaid he, *may come*; *and if our* Legions *ſhould be repulſed, their retiring will not, in that caſe, have ſo much the Air of a Flight, as a Retreat.* But though this was very wholſome Advice, it was received with a loud Laugh. Reaſon itſelf has no force in the Mouth of a Man, againſt whom we are prejudiced by ſome ſtrong Paſſion. Envy prevailed over good Senſe. Nevertheleſs, the *Conſul* ſeems to have been inclined to favour *Æmilianus*'s Propoſal. But the reſt of the Council oppoſed it, and one of the Officers went ſo far as to ſay, to *Manilius*'s Face, that he would quit the Service, if a private Subaltern was to uſurp the Functions of the General.

These paſſionate and warm Proceedings had ſuch an Effect on the weak *Conſul*, as to make him neglect a Reſource, which could not but be of Advantage to him, let what would happen. The *Legions* left the Banks of the River, and immediately the *Carthaginian* Army appeared in order of Battel, on the Ridge of the Mountain. *Aſdrubal* deſcended into the Plain, in ſight of the *Romans*, who were ready to ſuſtain his Attacks. The Onſet was given, and the firſt Battel was more bloody than deciſive. Neither Party had any Advantage in it. *Aſdrubal* therefore retired towards his Mountain, and promiſed himſelf, that if he followed the Enemy cloſe in their Retreat, he ſhould make his Victory more complete than he could do in the Action. In the mean time, the *Romans* retired, ſtill facing the Enemy, and ſuſtaining their Attacks with Bravery, as long as they marched along the Plain. But when they came to repaſs the River, the *Conſul* repented of not having followed *Æmilianus*'s Advice. A Camp ready pitched there would have been a great Relief to Men fatigued with a long March, and laborious Fight. Beſides, to paſs a River, in ſight of an Enemy's Army, which was ready to fall on the *Manipuli*, the inſtant they ſhould be in the leaſt diſunited, was a difficult Task for a General who was little experienced in the Buſineſs of Arms. The braveſt and moſt indefatigable Commanders would have been embarraſſed, on ſuch an Occaſion. And in ſhort, the River was fordable only in two Places, and they at a Diſtance from each other. It was therefore thought neceſſary to divide the Troops, to lead them through the different Fords which the *Carthaginians* had beſet. And then ſeveral Battels were fought; in which the *Romans* muſt neceſſarily be worſted. The three *Tribunes*, who, contrary to *Æmilianus*'s Opinion, had promoted the Enterprize, and moſt oppoſed the pitching of a Camp, loſt their Lives in them. None of the *Legionaries* who left their Ranks to ſeek for Paſſages farther off, eſcaped the Sword of the Enemy; and the reſt of the Army was expoſed to an entire Defeat. But the ſame *Æmilianus* who would have preſerved it by his Prudence, now ſaved it by his Valour. At the Head of three hundred Horſe under his Command, and ſome others that joined him, he ſuſtained all the Efforts of the Enemy, and in a manner renewed the famous Action of *Cocles*. He divided his Troops into two Squadrons, which ſucceeded one another in the Fight; hindered the *Carthaginian* Army from falling on the *Romans* during their Paſſage; then threw themſelves into the River, and ſwam croſs it, after they had been expoſed to all the Darts of the Enemy.

When the *Romans* were got on the oppoſite Bank, they perceived that they wanted four *Manipuli*, which ſtill continued on the other ſide of the River. Theſe brave Men, deſpairing of being able to paſs it after the reſt, had poſted themſelves on an Eminence, reſolving to ſell their Lives there very dear. Some *Carthaginian* Battalions ſurrounded them, and without fighting them, pretended to ſtarve them

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to death. This News rouzed the Compaſſion of *Æmilianus*. *On ſuch Occaſions as this*, ſaid he to the General, *a little Raſhneſs is ſeaſonable. Rather than bring a whole Army into certain Danger, a General ought to reſtrain the Impetuoſity of his Courage, and act with Circumſpection. But when an unfortunate Affair has actually happened, and the Lives of many* Roman Citizens, *and the Honour of the* Roman *Name lies at Stake, all Fear ſhould be laid aſide, and the Bolder the Wiſer. As for myſelf, I offer to repaſs the River with a Body of Horſe, and run into freſh Dangers for the Safety of my Countrymen.* Rivals and others, all applauded the Reſolution of the generous *Tribune*. He therefore took with him ſome of the Horſe under his Command, with Proviſions for two Days, returned croſs the River, and flew to the Deliverance of the inveſted *Romans*. In the firſt Place, he ſeized an Hill over-againſt that on which the four *Manipuli* were poſted. Then the *Romans* ſaw the *Carthaginians* diſperſed in the Valley below them, and had all the Advantage of the Ground. After ſome Hours repoſe, the brave *Æmilianus* on one ſide, and the *Manipuli* on the other deſcending from their Hills with Precipitation, fell on the *Carthaginians*; and the Boldneſs of theſe reſolute Men, who were determined to die, or conquer, diſperſed the *Africans*. They abandoned the Field of Battel, and left the Paſſages open to theſe brave Men, who had thus reſolutely hazarded their own Lives, to ſave thoſe of their fellow-Citizens. In ſhort, *Æmilianus* returned to the Camp, where the Soldiers deſpaired of ſeeing him; and then his Merits appeared to be ſo much ſuperior to that of thoſe who envied him, that they were forced to become Panegyriſts on the young *Tribune* themſelves. As for the Company which were delivered out of their Danger, they gave him one of thoſe military Rewards, which were thought more honourable than the richeſt Preſents. They offered him a Crown of *Gramen* 7, gathered on the Place where he had ſignalized his Valour.

AFTER the return of *Æmilianus*, the chief Concern of the *Roman* Army was, that they had left ſo many *Legionaries* on the Field of Battel, whoſe Bodies continued unburied. Above all, they were very deſirous that funeral Honours ſhould be paid to the three *Tribunes*, who had loſt their Lives in endeavouring to paſs the River. They were *Æmilianus*'s moſt inveterate Rivals; but he did not carry his Reſentments beyond the Grave. He gave a *Carthaginian* Captive his Liberty, upon Condition that he would carry *Aſdrubal* a Letter, in which the *Romans* intreated him to ſuffer the three *Officers* his Collegues to be buried, they being Perſons to whom ſome Diſtinction ought to be paid.

THE Name of *Scipio* had long been in great Veneration among the *Africans*; and the Virtue of *Æmilianus* himſelf began to gain him ſome Reſpect among them. In ſhort, *Aſdrubal* granted the Requeſt of the brave *Roman* with Pleaſure. The three *Tribunes* were ſought for. Their Bodies were eaſily known by the Gold Rings 8 on their Fingers; (for private Soldiers wore only Iron ones) and the *Carthaginians* made a funeral Pile for them, burnt them, and ſent their Bones to *Æmilianus*. So virtuous an Action therefore on the part of the *Roman*, and the Deference paid him by the *Carthaginian*, increaſed his Credit in the Army. *Æmilianus* was the chief Topick of all Diſcourſes there. He was openly preferred by the Soldiers to all the other Officers, and even to the General himſelf. But his Modeſty kept him within the Bounds proper to his Station. And notwithſtanding his great Reputation, ſince he was not Commander in chief, he could not guard the *Roman* Army againſt all the Attacks of the *Carthaginians*. Sometimes *Aſdrubal* was Maſter of the Field, and made Incurſions quite to the *Roman* Entrenchments. Nay, he attacked the *Legions* ſo roughly, that he forced them to keep themſelves within their Camp.

§. XIV. THE *Roman* Senate were daily informed of what paſſed in *Africa*. Nevertheleſs, that their Informations might be more particular and juridical, they ſent

7 The Crown of *Gramen*, which others call the *Corona Obſidionalis*, was one of the greateſt Marks of Diſtinction that the *Romans* beſtowed on the Valiant. It did not belong to the General only to give it. This Right was in the whole Army, who generally decreed this Honour to him, who had forced an Enemy to raiſe the Siege of a Place; or had delivered Troops which had been in great Danger. This Crown was made of Herbs gathered on the Ground where the Enemy had been chaſed. See what we have ſaid of it, *Vol.* I.

8 See what we have ſaid in ſeveral Parts of this Hiſtory of the firſt Uſe of Rings, and the Privilege of wearing them among the *Romans*.

Commiſſioners thither, to inform themſelves of the Conduct of the General and his Officers, And then *Æmilianus*'s Merit appeared in its full Luſtre. Envy hindered not either his Rivals, the *Conſuls*, or the private Soldiers, from doing Juſtice to the Prudence and Valour of this Man, whoſe Counſels alone would have much advanced the Affairs of the Republick, if they had been followed. The Deputies were told, by how many heroick Actions *Æmilianus* had ſupported the Glory of the *Romans*, preſerved their Army from an entire Defeat, and ſaved the Lives of a great Number of *Citizens*.

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The Commiſſioners returned to *Rome* much diſſatisfied with the Operations of the Campaign in general; but charmed with the Conduct of *Æmilianus*. When they made their Report of it to the Senate, the *Fathers* all cried out, That the Soul of *Paulus Æmilius* his Father, and of *Scipio* his Grandfather by Adoption, muſt certainly be paſſed into the Body of this their brave Deſcendant. *Cato* himſelf, who is ſaid never to have commended any Body during his whole Life, could not refuſe the young *Tribune* the Praiſe he deſerved. But his Method of giving it him was by a ſatyrical Reflection, which he caſt as uſual, upon the other Officers of the Army in *Africa*. In order to magnify the Glory of *Æmilianus*, *Cato* applied to him a Verſe of *Homer*, where the Poet ſpeaking of *Tireſias* 9, as deſcended to the *Elyſian Fields*, ſays, *That all the other Dead were mere Phantoms and empty Shades, but that* Tireſias *alone preſerved all his good Senſe*. The Application was juſt; but it was cruel, with reſpect to the *Conſul*, Lieutenant Generals, and *Tribunes*, who ſerved before *Carthage*. And this was perhaps the laſt remarkable ſaying that *Cato* ſpoke before he died. He was ſoon after carried off, by a regular Decay of Nature, at the Age of eighty four or 10 eighty five Years. Before he expired, he foretold that *Carthage* would not be taken till *Æmilianus* undertook it; and his Prophecy proved true: So that *Cato* was thought a Man of a ſuperior Underſtanding to the very laſt. He was a great Soldier, a great Stateſman, and in a Word a great Philoſopher. But his Virtue was ambiguous. He had both great Talents, and great Faults. But to return.

Plut. Life of *Cato*.

Odyſ. B. 10.

§. XV. The

9 This *Tireſias*, according to Fable, had been famous for the Gift of Prophecy, which he had received of *Jupiter*. The Citizens of *Thebes* paid him divine Honours after his Death.

10 It is certain, that *Cato the Cenſor* died in the Courſe of the Year of *Rome* 604, during the *Conſulate* of *Lucius Marcius Cenſorinus* and *Manius Manilius*, which was eighty ſix Years before that of *Cicero*, as he himſelf has obſerved in his *Brutus*. *Velleius Paterculus* places his Death in the ſame Year. *Pliny*, *B.* 14. *c.* 4. ſpeaks with a little Latitude of it, when he ſays, that *Cato* died about the time of the Deſtruction of *Carthage*, and the taking of *Corinth*. *Circa captas Carthaginem & Corinthum——— ſupremum is diem obiit.* But he is more expreſs in his twenty ninth Book, where he places this Event under the Year 605, that is, the 604th, according to the *Faſti Capitolini*. In order then to diſcover *Cato*'s Age, the next thing neceſſary is to know the exact Year of his Birth: Which to us ſeems to have been demonſtrated, in the Proofs we gave in the third Volume, that *Cato* was born in the Year of *Rome* 519. From thence to the Year 604, the Year of his Death, are eighty five Years; and this Calculation agrees with *Cicero*'s Teſtimony in his *Brutus*. He expreſly ſays, That *Cato* lived eighty five Years. *Annos quinque & octoginta natus, exceſſit e vita, cum quidem eo ipſo anno, contra Sergium Galbam ad populum, ſummâ contentione dixiſſet. Quam etiam orationem ſcriptam reliquit.* It muſt therefore neceſſarily be granted, That *Livy* and *Plutarch* are miſtaken, when they ſay, That *Cato* pleaded his Cauſe at the Age of eighty ſix Years, and publickly accuſed *Sergius Galba* four Years after; that is, at the Age of ninety. *Qui ſextum & octogeſimum annum agens cauſam dixerit, ipſe pro ſe oraverit, ſcripſeritque; nonageſimo anno Sergium Galbam ad populi adduxerit judicium.* Thoſe of the Moderns who fix *Cato*'s Life to eighty three, or eighty two Years, don't include either the Year of his Birth, or that of his Death.

To this ſame Year, that is, the *Conſulate* of *Marcius* and *Manilius*, moſt of the Ancients, and among the reſt *Cicero*, fixes the ſpeaking of the Speech, which *Cato* made, a little before his Death, in favour of *The Scribonian Law*, and againſt *Sergius Galba*. The latter had governed *Spain*, in quality of *Prætor*, ever ſince the Year of *Rome* 602; and we have before given an Account of the Cruelties and horrid Depredations, which this barbarous Man committed in all the Parts of his Province. Nine thouſand *Luſitanians*, who had thrown themſelves on the Clemency of the *Romans*, had been maſſacred by his Orders, contrary to the Faith of Treaties. And according to *Suetonius*, the Number of thoſe who were thus inhumanly butchered, amounted to thirty thouſand. He left Marks of his Fury and Avarice wherever he came. They whom the Sword ſpared, received the moſt unworthy Treatment at his Hands. It was not enough for him to lay their Provinces waſte, and enrich himſelf with the Spoils of theſe unfortunate People; he loaded them with Chains, carried them with him into *Italy*, made them all Slaves, ſold them in *Ciſalpine Gaul* to the beſt Bidder, and took the Money to himſelf. So many Violences committed againſt a Nation, which had voluntarily thrown itſelf upon the Mercy of the *Romans*, raiſed the Indignation of all good Men. One of the *Tribunes of the People* named *Scribonius Libo*, openly undertook the Defence of the oppreſſed Nation; and in Preſence of the aſſembled People, he demanded that the Captives ſhould be ſet at Liberty, and put in Poſſeſſion of their Goods. *Cato* joined with the *Tribune*. His Zeal for the publick Good and the Glory of the *Roman* Name, would not ſuffer him to keep Si-

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App. in Iberic. Oroſius, Zonaras, &c.

§. XV. The Siege of *Carthage* has ſo much engaged us, that we have almoſt loſt Sight of two important Wars, which *Rome* made at the ſame time, in different Countries. *Spain* ſtill maintained her Revolt, and had found an Avenger. It muſt be owned, that the Robberies and Inhumanity of the *Conſuls* and *Prætors*, which *Rome* had ſent thither for ſome Years laſt paſt, were what had exaſperated the *Spaniards*, never to ſubmit to her more. The Sedition was open in both *Spains*; but moſt furious in the *Further Province*. *Viriathes*, who from a Hunter was become the Head of ſome Robbers, had been choſen by the *Luſitanians* for the General of their Army againſt the *Romans*. This Warriour not only was intrepid, but by accuſtoming himſelf to overrun Foreſts, and form Ambuſhes for Travellers, had likewiſe learnt the Art of continually laying Snares for an Enemy, of ſcarce ever coming to a cloſe Fight, and of ſurpriſing his Enemies ſometimes in narrow Paſſes, and ſometimes at the Entrance into a Wood. The *Prætor Vetilius* had very lately experienced this. That *Roman* had ſurrounded the Troop of Rebels *Viriathes* commanded, and

lence. Though thus worn out with Age, he came to the *Comitium*; and there declaimed with Vehemence againſt the perfidious *Galba*. *Quintus Fulvius Nobilior*, whom *Cato* had accuſed more than once, undertook the Defence of the Accuſed; and *Galba* himſelf neglected nothing to mollify the enraged People. He ſpake three times in his own Juſtification. The two firſt of his three Speeches which were extant in *Livy*'s time, were directly levelled againſt the Motion of the *Tribune Scribonius Libo*. The third was an Anſwer to *Cornelius Cethegus*, one of his Accuſers; and was in Subſtance an Apology for his Conduct towards the *Luſitanians*. All the Evils he had made thoſe People ſuffer were, he ſaid, neceſſary, in order to prevent the ill Deſigns they had formed againſt the *Roman* Army, under an Appearance of Peace. *Their black Plots*, ſaid he, *were not carried on with Secrecy enough. I had ſeaſonable Notice of them. They emboldened themſelves to go on in the Execution of their deteſtable Project, by the Horrors of a Sacrifice, in which they mixed the Blood of a Man ſlain on the Altars, with that of a Horſe, which was alſo ſlain as another Victim. This Barbarity was to be the Prelude, and the Signal for their Attempts. I could not*, Romans, *ſecure your Conqueſts, and the Safety of your Troops, without exterminating theſe furious Men, who were ever ready to revolt.* But the People were not to be impoſed upon by ſo unjuſt a Recrimination. All Men of Senſe plainly ſaw that *Galba* only loaded the *Luſitanians* with new Crimes, to leſſen the Horror of his Proceedings towards them. And then the Accuſed himſelf perceived, that he had no Reſource left, but in the Indulgence of his Judges; and the only Weapons he afterwards uſed for his Defence, were Submiſſions, Prayers, and Tears. He appeared before the People in the Poſture of a Suppliant. His Eyes were bathed in Tears, and he tenderly embraced his two Sons, which were very young, as if going to take his laſt *Adieu* of them. At the ſame time he fixed his Eyes, with great Melancholy in his Countenance, on the Son of *Caius Sulpicius Galba*. This Child, after the Death of his Father, was become the Pupil of *Sulpicius Galba* his Relation. He claſped him in his Arms, brought him out before the Aſſembly, whoſe Protection he claimed, and carried him from Rank to Rank. He conjured the People to be a Father and Guardian to him, as well as to his own two Children, ſince his Enemies condemned him never to ſee them more. And theſe ſtudied Appearances of Grief in the artful *Galba*, produced the Effect he had promiſed himſelf from them. The mournful Figure which he made was an affecting Sight to the People. When they beheld the three young Children, whoſe Innocence made them amiable, and when they remembered the famous Aſtronomer *Caius Sulpicius Gallus*, whoſe great Qualities made him highly eſteemed, moſt of the *Citizens* were mollified. They almoſt all agreed to diſcharge the Accuſed, and acquit him of the Crimes which were ſo juſtly laid to his Charge. We have taken this Story from *Quintilian*, *Valerius Maximus*, and partly from *Tully*'s firſt Book *de Oratore*. Nevertheleſs we dare not affirm, that all this paſſed in the Year of *Rome* 604. The *Roman* Orator himſelf gives us ſome Reaſon to doubt of it, when he ſays, in the twelfth Book of his *Epiſtles to Atticus*, That he cannot be certain, that *Lucius Scribonius Libo*, *Galba*'s Accuſer, was *Tribune of the People*, in the *Conſulſhip* of *Cenſorinus* and *Manilius*. He leaves it to *Atticus* to examine whether the *Tribuneſhip* of *Libo* was not in the Year 603, which was the *Conſulſhip* of *Titus Quinctius Flamininus*, and *Manius Acilius Balbus*. *Et vide, Quæſo, Lucius Libo ille, qui de Scr. Galba, Cenſorinone & Manilio, an Tito Quinctio, & Manio Acilio Conſulibus, Tribunus Plebis fuerit.* What is certain according to *Cicero*, in his Book of *Illuſtrious Orators* is, That *Cato* ſpoke his Speech againſt *Galba*, a little before his Death, and inſerted it himſelf in his Book of *Origines*.

In this Year 604, the *Roman People* provided for the Safety of the *Roman Provinces*, againſt the Avarice of the Magiſtrates who had been guilty of embezzling the publick Money, during their Adminiſtration. The greateſt Part enjoyed the Fruits of their Rapines in Peace; and the People who were ruined by the Oppreſſions of an unjuſt Governor, were reduced to the melancholy Neceſſity of grieving in Secret, to prevent greater Calamities. Such crying Injuſtice therefore rouzed the Zeal of *Calpurnius Piſo*, the *Tribune of the People*, who by the Uncorruptneſs of his Life acquired the Name of *Frugi*. At his Motion, the *Roman* People paſſed for the firſt time, the famous Law *De repetundis*, as it is called by the Ancients. We have a Proof of this in *Cicero's Brutus*. His Words are theſe. *Lucius Piſo Tribunus Plebis, Legem primus de pecuniis repetundis, Cenſorino & Manilio Conſulibus, tulit.* In his ſecond Book *Of Offices*, which he wrote in the Year of *Rome* 709, he reckons it to be near a hundred and ten Years after the Promulgation of that Law: So that there ſeems to be a Miſtake in this Calculation. From the Year 604, to the beginning of the Year 709, are but a hundred and four Years. Add to this, that by *The Calpurnian Law*, the Magiſtrate accuſed of embezzling the publick Money, was at firſt only made ſubject to a Fine, provided he reſtored the Money he had unjuſtly acquired. But afterwards, more ſevere Laws were made againſt Extortioners and Oppreſſors, and more ſevere Penalties inflicted upon them. Reproach and Infamy were annexed to the Guilt of embezzling publick Money, which were thought ſeverer Chaſtiſements, than Baniſhment, with which it was moſt commonly puniſhed. We ſhall have time enough to examine into theſe Regulations, when we come to the Times when they were made.

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in a Place in *Turdetania*, out of which it ſeemed impoſſible for them to eſcape, without Loſs of Life or Liberty. But the *Luſitanian* General drew his Soldiers out of the Danger by an Artifice, which, if conſidered as his firſt Eſſay in Arms, muſt ſhew him to have been a great Proficient. He drew up his Army, which conſiſted of ten thouſand Men in one ſingle Line, as if with Deſign to give Battel in form. He alſo formed by themſelves a thouſand Horſe, for a kind of *Corps de reſerve*, the Command of which he took upon himſelf. But he ordered the Bulk of his Troops to obſerve the Moment he mounted his Horſe, and upon that Signal to run as faſt as they could to the City of *Tribola* [11], which was not far off.

Year of *ROME* DCIV. L. MARCIUS CENSORINUS, M' MANILIUS NEPOS, Conſuls.

IN ſhort, before the Trumpets had ſounded a Charge, the *Romans* were much ſurpriſed to ſee the Army which ſeemed ready to fight them diſperſe in a Moment. The *Prætor* might indeed have ſent his *Romans* after the Fugitives; but *Viriathes* with his Cavalry kept them in Awe. The *Legionaries* durſt not break their Order. However, they fell upon the Body of Cavalry, and endeavoured to ſurround them. But *Viriathes* who knew all the Roads, made ſo many Turnings and Windings with his Squadrons, ſometimes flying full Speed from the Enemy, and as ſoon again turning back upon them, with all the Swiftneſs of the Horſes of his Country, that he returned with all his Cavalry, and without any Loſs, to *Tribola*, where his Infantry were waiting for him. An Action ſupported with ſo much Bravery, and conducted with ſo much Prudence, gave *Viriathes* a great Reputation for Arms: and a conſiderable Multitude of *Spaniards* joined him in his Revolt.

HOWEVER, *Vetilius* did not yet Deſpair of bringing him to a Fight, and took the Road to *Tribola*, to inſult the Fugitives, whom, as he imagined, a ſudden Panick had diſperſed. But *Viriathes* had foreſeen this March, and was prepared to turn it to his Advantage. A thick Foreſt covered the City, and the *Romans* muſt neceſſarily paſs through the one, to come at the other. The *Luſitanian* therefore hid ſome of his Troops in the thick part of the Wood, and drew up the reſt in Battalia, at a little Diſtance from it. The *Romans* attacked him, he retired, and as he gave Way, drew the *Prætorian* Troops into the great Road, which ran through the Foreſt. As ſoon as the Enemy was got into it, *Viriathes* faced about; at the ſame inſtant, his Troops which were in Ambuſh attacked the *Romans* behind; and the Rebels made a terrible Slaughter of them. Of ten thouſand Men only ſix thouſand eſcaped, whom the *Quæſtor* of the Army led to *Carpeſſus* [12], a maritime City called alſo *Tarteſſus*. The reſt fell by the Swords of the *Luſitanians* who ſpared none, but ſuch as they deſigned for Slavery. The *Prætor* was made Priſoner, with many others; but the Soldier who took him, did not think him worth the preſerving. *Vetilius* was old and heavy; and the *Spaniard* fancied he would not ſell well. Inſtead of putting him in Chains he killed him. A fatal Loſs, which *Rome* felt very ſenſibly, at a time when the new War with the *Carthaginians* kept Men's Minds in ſuſpenſe [13]!

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11 They who have written on the ancient Geography, have not told us any thing of the Name or ancient Situation of *Tribola*. Nevertheleſs we may conjecture, by *Appian*'s Narration, that it ſtood in *Andaluſia*, near *The Streights of Gibraltar*, or *Tarteſſus*, whither the *Roman* Troops fled, after their Defeat. Some have thought, without Reaſon, that *Tribola*, was the ſame Place as *Turbula*. The latter ſtood near *Saguntum* in the Kingdom of *Valencia*.

12 *Carpeſſus* as *Appian*, or *Tarteſſus* as moſt ancient Geographers call it, is now thought to have ſtood near *The Streights of Gibraltar*, in the Neighbourhood of *Tariffa*, a City of *Andaluſia*. *Strabo* ſays it took its Name from the River which watered it, and which was afterwards called *Bætis*. It is the ſame which the *Spaniards* now call the *Guadalquivir*. This City, adds he, gave its old Name to the whole Country, which the *Turduli* inhabited in his time. *Peter of Mantua* reckons up three Cities of *Tarteſſus*. The firſt ſtood in the Iſland which was made by the two Mouths of the *Guadalquivir*, and the *Ocean*. To prove this, he quotes the Authorities of *Strabo*, and *Pauſanias*. He thinks the ſecond *Tarteſſus* the ſame Place as *Cadis*; and in proof of it, quotes a Paſſage in *Pliny*'s fourth Book, *ch.* 22; and another of *Rufus Avienus*. The third City of this Name was, according to him, the ſame that was called *Carteia*; and moſt Writers place it near *Tariffa*. We muſt take care not to confound it with another *Carteia*, which *Livy* mentions. The latter ſtood between the Mouths of the *Guadiana*, and *Guadalquivir*. See *Nonnius's Spain*, *ch.* 11, and 12. We muſt not forget that *Ariſtotle* in his Book *Of Wonders*, ſays, That the Territory of this City abounded ſo much with Mines of Silver, that the *Phœnicians*, who came to trade on the Coaſt, not only loaded their Ships with it, but had enough beſides to make their Anchors of that Metal.

13 After the Death of *Vetilius*, his *Quæſtor*, who then had the Command of the Troops, had recourſe to the *Belli* and *Titthii*, Allies to the *Romans*; and theſe two Nations granted him five thouſand Men. Theſe he added to the ſix thouſand which had eſcaped the Purſuit of *Viriathes*, and ſaved themſelves in *Tarteſſus*; made a little Army of them all together; and marched them in regular Order againſt

Year of ROME DCIV. L. Marcius Censorinus, M' Manilius Nepos, Consuls.

The Republick therefore embarked *C. Plautius* for *Spain* in all haste, with ten thousand Foot, and thirteen hundred Horse; and this Reinforcement, when joined with the faithful *Spaniards*, would have made all the Country tremble, if *Viriathes* had not kept up the Courage of the intimidated Rebels. He brought them into the Country of the *Carpetani* which he plundered; and thither the new *Prætor* came to attack him. But he was not sufficiently qualified to guard against the Stratagems of *Viriathes*. The *Lusitanian* General pretended to be terrified at the Arrival of the new Army, and seemed to flee before it. *Plautius* detached four thousand Men to follow him; and they were almost all cut in pieces. Few of them returned to the *Roman* Camp.

Then *Viriathes*, after he had well studied the Motions of the new *Prætor*, passed the *Tagus*, and ran over the Fields of the Allies of *Rome*. He posted himself on a Mountain planted with Olives, called *The Mount of Venus*. *Plautius* followed the Enemy to this new Camp, and was wholly bent on Revenge. As the Forces of *Viriathes* were increased, he no longer made War by Stratagem, but ventured to make Head openly against the *Romans*, and fight a pitched Battel: And the *Lusitanian* conducted the Action with such Dexterity, and behaved himself with so much Bravery, that he entirely routed all the *Roman* Army. They fled in Confusion to the neighbouring Villages, out of which the *Prætor Plautius* durst not draw them, all the Summer: So that *Viriathes* being Master of the Field, he put all to the Sword who resisted him, and laid those who did not under Contribution. This News came to *Rome*, at the same time that Advice came of the Disadvantages *Manilius* had suffered before *Carthage*. The Senate was struck with it. But the *Romans* had long learnt to sustain the greatest Calamities with immoveable Constancy.

§. XVI. Nor did the Relation brought to *Rome* of the Affairs of *Macedon* at all comfort her, under her Losses in *Africa*, and *Spain*. That *Andriscus* who had escaped from *Rome*, whither the King of *Syria* had sent him, to be kept always in Sight, or punished with Death, had pretended to the *Macedonians* to be one of the Sons of *Perses*. In Monarchies the People have generally a great Affection for the Blood of their Kings; and the *Macedonians* were much delighted with the Thoughts of a Child of their late Sovereign. They first inclined to favour him, and then determined to place this Impostor on the Throne. Indeed *Andriscus* had forged a Lie which the *Macedonians* in several Places greedily swallowed. He had spread a Report that he was the Son of *Perses*, by one of his Mistresses whose Name he mentioned, but it has escaped the Historians. *The King my Father*, said he, *fearing the unhappy Fate which pursued him even to death, was desirous of saving one of his Children at least in me. While I was yet an Infant he put me into the Hands of a* Cretan, *who took care of my Education.* Perses *died, I changed my Habitation, and came to* [14] Adramyttium. *There I spent the rest of my Infancy till I was twelve Years of Age, in the House of the* Cretan, *whom I thought my Father. He, in the latter end of his Days, discovered my Birth to me; and gave his Wife, whom I looked on as my Mother, a Billet of King* Perses, *sealed with his own Seal, which she was not to give me, till I arrived at the Age of* Puberty. *My supposed Mother kept the Secret inviolably till that time; and then I found by the Billet, that two considerable Sums of Money had been set apart for me. But I was forbidden to divulge my Birth, during the Life-time of* Eumenes *King of* Pergamus, *that Enemy to the King my Father. It was feared that he would cause me to be assassinated. In dread of this, I retired into* Syria *to King* Demetrius, *who delivered me up to the* Romans. *I have now escaped out of their Chains, and am come to make myself known to the faithful Subjects of the Monarchs from whom I am descended.*

against the *Spanish* General. But these eleven thousand Men were surprized and surrounded by the Troops of *Viriathes*, and cut in pieces. Nay, if we may believe *Diodorus Siculus*, in the Fragment of his thirty third Book, from which we have taken this Circumstance, they were all killed on the Field of Battel; insomuch, that there was not one single Soldier left alive, to carry the News of this second Defeat. The *Quæstor* must then have shut himself up in the City of *Tarteſſus*, waiting for the new Succours, which *Caius Plautius* was bringing to *Spain* from *Rome*.

14 *Adramyttium* is a City of *Troas* in *Asia Minor*, now called *Andramiti* by the *Europeans*, and *Endromit* by the *Turks*, as we are told by *Leunclavius*. Some also call it *S. Dimitri*. It has given its own Name to the neighbouring Gulph, which is part of the *Ægean* Sea.

This

Year of *ROME* DCIV.

L. MARCIUS CENSORINUS, M' MANILIUS NEPOS, Conſuls.

THIS Diſcourſe was a ſort of Manifeſto which ran through the whole Kingdom. His Air, Figure, and ſome kind of Reſemblance which the People imagined they ſaw between young *Andriſcus*, and the late King, gave Credit to the Fiction: Nevertheleſs, the Dread of the *Romans* at firſt ſtifled the Commotions of the People. The Partizans for the Impoſtor, did not openly ſhew themſelves, till they ſaw the Republick embarked in a new War with *Carthage*.

DURING the Interval between his Eſcape and the Siege of the Capital of *Africa*, the falſe *Philip* (for *Andriſcus* had taken the Name of his ſuppoſed Grandfather) went to ſeek for Succours in *Thrace*, and raiſe Commotions there. Many of the petty Kings of this warlike and credulous Nation, which groaned under the *Roman* Government, entered into Alliances with him, and helped him to conquer *Macedon*. Some Cities gave Way to force, others ſurrendered of their own accord. In ſhort, *Andriſcus* became Maſter of the Kingdom, of which he ſaid he was the Heir.

AND now, the Siege of *Carthage* taking an ill Turn for the *Romans*, this News and his own boundleſs Ambition raiſed the Courage of *Philip* (for we ſhall hereafter call him by the new Name he aſſumed) and not content with *Macedon*, he extended his Deſires to *Theſſaly*. This Country had long belonged to the Kings, whoſe Succeſſor *Philip* pretended to be; and he claimed what did not belong to him, either as *Andriſcus*, or as the Son of *Perſes*.

NEVERTHELESS Force prevailed. A good part of *Theſſaly* already acknowledged the Dominion of the Uſurper. And then *Rome* awaked. The War with *Carthage* had ſo ſwallowed up all her Attention, that her Senate had neglected the Affair of *Macedon*. However, tho' late, *Scipio Naſica* was at laſt ſent at the Head of a Deputation, to which his Character muſt doubtleſs command Reſpect. He was a Man of the greateſt Reputation of any in the Republick; and well qualified, either for making uſe of gentle Methods and the Arts of Perſuaſion, if it ſhould be neceſſary to calm the Minds of the People; or of conducting an Army with Skill, if it ſhould be neceſſary to come to Blows.

As ſoon as *Naſica* was landed in one of the Ports of *Greece*, he was ſurprized to hear what Progreſs the falſe *Philip* had made in ſo little a time. The Work of *Paulus Æmilius* was totally overturned, and the tributary Republick of *Macedon* was become an independent Monarchy. *Philip* had alſo made an Entrance upon *Theſſaly*. The ſad Detail of this bad Situation of Affairs in the *Levant* was not known at *Rome*, till *Naſica* informed the *Conſcript Fathers* of it by Letter, and demanded powerful Succours; and then the Remedy could not be ſpeedy enough. Nevertheleſs, he did not continue idle. For want of the *Roman Legions* which had been drawn out of all *Greece*, *Naſica* borrowed Forces of the neighbouring Nations which continued faithful to *Rome*. *Achaia* particularly ſignalized her Zeal on this Occaſion. As this was the moſt powerful of all the *Greek* Cantons, it immediately lent the *Roman* Succours, notwithſtanding paſt Diſcontents. Of the Soldiers that came to him from different Places, *Naſica* formed an Army, which ſtopped the Progreſs of *Philip* in *Theſſaly*. Nay he drove him out of it, and forced him to return to *Macedon*. And here ended the Expedition of the brave *Naſica*. He drew near to *Macedon*, but durſt not enter it with an Army tumultuouſly aſſembled, and on which he could not depend. We have Reaſon to believe, that he returned to *Rome* as ſoon as his Republick had ſent a new General into *Greece* to command there. This was *P. Juventius Thalna*, to whom the *Prætorſhip* of *Macedon* had fallen by Lot.

Zonaras, Eutropius, Florus, and *Oroſius*.

BUT the new General ſeems to have carried into *Macedon* only a *Prætorian* Army, conſiſting of one *Legion*, of four or five thouſand Men, and much the ſame Number of Auxiliaries. And were theſe enough to reſiſt the Efforts of a young Warrior, ſupported by *Macedon* and all *Thrace*, and who was not the leſs brave for being an Impoſtor? But *Rome* could do no better, at a time, when *Carthage* gave her but too much Employment. *Thalna* was no ſooner landed, and at the Head of his new Army, and probably of the Levies his Predeceſſor had made among the *Greeks*, but he ventured at more than the prudent *Naſica*. It was a Maxim with *Juventius* that *Fortune* always favours the juſt Cauſe in War; and therefore as he thought *Philip* an Uſurper, he took it for granted that the *Romans* would infallibly be victorious. Upon this Preſumption he took it into his

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Head to march through those dangerous Defiles, which divided *Macedon* from *Thessaly*, and which *Paulus Æmilius* had had so much Difficulty to pass. But it was a mad Enterprize; and it cost the *Romans* and the *Prætor* himself, dear. His Army was cut in pieces, and *Thalna* killed in the Battel. By this means *Philip* was continued in the Possession of *Macedon*, and put into a Condition to conquer *Thessaly*; and it is not to be imagined, how much this Prosperity swelled the Heart of this Mock-King, whom *Fortune* raised thus high, only to make his Fall the greater. When he was thus settled on the Throne by his Victory, he dishonoured it with all the Vices common with Men of low Extraction, when they happen to be raised to an high Station. He became proud, arrogant, inaccessible, covetous; and without any Pity plundered his Subjects, for whom his Blood had not given him the natural Affection of a Father. He was cruel, and spared not the Lives of his Courtiers, or best Friends. He dealt much in Calumny; forged false Accusations against the richest Lords in the Country, and seized their Estates. And in short, *Rome* was amply revenged on the *Macedonians* for their Revolt, by the Conduct of the Tyrant they had given themselves.

§. XVII. The *Roman* Republick had not, for a great while, had a more unfortunate Year than that in which the Siege of *Carthage* began. Nothing but ill News came from *Africa*, *Spain*, and *Macedon*. *Æmilianus* alone supported the Hopes of *Rome*; and it is to be presumed, that had he not been barely a Subaltern, the Republick would have succeeded, in a very different manner, under his Administration. But his Youth disqualified him for the *Consulate*, for several Years. Nevertheless, though he was by Law incapable of being raised to the first Dignity, when the *Consul Marcius* held the *Comitia* for the great Elections, yet he had the Suffrages of some *Tribes* for the *Consulship*; which was at least a Preparation, which prepossessed the People in his Favour, and disposed the *Comitia* not to tarry till he came to the full Age, before they raised him to the greatest Station. However, in the mean time *Rome* chose two Heads of too little Merit, to be able to support the Weight that lay upon them. These were *Sp. Postumius Albinus Magnus*, and *L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsonius*. In the same Assembly *Manilius* was continued General till the Arrival of the *Consul*, to whose Lot it should fall to continue the War in *Africa*. In a few Days, this Lot fell to *Calpurnius*, who was not in haste to set out. He left *Manilius* to command the Army before *Carthage* for some time, with the Title of *Pro-Consul*; and it was during this Interval, that the King of *Numidia* [15] died at [16] *Cyrtha* the Capital of his Dominions. At the Age of ninety Years, or a little more, according to some, or a little less, according to others, *Masiniſſa* found his Strength Decay. And when he was struck with Death, though exasperated against the *Romans*, he did not forget that the Republick had been, after all, his most faithful Friend, and was the surest Support he could leave to his Family. It was numerous, since he had then at least three legitimate [17] Sons, and forty other [18] Children by the several Concubines of his Seraglio. We are assured, that at the Age of eighty six Years he had [19] a Son, who was but four Years old when his Father died. In short, though during the Course of his long Life, Death robbed him of many of his Children, he never had less than ten in his Palace. The Sweetness of his Disposition, and his Sobriety, kept him in perfect Health to an extreme old Age.

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App. in Punic. Epit. Livy; Eutropius; Zonaras, &c.

15 It is plain, by *Appian*'s Narration, that *Masiniſſa* died about the end of the Year 604, or the beginning of 605. The Proof of it is this. *Scipio*, at his return from *Rome* to *Africa*, found him dead. Besides, his Death preceded the Arrival of *Lucius Calpurnius Piso*, one of the two *Consuls* for the Year 605. And it is certain, that the latter appeared before *Carthage*, in the beginning of Spring.

16 *Cyrtha* is now called *Constantine*, a City which belongs to the Kingdom of *Algiers*. It is watered by the River *Susgemar*, which the Ancients called *Ampsaga*. This River rises in the Province of *Bugia*, and discharges itself into the *Mediterranean*, from which *Cyrtha* was about sixty Miles distant. See the Map of *Africa*, which we have put in the second Volume, for the better understanding of this History.

17 *Polybius* says, that *Masiniſſa* left behind him four legitimate Sons. But the Name of one of them is not to be found in the Historians.

18 *Eutropius*, who prolongs *Masiniſſa*'s Life to the Age of ninety seven Years, pretends that this Prince, just before his Death, reckoned up forty four Children, who survived him; *Valerius Maximus* gives him forty five.

19 The *Greek* Historian, mentioned in the last Note but one, gives this Child the Name of *Stembal*; and adds, that *Micipsa*, the eldest of *Masiniſſa*'s Sons, adopted him, after the Death of his Father.

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In his laſt Sickneſs he neither loſt his Preſence, nor his Strength of Mind. Being reſolved not to divide his Dominions himſelf between his three legitimate Sons, for fear of raiſing Diſcontents among them at his Death; he reſolved to leave this to a Friend, who had a ſufficient Share of Prudence, Equity and Capacity, to enable him to diſcharge ſo weighty a Commiſſion. The King thought *Æmilianus* the beſt qualified to execute this Scheme, on Account of his Character, the Name of *Scipio* which he bore, his perſonal Friendſhip to him, and his great Intereſt at *Rome*. And he therefore ſent a Deputation to the *Roman* Camp, to deſire the *Pro-Conſul Manilius* to give *Æmilianus* Leave to come to the Court of *Numidia*; and to entreat *Æmilianus* himſelf to come and ſee the King his Friend breathe his laſt.

But notwithſtanding all the Diligence of the *Roman*, he did not arrive at *Cyrtha* till after the Death of *Maſiniſſa*. He found the whole Court in very great Affliction, and the Queen and the three Princes her Sons, in great Impatience for his Arrival. In ſhort *Maſiniſſa* had made no other Will than this, that he had a little before he expired, recommended three Things to his Wife and Children. 1. To keep up no Intelligence on the Continent with any but the *Romans*. 2. To cultivate the Friendſhip of no Family at *Rome*, more than that of the *Scipio's*. 3. To leave the Diviſion of his Dominions among them, wholly to *Æmilianus*. As ſoon as the illuſtrious *Roman* appeared, he gained the Confidence of the three Brothers, and all the Royal Family readily threw up their Intereſts into ſo good Hands. *Maſiniſſa* had in his Life-time provided for the honourable Support of the great Number of illegitimate Children which he left behind him, and *Æmilianus* improved their Condition, by the Advantages he procured them. All the Difficulty was to ſatisfy the three Princes, who alone had the Right to their paternal Inheritance. The Kingdom of *Numidia* had been vaſtly increaſed by the late King. He had extended it from [20] *Mauritania*, and the Shores of the *Ocean*, as far as to *Cyrenaica*, in the inland-Country; for the Coaſts of the *Mediterranean* belonged to *Carthage*. All along the Frontiers of this Republick, next to the inland-Part of *Africa*, *Maſiniſſa* had made the Country rich and fruitful. Formerly the *Numidians*, accuſtomed to Robberies, neglected Agriculture, and lived only by Rapine, or on Herbs, and the Milk of their Flocks. They ſuffered Want, in the midſt of a fat and fertile Country. But *Maſiniſſa*, who was himſelf refined by his Intercourſe with the *Romans*, poliſhed his People, and made them Soldiers and Husbandmen. Out of the Lands that he manured, he aſſigned each of his Children by his Concubines ten thouſand Acres, for a Patrimony: So that *Numidia* was now become a flouriſhing Country. And it was not politick to divide this great Kingdom between the three Brothers.

Æmilianus judged very right of the true Intereſt of this great State. Inſtead of diſmembring it, he thought it beſt to preſerve it entire and undivided for the three Princes. He determined, that they ſhould each have the Regalia and Title of a King, and be equally honoured as ſuch; but that the regal Functions ſhould be divided among them. Each had his Lot according to his Character and Inclinations. The eldeſt, whoſe Name was *Micipſa*, a prudent but ſedentary Prince, to whom the King at his Death had given his Ring, had the Palace of *Cyrtha* for his Habitation, and the abſolute Government of the Finances, for his Share. *Guluſſa* the ſecond, who loved nothing but Arms, had the ſovereign Authority in relation to Peace and War. And laſtly *Maſtanabal* the third, a learned Prince, and well acquainted with the *Greek* Literature, took Pleaſure in the Exerciſe of Juſtice, and adminiſtred it, without Appeal, throughout all *Numidia*. Thus the Kingdom was governed without Miniſters, and the three Brothers, who were equal Kings, mutually did the Offices of Miniſters for each other. What was admirable is, that an uninterrupted Concord reigned among them. The King their Father had taught them early to love Peace. All the Reward *Æmilianus* had for this important Service was, that he accepted the Offer *Guluſſa* made him, to follow him to the Camp before *Carthage*, and carry thither with him ſome Elephants and his *Numidian* Horſe. It muſt be owned, that theſe Squadrons muſt be of great Service to *Manilius's*

20 If *Maſiniſſa* had extended his Dominions from *Mauritania* to *Cyrenaica*, as *Appian* pretends, his Kingdom cannot be computed to have been leſs than four hundred Leagues long.

Army,

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Army, especially by opposing the formidable Cavalry of *Phameas*, which being mounted on *African* Horses, infinitely excelled the *Italian*, either for Incursions, or unexpected Attacks. So that the Arbiter of the Affairs of *Numidia*, and one of the Kings of the Country, set out together for the *Roman* Camp.

§. XVIII. As the Winter is not long in *Africa*, the Campaign opened early. *Manilius*, who still commanded the *Roman* Army, thought to repair in his *Pro-Consulate* the Faults he had committed when *Consul*. And therefore he often sent out *Æmilianus* at the Head of several Expeditions, whence he always returned with Advantage. A great Number of Castles and Towns surrendered to him; and there was something memorable in the reducing of [21] *Tezaga*. It was taken by Assault; twelve thousand *Africans* were killed in it, and six thousand more made Prisoners of War. But after all, no Conquest did *Æmilianus* more Honour, than that of the famous *Phameas*, the General of the *Carthaginian* Horse, who had distinguished himself so much during the Siege of the Capital. In one of his Incursions, *Æmilianus* gained him over to the *Roman* Party. One Day, when both of these brave Officers were in the Field, each at the Head of a strong Party, a Storm overtook them. Each put his Troops under Shelter; and so near one another, that there was only a pretty deep kind of Ditch between them. *Æmilianus* went down into it, to examine it, attended by only three Horsemen. Upon which *Phameas* came to meet the *Roman*, and brought with him only his most faithful Friend. This was shewing, that he desired a Conference with *Æmilianus*; and they approached each other. When they were near enough to be heard, *How great is your Misfortune*, said the *Tribune* to *Phameas*, *to be engaged in a declining Cause, which must involve you in its Ruin? Secure yourself, while you have yet time.* At these Words the *African* fetched a deep Sigh, and answered thus. *My Misfortunes are not to be remedied.* Carthage *will be destroyed*; *and* Rome, *which I have so often offended, is not disposed to give me Refuge.* *Æmilianus* replied, with a Smile sufficient to gain his Confidence; *If you will depend upon me, I will be your Security, that my Republick shall do something more for you, than barely give you a Retreat.* Upon this there appeared an Air of great Serenity in the Face of the *African*, and he returned only this; *I will consider of it, and you shall soon hear from me.* Then the two Commanders retired, and saw one another no more for some Days.

App. in Punic. Zonaras.

Oros. B. 4. c. 11.

At length the Conference between *Æmilianus* and *Phameas* had its Effect, when it was least expected. *Manilius* could not digest the Disgrace he had met with before *Nepheris*; and he thought to efface it by attacking the Place again, and taking it from the Enemy, before he returned to *Rome*. This *Æmilianus* did not now oppose as formerly, either because the *Pro-Consul* had taken better Measures for Success, or because he depended a little on *Phameas*. The General ordered his Soldiers to take Provisions for some [22] Days, marched his Army in good Order, pitched a Camp beyond the River as *Æmilianus* had at first proposed, and advanced towards the Entrenchments which *Asdrubal* and *Phameas* defended. But the Attack of the Camp and City of *Nepheris* took up more time than the *Pro-Consul* had expected. Above ten Days were already spent by *Manilius* in fruitless Attempts round the Place. There began to be a want of Provisions in the Army, and it was time to retire. But the *Roman* Army were afraid of being followed in their Retreat by *Asdrubal*, at least to the Camp which they had fortified on the Banks of the River. And whilst the *Pro-Consul* was thinking of his Retreat, there came into his Trenches a *Numidian* Soldier, with a Letter for *Æmilianus*. No one knew who wrote it, or at least the Bearer had Orders to conceal it. The Letter ran thus. *On such a Day, I shall be in such a Post*; (specifying both the Day and the Place.) *Be you there with what Number of Troops you think proper. But give Orders to the advanced-Guard of your Camp to receive the Man, who shall desire Admittance into it in the Night.*

The Letter was not signed, but *Æmilianus* guessed that it came from *Phameas*. He communicated it to the *Pro-Consul*, who at first suspected some Ambus-

21 We cannot exactly fix the Situation of *Tezaga*. The Historians either say nothing of it, or not enough for a Foundation for a reasonable Conjecture.

22 According to *Appian*, the *Pro-Consul* ordered his Soldiers to take Provisions for fifteen Days.

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cade on the part of the *Carthaginian.* His Nation was in bad Repute for ill Faith. Nevertheleſs, when he ſaw the prudent *Tribune* inclined not to neglect an Adventure which might prove uſeful to *Rome*, he ſuffered *Æmilianus* to appear at the Place appointed. *Phameas* alſo left his Camp, and came thither. The *Tribune* met him, and engaged, on the part of the *Pro-Conſul*, that he ſhould receive *Phameas* favourably in the *Roman* Camp, and uſe his utmoſt Intereſt with the Senate of *Rome*, to prevail on them to acknowledge him to be a Friend and Benefactor to the *Roman* Republick. They took each other's Word, and mutually depended on their Promiſes. The next Day, *Phameas* brought all his Cavalry to the Place appointed the Day before, drew them up in Battalia, and in the Preſence of *Æmilianus*, addreſſed himſelf to them thus. *Were there any Hopes left of ſaving* Carthage, *I would ſerve her with the ſame Zeal, with which I have hitherto poſtponed her Ruin. But the Obſtinacy of the* Romans *in beſieging her, makes her Deſtruction inevitable; and therefore it is our Buſineſs to ſecure ourſelves from the common Ruin. The Conſtancy of the Beſiegers convinces me, that at laſt the Beſieged muſt ſink. I have therefore taken proper Meaſures to ſerve you and myſelf, and am well aſſured, that the* Pro-Conſul *will receive us among his Troops. Conſult among your ſelves and give me a ſpeedy Anſwer.* Not one of all *Phameas*'s Squadrons would have refuſed to follow him, if one *Hanno*, ſurnamed *The White*, had not debauched ſome Soldiers from him, and carried them to *Nepheris*. The reſt, to the Number of two thouſand two hundred Men, attended their General to the *Roman* Camp, where *Æmilianus* and *Phameas* were received with the Acclamations of the whole Army. Then *Manilius* abandoned the Expedition of *Nepheris* with more Confidence. He was leſs afraid than ever of being purſued in his Retreat, by *Aſdrubal*. *Phameas* and the beſt part of his Cavalry, had now deſerted him. Nevertheleſs the *Pro-Conſul* did not find himſelf free from Danger, at his Return. As he had continued ſeventeen Days before the Place, and his Soldiers had taken Proviſions for a few Days only, he was apprehenſive, that his Troops would be deſtroyed by Famine, in the deſolate Country, through which he was to paſs, for a three Days march. And then he was ſenſible how much he was obliged to *Æmilianus*, for having brought into his Service *Guluſſa* the *Numidian*, and *Phameas* the *Carthaginian.* They, with their *African* Horſes, penetrated into the Continent as far as to a Country called *The Great Gulph*, and brought from thence plenty of Proviſions for the *Roman* Army.

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§. XIX. THE *Conſular* Troops before *Carthage* were both augmented, and had received freſh Stores of Proviſions, when the News came, That the [23] *Conſul Calpurnius Piſo* was ſailed from the Ports of *Italy*, with the *Prætor Hoſtilius Mancinus*; and that the one was to command the Land-Army, and the other the Fleet. Upon theſe Reports, *Manilius* thought it time to ſend to *Rome*, *Æmilianus* and *Phameas*, one to be preſent at the Elections for the next Year; and the other to be preſented to the Senate, to receive the Honours and Rewards he deſerved. The *Pro-Conſul* in the Letter he wrote to the Senate, did Juſtice to both theſe brave Officers. He acknowledged that he was indebted to the Counſels and Bravery of *Æmilianus* for all the Succeſſes of the Campaign. He gave an Account of the glorious Negotiation of the *Roman* in *Numidia*, of the wiſe Diviſion he had made of that great Kingdom between the three Brothers, of the Engagements he had induced *Guluſſa* to enter into in the *Roman* Armies, and of the Addreſs of the *Tribune*, in gaining over *Phameas* to the Intereſt of the Republick. Nevertheleſs theſe Letters contained but a very faint Repreſentation of that general Eſteem the whole Camp had for *Æmilianus*. Officers and Soldiers were all in a Commotion when they heard of his Departure. There was not a *Legionary*, who did not give his Family, by his Letters, an high Encomium on the generous *Tribune*, whoſe Glory, they ſaid, ſurpaſſed that of the *Conſuls*. And on the Day of his embarking eſpecially, they gave very ſenſible Proofs of a ſincere Affection for him. All the Troops conducted him to his Ship, and prayed the Gods to bring him back ſoon to *Africa*, in quality of *Conſul*. They, by I know not what Inſtinct, as it

23 The *Calpurnian* Family, though *Plebeian*, was one of the moſt conſiderable Families in *Rome*. By the ancient Authors and Medals it appears, that there were three Branches in this Family; the *Piſo's*, the *Beſtia's*, and the *Bibuli*.

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were unanimouſly foretold, That *Carthage* could not be deſtroyed, but by a *Scipio*, and That Heaven deſigned *Æmilianus* for that great Work. And it is eaſy to judge what Reception he had from the Senate. He carried *Phameas* to the Senate-houſe, and cauſed extraordinary Marks of Diſtinction to be paid to the *Carthaginian*. The *Conſcript Fathers* made him ſit in their auguſt Aſſembly; he had a Right given him to wear the *Prætexta* and Buckle, and the *Bulla Aurea*; and he was preſented with the Habit of the firſt *Roman* Magiſtrates. In order firſt to ſettle him among the *Knights*, the Republick gave him an Horſe with rich Trappings, a complete Suit of Armour, and a fine Tent. She alſo aſſigned him four hundred thouſand *Seſterces* out of the publick Treaſury; and a Set of Silver-plate was made for him, of a hundred Pounds weight. And laſtly, the Praiſes that were liberally given him for his paſt Services, were great Motives to induce him to do more for the Republick. Thus the Senate honoured *Scipio*, in one of his Creatures.

AND whilſt *Æmilianus* was receiving the Applauſes of *Rome*, and beginning to make his Intereſt, in order to be choſen into ſome *Curule* Dignity the next Year, the *Conſul, Calpurnius Piſo*, and the *Prætor Mancinus* arrived in *Africa*, to continue the War there. Whether theſe Generals, being more timorous than their Predeceſſors, deſpaired of being able to take *Carthage*, or whether they had a Mind to diſtinguiſh themſelves by an oppoſite Conduct to that of *Marcius* and *Manilius*, is not known. But be that as it will, they formed a very different Plan for the Campaign from that of the preceding *Conſuls*. They thought, that inſtead of obſtinately purſuing the Siege which was begun, it would be more for their Advantage, to take the Cities on the Coaſt one after another, and leave the Capital to itſelf. *Clupea* [24] was the firſt Place they attacked. It had a Port in the *African* Sea, and might be beſieged by a Fleet, and Land-Forces, at the ſame time. But it was defended with Valour: So that the firſt Attempt of the *Conſul* was unſucceſsful. He retired full of Confuſion; and then he went to vent his Rage on a City newly built, and therefore called [25] *Neapolis*. Its Inhabitants had had a Safeguard from the *Romans*, and had never broken the Neutrality they profeſſed. Nevertheleſs *Piſo* ordered his Soldiers to plunder their Houſes, and take their Effects. An Action more worthy of a Barbarian, than a *Roman Conſul!* And accordingly, whether it were that Heaven would puniſh his Perfidiouſneſs; or that a General who has once been defamed for Breach of Faith, loſes his Credit and the Confidence of the Nations; his Arms never proſpered after. He in vain beſieged [26] *Hippagreta*, the whole Summer. This maritime City found much Employment for the *Roman* Fleet and Army. The *African* Corſairs were continually cruiſing upon the Sea, and took many of the *Conſul*'s Ships and Convoys. They enriched themſelves at the Expence of the *Romans*, and the Hopes of Profit, made theſe Pirates more audacious, than the Deſire of Revenge. On the Land-ſide, the Garriſon of *Hippagreta* often agreed to make Sallies with that of *Carthage*; and the *Conſul* always had the Diſadvantage, In ſhort, *Piſo* was forced to carry back his Fleet and Army to the Port, and Fields of *Utica*, to winter there; without having performed one valiant Action, during the whole Campaign.

App. in Punic. N. 66. *Zonaras, B.* 9.

App. in Punic. N. 67.

§. XX. ALL the World agreed, that ſince the Departure of *Æmilianus*, the Affairs of *Rome* declined in *Africa*. He was deemed the *Achilles*, to whom the Deſtruction

24 The Ancients, as *Polybius*, *Strabo*, and *Hirtius*, place *Clupea* towards the South-Coaſt, which belongs to the Kingdom of *Tunis*. See what we have ſaid of this City, *Vol.* 2.

25 The Geographers mention two Cities of *Neapolis* in *Africa*. That here ſpoken of is now only a Caſtle which the Natives have named *Nabel*, according to *Marmol*. It was near *The Promontory of Mercury*, ſixty five Miles from *Carthage*, between *Curubis*, or *Calipia*, and *Clupea*. The ſecond *Neapolis*, which *Ptolomy* calls *The Great Leptis*, ſtood in the Province of *Tripoli*, on the Coaſt of the *Mediterranean*, between the *Great* and *Little Syrtis*, to the Weſt. It is yet in being, is called *Lepes*, or *Lebeda*, according to *Sanſon*, and ſtands a hundred Miles from *Tripoli*, near the Mouth of the *Cinyphus*, or the *Magra*.

26 This City which *Appian* only calls *Hippagreta*, is the ſame which the Ancients call *Hippo Diarrhytos*, to diſtinguiſh it from *Hippo Regius*. We ſhall not repeat what we have ſaid of theſe two Cities in the preceding Volumes. *Solinus* pretends that they were both built by *Greeks*. But we cannot find in any Author, that the *Greek Colonies* ever penetrated ſo far. We rather believe *Saluſt*, who ſays, *Hippo* was founded by the *Phœnicians*. We know that ſeveral Swarms of thoſe People had ſettled on theſe Coaſts. The City here ſpoken of is called *Hippuacra* by *Stephen of Byſantium*, and its Inhabitants *Hippacritæ*. Whence *Appian* probably, by Corruption formed the Term *Hippagreta*.

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ſtruction of *Carthage* had been promiſed, as that of *Troy* formerly was to the Son of *Peleus*. Whilſt he continued unactive the Enemy gained Strength, and even a Superiority. And indeed *Carthage* did get Breath during his Abſence, and even had Thoughts of procuring herſelf new Reinforcements. *Bythias*, one of the Officers of the *Numidian* Cavalry had already left *Guluſſa* and the *Romans*, and gone over to the *Carthaginians* with nine hundred Men which he had debauched. This was ſome ſort of Reparation for the Loſs they had had in *Phameas*. *Micipſa* alſo and *Manaſtabal* did not appear to have the ſame Affection for *Rome* as formerly. They delayed ſending her the Succours of Men and Money which they had promiſed. The *Carthaginians* overran *Africa* with Impunity, and came even to the Cities that ſubmitted to the Government of *Rome*. It was there reported that *Rome* had loſt her Strength and Credit, and that her Repulſe before *Hippagreta* was a manifeſt Proof of her Weakneſs. Beſides, the Sea was open before *Carthage*. Her Ships were at Liberty to ſail out of Port, and viſit the Coaſts of the *Levant*.

And as the *Carthaginian* Republick well knew that *Andriſcus* ſet up for King of *Macedon*, and wanted Succours to ſupport him in his Uſurpation, ſhe ſent a Deputation to him, which tended to promote his Enterpriſe. *We acknowledge you*, ſaid the Ambaſſadors of *Carthage* to him, *to be a true Deſcendant of the Kings of* Macedon. *Your Courage ſhews your Deſcent; You have vanquiſhed the* Romans. *What other Proof need we have of your being of the Blood Royal! Who can expreſs the Joy which the Defeat of the* Prætor Juventius *gave to all the Nations, who have long ſince groaned under the Yoke of the Tyrants of the World! You and the* Carthaginians *are labouring to ſhake it off. Since then we have one common Intereſt, let the indiſſoluble Ties of a mutual Alliance unite us together. The Sea that divides us, will not hinder us from keeping up a Communication, and ſending each other mutual Succours.* Hannibal *and your Uncle* Philip *entered into a League which made* Rome *tremble; and if ours ſhould be more laſting it will be more ſucceſsful. Let us make War jointly, and never leave off, but by mutual Conſent. This is what we expect from you. For our Parts we will aſſiſt you with our Wealth, and our Fleets. We will leave nothing undone to preſerve you from the Chains of the* Romans, *and to hinder you from being reduced, as your Brothers were, to the Condition of the vileſt Artizans.* And though the Hiſtorians have not told us the Anſwer of the *Macedonian*, it may well be preſumed, that he accepted Offers which obliged him to nothing, except to continue a War, which was uſeful indeed to the *Carthaginians*, but abſolutely neceſſary to himſelf who had begun it.

Thus *Carthage* enjoyed a Moment's Tranquillity; but Ambition ſoon divided the Chiefs of the *African* Republick. Two Generals commanded the Troops there; one within the City, and the other without. They had both one Name, *Aſdrubal*; but nevertheleſs ſeem to be of different Extractions. Among the *Carthaginians* Names were not conveyed from Father to Son, and made to diſtinguiſh Families. But be that as it will, the *Aſdrubal* who commanded in *Carthage* was the Son of a Daughter of *Maſiniſſa*; and conſequently was Nephew to King *Guluſſa*, who was devoted to the *Romans*: And the other *Aſdrubal* made this a Pretence to deſtroy his Rival. Though he had already under his Command the Army which was encamped without the City, to guard it; he was alſo ambitious of commanding thoſe in the City, and of being ſole General of all the Forces of his Country. The ſhorteſt way to gain this Point, was to deſtroy his Competitor by a falſe Accuſation. To this end he firſt raiſed Suſpicions in the Minds of the chief Senators, concerning the Fidelity of the Governor of *Carthage*. *He is* Guluſſa's *Nephew*, ſaid he; *and* Guluſſa *is a zealous Friend to our Enemies.* After he had inſtilled this Prejudice, he pointed out to them Marks of a ſecret Perfidiouſneſs in the moſt regular Conduct of the Governor. Till at length it was openly ſaid, that *Aſdrubal* was going to betray the City, and was entered into a Negotiation to deliver it up to his Uncle. The Accuſation was brought before the Senate of *Carthage*, where the Accuſed was; and as he was not prepared to anſwer to the Queſtions put to him, and Innocence often expreſſes itſelf more by Surprize than Words, he held his Peace. His Silence was taken for Conviction; and the Senators inſtantly caught up the Seats on which they ſate, threw them at his Head, and diſpatched him, without giving him time to juſtify himſelf. The Body of the Governor

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vernor lay dead in the midſt of the Hall; and his Calumniator took the Place of him whom he had deſtroyed. When therefore we ſhall come to treat again of the Siege of *Carthage*, which will ſoon be renewed, we ſhall acknowledge only the ſurviving *Aſdrubal* to be Governor of the Place, and thereby avoid the Confuſion, which the Sameneſs of the Names has cauſed in Hiſtory.

§. XXI. Notwithſtanding her Engagement with *Andriſcus*, *Carthage* could not prevent the Ruin of this new King of *Macedon*. He ſunk under the Efforts of *Rome*, and loſt the Crown almoſt as ſoon as he had uſurped it. Indeed, the falſe *Philip*, in effect, made no other uſe of the Advantage he had had the laſt Year, than to haſten his own Deſtruction. He entered *Theſſaly* with more Fury than ever, committed terrible Devaſtations there, and the Hopes of Pillage drew a great Number of *Thracians* thither.

THE Deſolation of this fruitful Country, which had ever been ſo faithful to the *Romans*, obliged their Republick not to delay ſupporting the *Theſſalians*, and revenging their Cauſe. *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* had been nominated [27] *Prætor* in the laſt *Comitia*, and *Macedon* had fallen to his Lot. It was therefore his Buſineſs to revenge the Affront *Rome* had received in the Perſon of his Predeceſſor; and he embarked with a *Prætorian* Army, and landed in *Greece*. At the ſame time, King *Attalus*, (the Son of *Eumenes*) who inherited the Affection of his Forefathers for the *Romans*, appeared with his Fleet on the Coaſt of *Theſſaly*. *Andriſcus* was terrified with this *Apparatus* for the War which threatened him; and being obliged to keep near the Sea, poſted himſelf in the Neighbourhood of *Pydna*, and ſent a part of his Troops to *Theſſaly* to defend his Conqueſts. His Dependence was on his Cavalry, which were more numerous and better mounted than thoſe of the *Prætor*. Nevertheleſs *Metellus* penetrated into *Macedon*, and drew near to *Pydna*. The firſt Battel he fought was with the *Macedonian* Squadrons, which had all the Advantage. But *Andriſcus* was fearful of his Infantry, and durſt not at firſt hazard a general Action. However, at length becoming more proud upon his firſt Victory, he had the Boldneſs to run the Hazard of a pitched Battel; and he had the ſame Succeſs which the *Macedonian Phalanxes* had always had, when they fought the *Roman Legions* in the open Field. *Philip* was beaten, and retired in Diſorder into *Thrace* with his Troops. And whilſt he was there aſſembling new Troops and raiſing a new Army, the Conqueror returned to *Theſſaly*, forced the reſt of the *Macedonian* Party there to ſurrender at Diſcretion, and again became Maſter of the Places which *Philip* had conquered.

IN the mean time, the falſe *Philip* recovered Breath in *Thrace*, gained Strength there, and nothing could put an end to the Impoſture he was carrying on, but his Death or Captivity. *Metellus* therefore purſued him to the Place of his Retreat. Deſperate Adventures are often neceſſary for Impoſtors, who cannot conceal their Shame by any thing, but the Glare of Succeſs: So that *Philip* without Heſitation fought a ſecond Battel. And here *Metellus* made a terrible Slaughter of theſe new Levies which the King had tumultuouſly aſſembled among the *Thracians*. It is ſaid, that in the two Battels, he left twenty five thouſand of his Men dead on the Spot. Nevertheleſs the Author of all theſe Misfortunes eſcaped again out of the Fray, and fled to one of the petty Kings of the Country for Refuge. His Name was, according to ſome, *Byra*, or as others, *Bizus*; and this petty Sovereign, doubtleſs for fear of drawing on him all the Reſentments of *Rome*, delivered up the pretended King of *Macedon* into the Hands of *Metellus*. What Joy was this for the *Romans*, and what Glory for the *Prætor*! He put the falſe *Philip* in Chains, and ſent him to *Rome* where he was carefully kept in Priſon, till *Metellus* returned to the Capital to triumph. *Macedon* ſubmitted to the Conqueror; and the *Prætor* had nothing more to do, than to drive out a new Cheat. This was a falſe *Alexander*, who, in Imitation of the falſe *Philip*, ſaid, that he alſo was one of the Sons of *Perſes*. He had already aſſociated to himſelf a Company of Profligates, and ſeized that Country in *Thrace*, which is watered by the River *Neſtus*. But *Metellus* needed only to appear there. He ſoon diſperſed this Mob, and forced them

27 We have obſerved in the Preface, upon the Teſtimony of *Florus*, that the Conqueror of the falſe *Philip* was then *Conſul*. But now more authentick and more certain Teſtimonies oblige us to alter our Opinion in that Particular. *Cæcilius Metellus* who had the Glory of finiſhing the laſt *Macedonian* War, commanded there, only in quality of *Prætor*.

to fly to the Extremities of *Dalmatia*. A ſtrange Blindneſs in the *Macedonians*, who ſquandered away their Lives and Eſtates, in favour of two Knights-errant, who vented Fables among them, which were too readily believed, and not ſearched into, till it was too late! But after the Defeat of the two Impoſtors, *Metellus* did not immediately leave *Greece*. His Preſence was neceſſary there, to guard againſt, or maintain, a new War; the Seeds of which began to bud forth in *Achaia*, at the time when *Rome* was moſt buſy before *Carthage*, whither the Courſe of our Hiſtory now naturally leads us.

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§. XXII. THE News of the Reconqueſt and Pacification of *Macedon*, raiſed the *Romans* a little out of that general Dejection into which they had fallen. Their Republick was the more affected with her ill Succeſſes in the laſt two Years, for having been ſcarce ever accuſtomed to any thing but Shouts of Victory and Songs of Triumph. The Inſults ſhe had received from *Carthage*, which had been treated ill to no purpoſe, the Loſs of the Glory of her Arms in *Africa*, the Revolt in *Spain* (now greater than ever under *Viriathes*, who had gained the Aſcendant over all the *Prætors* that had been ſucceſſively ſent againſt him) and laſtly, the Diverſion that was ready to be given to the *Roman* Arms in *Achaia*, where the firſt Sparks of a civil War began to break out, all this much damped the Joy that the Victory of *Metellus* had raiſed. It was conſidered, That the Republick wanted great Generals; and That the higheſt Offices were beſtowed by Favour, and not with a due Regard to Merit. The People who were leſs ambitious than the Senate, generally ſpeaking, judged better of the Perſons that were fit to be put at the Head of Armies; and it was generally ſaid, in the *Citizens* Families, that *Æmilianus* was the only General who could repair the Shame of the Republick. The People called to mind the Prediction of *Cato*, when he was almoſt dying, That none but a *Scipio* could deſtroy *Carthage*. Every one read over the Letters he had received from *Africa*, in which the *Legionaries* expreſſed their earneſt Deſire to have *Æmilianus* at their Head, as ſoon as poſſible. And his paſt Actions and preſent Conduct ſpoke more highly in his Favour, than his Clients or Friends. He was modeſt in the midſt of Applauſe; and carried not his Pretenſions beyond the Rank, to which a Man of his Age might legally aſpire. Being but thirty ſeven Years of Age he aimed at nothing more than the *Ædileſhip*; which was only the firſt Step to the ſuperior Offices. Nevertheleſs the People had Thoughts of raiſing him higher than he himſelf propoſed. When the *Comitia* were aſſembled in the *Campus Martius*, all the *Tribes* ſeemed to incline to give their Suffrages for *Æmilianus*. Then the *Conſul Poſtumius Albinus*, who preſided in the Aſſembly, remonſtrated to the People, That the Laws were againſt what they inclined to; That in the Year 574 it had been enacted, that no Perſon ſhould be choſen *Conſul* till he was forty three; and That it would be doing Injury to his illuſtrious Competitors, who were of a competent Age, to prefer a young Man before them, and raiſe him at once to the higheſt Degree. A great Number of Senators joined with the *Conſul*; but the *Tribunes of the People* were for the Multitude, who were for electing *Æmilianus*. *The Field of Mars* reſounded with the Clamours of the Senate and People; and the Diſpute did not ceaſe, till one of the *Tribunes* threatened *Poſtumius* to deprive him of his Preſidentſhip, if he did not acquieſce in the Will of the Commons. *It was to the People only*, ſaid he, *and not the Senate, that* Romulus *and* Servius Tullius *gave the Right of electing the Heads that are to govern us*. Then the Noiſe and the Diſpute ceaſed. *Æmilianus* was the firſt Perſon who had the pecular Privilege of having the *Vilian* Law diſpenſed with in his Favour; and this Precedent had no ill Conſequences. He was proclaimed *Conſul* by a Majority of Suffrages; and the Collegue given him was *C. Livius Druſus*, a Man of a *Plebeian*, but illuſtrious Family.

App.; *Zonar.*; *Val. Max.*; *Epit. Liv.*; &c.

Cicero in Lælio, c. 3.

THEN *Livius* claimed *Africa* for his Province, and diſputed it with the only Man, for whom *Rome* deſigned it. But at length he gave Way upon the Remonſtrances of one of the *Tribunes of the People*. The latter convinced him, That he could never prevail over a Collegue, in favour of whom *Rome* had diſpenſed with the Laws, purely that he might finiſh the *Carthaginian* Expedition: So that *Æmilianus*, without drawing Lots, was nominated Succeſſor to *Piſo* in *Africa*, by a Decree of the Senate and People. And by the ſame Decree, Leave was given the young *Conſul* to raiſe as many Levies in *Rome* as were neceſſary to make his Army

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as complete as it had been, when it firſt ſailed from the Ports of *Italy*. *Æmilianus* was alſo permitted to take as many Voluntiers with him as he pleaſed, and had a Power to demand Succours, in the Name of the Republick, of all the Kings and Nations her Allies. Theſe many Diſtinctions with which he was honoured, were preſſing Motives to him not to fruſtrate the Expectations of his Country. He prepared for his Departure, and ſet ſail firſt for *Sicily*, and from thence for *Africa*. The *Prætor Serranus*, to whom the Command of the Fleet had fallen, followed immediately after the *Conſul*, and came to ſucceed *Mancinus*, an Admiral of little Ability, who had not ſignalized himſelf by any one Exploit. *Æmilianus* took on board with him *Polybius*, and *Lælius*, who was to ſerve him in quality of Lieutenant General. This *Lælius* was the Son of him of the ſame Name, whom the firſt *Scipio* had ſo tenderly loved, admitted to ſo great a Share of his Confidence, and ſo uſefully employed. The ſecond *Scipio*, in Imitation of his Grandfather, entered into as ſtrict or ſtricter Friendſhip with *Lælius* the Son, as the firſt *Scipio* did with his Father. This *Roman* had diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much by his Virtue, that he had no other Surname but that of [28] *The Wiſe*. His Underſtanding was ſolid, and well cultivated. It was ſaid, that *Æmilianus* and He, were the Authors of the Plays which appeared under the Name of the Poet *Terence*. From two ſuch Friends *Æmilianus* juſtly expected to receive Aſſiſtance, Comfort, and Entertainment, in his Labours.

App. in Punic. N. 69. *Zonar. B.* 9.

§. XXIII. The new *Conſul* entered into the Port of *Utica*, towards the Cloſe of the Day; and it ſeemed as if the Winds and Waves had brought him into *Africa* at that particular Time, on purpoſe to reſcue a conſiderable part of the *Roman* Army out of imminent Danger. During *Piſo*'s Abſence, who had penetrated far into the inland-Country with his Army, *Mancinus* had ventured to make an Attempt on a Place ſo near *Carthage*, that it might have paſſed for one of its Suburbs. This Place was called *Megalia*, and ſeems to have been ſurrounded with Walls; but its beſt Defence was its Situation. It was built on a Rock encompaſſed by the Sea on both Sides, and conſequently was very difficult of Acceſs; they who were in it could not come out, without croſſing Precipices. Nevertheleſs, with the Aſſiſtance of his Fleet, *Mancinus* penetrated into it by the Help of the ſcaling Ladders he planted on his Gallies. He entered *Megalia* with five hundred of his Marines, and made a Lodgment there. Then the *Carthaginians*, as ſoon as they perceived that this Poſt which they thought impregnable had been taken by the *Romans*, opened the Gate that anſwered to it, to drive away the Enemy. A Body of *Carthaginians* made a Sally through the Gate; and *Mancinus* repulſed them, and forced them to return back into their City with Loſs.

But this Battel could not be fought on the Rock of *Megalia*, without the *Roman* Fleet's hearing the Shouts, and the clattering of the Arms. Inſtantly therefore near three thouſand Men, Rowers and Seamen, ſome armed, others unarmed, left their Ships, and climbed up the Rock: And hitherto nothing was ever more ſucceſsful than the *Prætor*'s Expedition. He had executed his Enterprize with Courage; but had wanted Foreſight. It is to little purpoſe to ſeize a Poſt, if Neceſſaries are not provided for the Aſſailants to maintain themſelves in it: And *Mancinus* ſaw the Danger into which he had brought himſelf, when it was too late. He was forced to ſpend the Night without Proviſions of any ſort, and with a great Number of Men, who were continually expoſed to the Sallies of a numerous Garriſon, which as ſoon as Day broke would fall upon them. What then could he do in this melancholy Situation? He could not poſſibly retire and return to his Fleet. He was ſurrounded with Precipices on all Sides. He therefore reſolved to ſend away in the Evening a light Boat to *Utica*, with a Letter to *Piſo*, whoſe Departure he was ignorant of, or whom he thought returned. The Letter did not arrive till Midnight, and inſtead of *Piſo*, was given to *Æmilianus*, who had been landed but a few Hours.

28 This *Caius Lælius* was the Son of the firſt *Caius Lælius*, the faithful Friend of *Scipio Africanus*, and his inſeparable Companion in his military Expeditions. He was united to *Scipio Æmilianus* by the moſt tender Friendſhip. During his Youth, he was inſtructed by *Panæſius* and *Diogenes the Stoic*, two of the moſt famous Philoſophers of that Time. His extenſive and ſublime Genius, improved with the fineſt Parts of Learning, his exquiſite Taſte for Poetry, and all kinds of Literature, his Erudition, and his Eloquence, are deſervedly extolled by *Cicero*, eſpecially in his Book entituled *Brutus*, and his ſecond Book *De Finibus*.

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The Danger of *Mancinus* and his Men affected the *Conſul*. He was ever very deſirous of reſcuing unfortunate *Citizens* out of Danger, and had already merited more than one *Civic* Crown. And he therefore took the proper Meaſures to extricate the *Prætor* out of the Danger into which he had brought himſelf by his ill Conduct. In the firſt Place *Æmilianus* aſſembled, by Sound of Trumpet, all the Troops he had brought from *Italy*. Then he joined with them all the Militia the City of *Utica* could furniſh, put all the Proviſions and Ammunition he could on board the Fleet that brought him, and diſpatched Couriers to *Piſo* to inform him of his Arrival, and to order him to draw near to *Carthage*.

When his Soldiers were embarked, *Æmilianus* ordered them to draw themſelves up in Battalia on the Decks of their Ships, that they might appear numerous to the Enemy. Then he weighed Anchor, and ſailed towards *Carthage*. His Fleet appeared very ſeaſonably before the Capital about ſix in the Morning. *Mancinus* and his *Romans* were hard preſſed by the *Carthaginians*, who had ſallied out of the City in great Numbers; and the *Prætor*, in order to ſell their Lives, which he deſpaired of ſaving, very dear, drew up the Soldiers and Seamen in a Circle, within which he included thoſe, who being ill-armed, could not ſuſtain any Attacks. There were ſcarce any among them in a Condition to fight, but the five hundred Men which *Mancinus* had firſt brought into *Megalia*. The three thouſand others who came thither upon the firſt Noiſe, in a manner without Reflection, and without Arms, were an uſeleſs Body; and *Mancinus* and his Company having been repulſed, had very like to have been tumbled down a Precipice which he had behind him.

ÆMILIANUS, before he left *Utica*, had taken the Precaution to releaſe ſome Captives to go to *Carthage*, to carry the News of his landing in *Africa*, and of his bringing all his Fleet to the Deliverance of the *Romans*, ſhut up in *Megalia*. This News was confirmed by the Preſence of the *Conſul*, whoſe Fleet appeared at Sea laden with a great Army. Then their bare Fear of the Name of a Grandſon of the Great *Scipio*, deprived the *Carthaginians* of all Courage. They now fought but faintly, and at length retired within their Walls. By this means the *Conſul* had Time and Liberty to bring back the three thouſand five hundred Men on board his Ships; and then he immediately ſent back *Mancinus* to *Rome*. The latter gave up the Command of the Fleet to the *Prætor M. Attilius Serranus*, who was juſt arrived; and *Piſo*, without Delay, brought his *Legions* into the Neighbourhood of *Carthage*. There *Æmilianus* firſt took upon him the Command of the *Roman* Army. All the Camp received *Piſo*'s Succeſſor with Applauſes, and promiſed themſelves great Succeſs, under a General who began his Victories with ſaving the Lives of a great Number of *Romans*.

§. XXIV. As ſoon as *Æmilianus* was in Poſſeſſion of the Command, he revived the Schemes of *Marcius* and *Manilius*. He thought the total Reduction of *Africa* depended ſolely on the taking of *Carthage*: So that without loſing time in taking the leſſer Cities one after another, he turned all his Forces againſt the Capital. He pitched his Camp at a proper Diſtance from it, and began with inveſting it, before he renewed the Siege. The *Africans* on the other hand made it their whole Buſineſs to ſecure their Capital, and tranſported all their Forces thither. *Aſdrubal*, now ſole Commander within and without the City, left his old Port at *Nepheris*, and encamped almoſt under the Walls of *Carthage*. By that means it was more eaſy for him, to give Orders to the Garriſon, to appoint the Incurſions into the Continent, and to guard the Convoys that were to be brought from the inland Country. He filled his new Camp with eight thouſand Foot, and a thouſand Horſe, the Command of which he gave to the Deſerter *Bythias* the *Numidian*; and their Preparations employed both the Beſieged and the Beſiegers, for ſome time.

During this ſhort Inaction, *Æmilianus* did little more than endeavour to revive Diſcipline among his Soldiers. The Contempt they had had for the preceding *Conſuls*, had made them negligent in their Obedience, and leſſened that Deference for their Generals, which is the Soul of Armies. It was neceſſary therefore to bring the *Legionaries* into Subjection, before he could overcome the Enemy. Idleneſs had got Ground in the *Roman* Camp; where, if the Soldiers were at all active, they made it their Buſineſs not ſo much to fight the Enemy, as pillage their Fields. *App. in Punic. N.* 70.

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Fields. Notwithſtanding the Law that forbad the Soldiers going beyond the Sound of Trumpet from the Camp, the greateſt Number broke into the Enemies Country, without Orders, plundered the Farms, and made the covetous Merchants follow them, who bought at low Prices what theſe *Banditti* had taken by Violence. Hence Quarrels and Duels among the Soldiers about dividing their Booty: Hence their Negligence in military Labours: And laſtly, Hence the Vices that follow Opulence, and the Licentiouſneſs of the Soldiery. The General therefore thought it neceſſary to ſuppreſs that Licentiouſneſs, before he could expect to employ them with Succeſs. To that end he aſſembled them, and addreſſed himſelf to them thus. *I ſerved here, before I came to command; and if you have not utterly forgotten my Conduct, you muſt do me Juſtice with Regard to my Submiſſion, and the Reſpect I paid the* Conſuls *who governed us. I acknowledged the Authority of the whole Republick to be inveſted in them, and revered it in their Perſons. Whilſt* Marcius *and* Manilius *commanded us, both you and I were kept within the Bounds of our Duty. But they diſappeared, and afterwards a Licentiouſneſs was introduced among the Troops they left on this Shore. I am aſhamed to ſay it, but I am under a Neceſſity of doing it. The* Roman *Army is now become only an Aſſembly of Robbers, who are more inquiſitive after Booty than Glory. There are more Merchants among you, who come to make Profit of your Robberies, than Soldiers who conſider their Engagements by Oath to ſerve their Country. Theſe vile Men are inſatiably covetous; and yet you ſhew more Regard to their Deſires, than the Orders of your Commanders. In order to gratify their Avarice, you march out of the Camp at all Hours of the Day and Night; and make long and dangerous Excurſions. You lay waſte the neighbouring Fields; which produces a Scarcity in the* Roman *Camp; and the Troops are continually diminiſhed. I have loſt more Men by your Duels with one another, than by the Sword of the Enemy. Nevertheleſs, the Laws empower me to puniſh paſt Licentiouſneſs, and to eſtabliſh Order by Examples of Severity. But the Gods forbid, that the Axes of my* Lictors *ſhould puniſh Crimes, which may be repaired by Repentance and a ſpeedy Amendment! Our Buſineſs ought to be to provide for the future, and forget what is paſt. Let us then go to the Root of the Evil. Let this extraordinary Multitude of Sutlers who infect the Camp, be obliged to leave it before Night! Let no more remain than we order, and the* Quæſtors *approve of; and let them be only employed in bringing us, if they pleaſe, neceſſary Proviſions from Abroad! We will take care to regulate their Traffick. And as for* Legionaries, *a noble part of the* Roman *Soldiery, Fix your Eyes upon me. Regulate your Conduct by mine. You ſhall find me very liberal in rewarding Valour; but as ready to puniſh any new Breaches of Diſcipline, as willing to pardon paſt ones.*

All the Camp felt the Impreſſions uſually made on Mens Minds by a lawful Authority, ſupported by a Man of acknowledged Merit; and as the Diſeaſe was not inveterate, it was eaſily cured. *Æmilianus* was Maſter of his Troops, and therefore thought he might now begin the Siege with Succeſs.

§. XXV. He made his firſt Attack on *Megalia*, called by others *Megara*, and by a Poet, *Magalia*; that is, on a Suburbs of *Carthage*, which was the whole City, when it was firſt founded. *Æmilianus* choſe the Night for this Enterprize, and divided his Army into two Bodies, to ſurprize *Megalia*, on two Sides at once. By favour of the Darkneſs, the *Romans* advanced to the Foot of the Rocks; but notwithſtanding their Silence, the Noiſe of the Ladders they planted againſt the Rock, awoke the Garriſon, who made a great Shout, to give the Troops Notice to haſten to their Aſſiſtance. Then *Æmilianus* firſt anſwered the Shout of the Enemy, and after him all the *Roman* Troops returned it. By this he gave the Troops that guarded *Carthage* to underſtand, that all the *Roman* Camp was before *Megalia*; and they kept within their Walls, for fear of a freſh Surprize. After the *Romans* had gained the Top of the Rock, it was neceſſary to climb over the Wall; and this the *Roman* General thought an impracticable thing; inſomuch that he would have deſpaired of being able to get into *Megalia*, if he had not obſerved without the Wall, but very near it, an empty private Houſe, built in the Form of a Tower, and of the ſame Height as the Ramparts. But upon this Sight he inſtantly ordered the moſt active of his Soldiers to ſeize it, get up upon the Roof of it, and from thence throw over a Bridge to the Wall. Whilſt theſe

Orders were executing, *Æmilianus*, attended by *Polybius* and only thirty Men, went to break open one of the Gates of *Megalia*; and got four thouſand Men into this Suburbs of *Carthage*. Thoſe of the *Romans* who got upon the Ramparts by help of the Bridge, joined their General; an Entrance was made upon *Carthage*; and the Poſt taken was of great Importance, if they could have kept it. But they were forced to abandon it, a ſecond time.

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Nevertheleſs, the taking of *Megalia* ſtruck ſo much Terror into the *Carthaginians*, that the Soldiers which guarded this Suburbs and thoſe of the Camp which *Aſdrubal* had pitched under the Walls of the City, retired together for Refuge into the Citadel of *Byrſa*. The Commotion was as great in all the Out-Parts of *Carthage*, as if the Enemy had been already Maſter of the Place. And indeed, the *Conſul* would have advanced nearer to the Wall that divided the City from the Suburbs, if his Time and the Nature of the Ground would have ſuffered him. But it was near Night; and the Ground between him and the Wall was full of Orchards, Ruins, Hedges, Channels, and numberleſs Cuts, fit for Ambuſcades. The General therefore thought it would be raſh to attempt to croſs it. He retired before the Day was cloſed; well ſatisfied with having made himſelf known to the Enemy, and cauſing them to paſs a melancholy Night. *Aſdrubal* who commanded in the City was ſo enraged at the Inſult that had been offered him, that he thought he could not ſufficiently revenge it, without an Exceſs of Cruelty. There were in *Carthage* a great Number of *Roman* Captives, taken in the two Years the War had laſted; and the pitileſs *Aſdrubal* ordered them all to be executed on the Rampart, in ſight of the *Roman* Army. Some had their Noſes and Ears cut off, others their Hands and Feet, and others were Ham-ſtringed. Some had their Eyes and Tongues torn out. Others were fleaed alive: And after numberleſs different Sufferings, they were all thrown from the Top of the Wall into the Ditch. This was extreme Barbarity, and utterly contrary to the Laws of Nations. But it was ſuitable to *Aſdrubal*'s Taſte. Beſides the Pleaſure he took in ſhedding human Blood, in this remarkably inhuman manner; he deſigned by it to render the Enemy utterly irreconcileable, and to ſhew the *Carthaginians*, that they had nothing more to expect from the Clemency of the *Conſul*. But was the Courage of the Beſieged raiſed by their Deſpair of Pardon? No, certainly. They were now more timorous than ever, and ſcarce durſt expoſe themſelves to the Hazards of a Sally. They were afraid that the Enemy which they had exaſperated ſo much, even as to make him mercileſs, would make cruel Reprizals upon them.

§. XXVI. Nay *Aſdrubal* himſelf felt the Indignation of the People and Soldiers, in the City where he commanded. He thought he could not make himſelf Maſter of it, without uſurping a tyrannical Power in his Republick. The Senate had no longer any Authority; nor had the People a Liberty of Suffrage. All things were managed at the Will and Pleaſure of the General; who, ſupported by his Troops, uſurped the ſole Authority. If any Senators made the leaſt Complaint, they were accuſed of Treaſon, and Death was the Reward of their Zeal. By this means all Hearts fainted, and all Arms were in a manner benummed, and uſeleſs: So that when *Æmilianus* came to deſtroy the Camp which *Aſdrubal* had pitched at the Foot of the Wall, and which had been deſerted, no Body had Courage enough to go and defend it. Nor did the *Conſul* find much more Reſiſtance, when he threw up a Ditch before the City, of three thouſand Paces long, croſs the Neck of Land between the City and the Pool, and thereby covered the City on the Land-ſide. Nevertheleſs, as this was the proper means to hinder the Conveyance of any Proviſions into *Carthage* that Way, the Fear of being ſtarved drew a few of the *Carthaginians* out of their Stupefaction. And on the other hand, as this Work of the *Romans* began within reach of the Darts thrown from the City, one part of the *Conſular* Army was employed in the Works, whilſt the other covered and defended the Workmen: So that the Ditch was finiſhed in ſight of the Enemy, who in vain endeavoured to hinder it. Then the *Conſul* threw up a ſecond Ditch parallel to the firſt, and at a proper Diſtance from it. But this Work being farther off from the City, it therefore met with leſs Oppoſition. And laſtly, the *Roman* General joined the two Ditches together, by two others drawn to the right and left, ſo that all four made an exact Square. This was a conſiderable Entrenchment; and *Æmilianus* firſt ſurrounded it with Stakes and Palliſades, and then

Polyb. Zonar.

App. in Punic N. 73.

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with a Wall ſix Foot thick, and twelve Foot high. He alſo guarded the *Courtine* with *Saliant Towers*, at proper Diſtances: So that all things conſidered, this was in effect a new City, which the *Romans* built over-againſt *Carthage*; and ſo near it, that one Angle of the Wall of the one, was within reach of the Darts thrown from the other. And in order to complete this vaſt Work, *Æmilianus* ordered a vaſt large Tower of Stone-work to be built, in the middle of the Square; and upon this Tower was raiſed another of Wood, four Stories high, from the Top of which could be ſeen all that paſſed in the beſieged City. Within this Entrenchment the *Conſul* brought his Troops, lodged them there, and the Square ſerved them for a Camp: So that *Carthage* was ſurrounded on this Side, as it were, by two Lines of Circumvallation, and Contravallation. This gave the Beſieged the higheſt Dread, and made them exceedingly admire the Activity of the *Romans*. It ſeemed impoſſible that they ſhould have finiſhed ſo laborious a Work, in the Space of twenty Days.

THUS to have ſhut up all Avenues whereby Proviſions could be carried into *Carthage* by Land, was much to forward the Surrendry of the Place. Proviſions were already diſtributed there with Oeconomy, and were ſold to the Inhabitants at a great Price. Indeed *Bythias* the Deſerter, uſed his utmoſt Diligence without, to ſupply the Beſieged with Neceſſaries; but as the Waggons could not paſs thro' the Enemy, the Proviſions were put on board Barks at ſome Diſtance from the City, to be by them conveyed into *The Old Port*. And it often happened, that the Winds and the Fear of the *Roman* Ships retarded theſe Convoys.

INDEED, the *Roman* Fleet beſet both the Ports, but at a certain Diſtance from them; for fear of running a-ground, or being injured by the Beams and Stones which the *Balliſtæ* would have thrown at it: So that there was a Paſſage between the large Ships of the *Romans* and the City, through which the Barks with Proviſions might ſlip; but in order to this, they muſt have a brisk Wind which bore in upon the Shore. In the time of a Calm, *Carthage* could not expect to ſee any Ships come with Proviſions. Then the City languiſhed with Want, which after a tedious Delay was no ſooner relieved, but it returned again. Beſides, the Corn which was brought thither with ſo much Difficulty was chiefly diſtributed among the Soldiers, and the Citizens ſuffered extreamly by a Want of Food.

§. XXVII. BUT notwithſtanding the Famine, the *Carthaginians* perſiſted in their Obſtinacy. Some Proviſions were brought to them by Sea, and the Hopes of Gain encouraged the Merchants on the Coaſt to ſend them more. *Æmilianus* therefore ſaw, that the Siege would be protracted to a very great Length, if he could not find means to cut off the Communication between the City and the Sea. And then the Ability of the *Conſul*, and the Obedience of his *Romans*, ſhewed themſelves in the ſtrongeſt Points of Light. They undertook to ſtop up entirely *The Old Port*, and make it inacceſſible to the Merchant Ships. A vaſt Expence, and an immenſe Labour! *Æmilianus* reſolved to raiſe a Mole in the Sea, from the Weſtern Extremity of the Neck of Land of which he was Maſter, to the Entrance into *The Old Port*. This, if we may ſo ſpeak, was ſetting Bounds to *Neptune*'s Empire, and forcing his Waves to retire. The Deſign of this painful Piece of Work, which was the more admirable for being entirely new, was to prevent the *African* Barks from carrying Corn to the City, any way but by *The New Port*, which was guarded by the *Roman* Fleet. In order to compaſs this Point, the *Conſul* firſt ordered great Pieces of Rocks to be thrown into the Sea, which ſerved to break the Impetuoſity of the Waves. Then he laid the firſt Foundations of the Mole he intended to raiſe, by ſinking to the Bottom of the Water great Cut-ſtones, but ſo well joined together, that the Water could not ſeparate them. This firſt *Stratum* was ninety two Foot broad. But as the Work grew narrower in Proportion as it roſe in Height, the Top of it at the Superfices of the Water was but eighty Foot broad; and at length it was carried on, ſo as to ſtop up *The Old Port*. Indeed the Enemy, when they ſaw from their Walls the firſt Attempts of the *Romans*, laughed at them, and made little Oppoſition to them. But at laſt, their Aſſiduity in their Labour, and Conſtancy in ſtruggling with the Waves diſconcerted the Beſieged. They were ſurprized to ſee a Mole riſe out of the Water, and the Continent lengthened by the Induſtry of Men, and carried a great Way into the Sea. Their Admiration was ſoon ſucceeded by Terror, and that Terror by Rage. They ſaw they

Livy in Epit. Zonaras, B. 9. and App. in Punic. N. 74.

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they could receive no more Proviſions by *The Old Port*, and did not expect to receive enough by the *New*. What then could they do? Surrender to the *Conſul*? No; their Love for their Country, and their ſmall remains of Hope ſtill ſupported them. Beſides, they were as much afraid of the Fury of *Aſdrubal*, as of the Vengeance of the *Romans*.

In ſuch Times of Deſpair, People often attempt more than ought in Reaſon to be expected from the Power of Man. And now Emulation prompted, and Neceſſity obliged, the *Carthaginians* to undertake an Enterprize almoſt as difficult as that of the *Romans*. *One of our two Ports*, ſaid they to one another, *is become uſeleſs, and the other is not ſufficient to furniſh us with Neceſſaries for our Subſiſtence. Let us therefore dig a third, which ſhall be ſo expoſed to Winds and Tempeſts, that the Fleet which beſieges us, ſhall not be able to continue long in that Road, and intercept our Proviſions. Nay, let us attempt ſomething ſtill more ſurprizing. Our Enemies have indeed forced us to burn our Ships; but they have not exhauſted our Magazines of Timber, Iron, Cables, Sail-cloth, and Rigging, for building new ones. The building of a Fleet, and digging a Port, are indeed painful Works; but are they more impracticable, than ſetting Fetters on the Sea, and making Land in the middle of the Water? Or ſhall we not dare to do as much to ſave our Lives, as the* Romans *have done to deſtroy us?*

These Diſcourſes which paſſed from Mouth to Mouth, animated all the Citizens of *Carthage*, to aſſiſt their Country in this extreme Neceſſity; and Men, Women, and Children, all helped to carry on the publick Works, according to their Strength and Age. Nevertheleſs, the Artificers and *Citizens* only, ſeem to have been employed in theſe two Works, and not the Soldiers; and there is Reaſon to believe, that they were kept a Secret from the Soldiers. At leaſt it is certain, that it was not known in the *Roman* Camp, on what Works the *Carthaginians* were employed. The *Conſul* could not diſcover it by the Priſoners he took. When examined, they all anſwered, that they had heard from without the City a great Noiſe of Hammers, and Utenſils for removing Ground, Day and Night; but knew not what it meant. A ſtrange Secret! Such a one as would appear utterly incredible, if it were not atteſted by the Hiſtorian, who has given us the moſt particular Account of the Siege of *Carthage*. *App. in Punic. N.* 75.

In as few Days as the *Conſul* had ſpent in raiſing his Mole, the *Carthaginians* dug a Baſon, in the Shore which was expoſed to the North Wind, and large enough to receive Barks laden with Proviſions. And with the ſame Diligence, they built and fitted out, fifty *Triremes*, and a ſufficient Number of *Flutes*, Long-Boats, and Sloops. Then the *Romans* in their turn were much ſurprized to ſee ſailing out from the middle of the Land a Fleet, which ſeemed to be either come down from Heaven, or ſtarted up ſuddenly out of the Water. It advanced out into the Sea, through the new Canal, and appeared in order of Battel, pretty near the Shore. And if it had that inſtant attacked the *Roman* Fleet, the conſtant Tradition is, that it would certainly have taken or burnt it. The *Roman* Admiral and his Officers expected nothing leſs than the Appearance of a *Carthaginian* Fleet: Their Mariners, Rowers, and Seamen, were all a-ſhore, buſy in the Works which the *Conſul* was carrying on, to ſhut up the Place. But the *Carthaginian* Ships only ſhewed themſelves, and after a vain Bravado, retired. Such was *Æmilianus*'s good Fortune! Heaven and Earth may be ſaid to have conſpired to proſper his Virtue. *Florus, B. 2. c. 15.* *App. in Punic. ibid.*

§. XXVIII. It was three Days, before the new *Carthaginian* Fleet appeared again at Sea; and in that Interval, the *Roman* Ships had time to prepare for the Battel. Their Arms were complete, their Soldiers well armed returned to their Poſts, and their Sails were good. Indeed the *Roman* Gallies were heavier than thoſe of *Carthage*; but they were alſo ſtronger, and better ſtored with Combatants. The *Romans* had ſome Squadrons of their Allies with them; and *Sida* [29], a maritime City of *Pamphylia*, had ſent ſome Gallies to aſſiſt the *Conſul*. With theſe Preparations and theſe Reinforcements, the *Prætor Serranus* had little Reaſon to be in any fear about the Fleet he commanded. Nay, he had no Reaſon to expect, that the Enemy would venture to come out of their new Port, with Gallies built in ſuch a Hurry. Nevertheleſs they appeared at Sea by break of Day, and in order of Battel.

29 The City of *Sida* ſtood on the Sea-Coaſt of *Pamphylia*, a Region of *Aſia Minor*. *Molet* and *Candalor* was built upon its Ruins. *Thevet* conjecture, that the preſent little City of

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The *Romans* were too proud, and too sure of Conquest, to refuse the Battel that was offered them. Their Ships advanced in fine Order to meet the Enemy; and as soon as they came within reach of one another, both Parties gave great Shouts which were echoed back from the Shore. The Combatants were animated on one hand by the Desires of saving their Lives and Country, and on the other, by a Love of Glory, and a violent Thirst to exterminate *Carthage*. Both Parties were equal in Animosity, and equally experienced in Sea-Fights. In the first Onset, many Darts were thrown from one Galley to the other, and the Number of the Dead and Wounded was great.

About Noon, the lighter Ships of the *Carthaginians* gained the Wind of the *Romans*. They pursued close after them, killed many Men on their Poops, broke several of their Rudders, and flying from Side to Side, grazed upon the Flanks of some of the *Roman* Ships, and broke their Oars. Nevertheless it may well be imagined, that in this unequal Battel between great Ships, and Boats that had no Advantage but their Lightness, the *Carthaginians* must receive at least as much Damage as their Enemies.

Florus in Epitom. Liv.

One *Latin* Author pretends that the *Africans* were beaten. But be that as it will, the Action lasted a great while after the middle of the Day. And at length the *Carthaginians* thought it would be proper to retire, not that they could not have sustained the Efforts of the Enemy longer, but to preserve Strength enough to renew the Fight the next Day. Nevertheless their Hopes were vain. The Action lasted till Night; and was so warmly renewed in the Evening, as prevented another Action. In short, whilst the largest *Carthaginian* Ships were rowing towards the Port to enter it, the smaller and lighter got before them. The Neck of the Port was narrow; and the Ships that came first endeavouring to enter it all at once, stopped it up, and created a terrible Confusion.

In the mean while, the *Romans* rowed after them; and then the greater *Carthaginian* Ships which could not reach the Port were forced to fight a second time. In order to prepare for it, and supply their want of Numbers by the Advantage of Situation, they drew up in a Line along a Key, the Foot of which was washed by the Sea. Indeed properly speaking, it was an high Mole, built of cut Stone, without the City of *Carthage*, and which served it for a *Fausse-Bray*, or sort of Outwork. A great Number of Merchant-Ships came thither to unlade, and moored their Ships to iron Rings, fastened into the Wall by Cramps of Iron. Upon this Key the Merchandizes were generally landed; but it had lately been defended by a Parapet, for fear the Enemy should seize it. The *Carthaginian* Gallies then placed themselves just before this Terrass, and presented their Prows to the *Roman* Ships, which were coming to fall upon them. The Besieged raised Machines upon the Key, and it was lined with Dartmen: So that the second Fight began in Sight of the City.

App. in Punic. N. 76.

The *Romans* made a large Front with their Ships, and brought them up against those of the *Carthaginians*. The former had the Advantage in this, that they had the Sea behind them to retire to, and to draw back as far as they pleased, in order to return with the more force upon the Gallies which were pent in, and pierce them with their Spurs. But then on the other hand, as the *Triremes* were heavy, they could not well retire without turning their Flanks to the Enemy, and the *Carthaginians* seized that Opportunity to attack, and pierce them on the Sides that presented themselves to them.

It is well known, that all the Strength of the Gallies of the Ancients consisted wholly in their *Prows*, which being armed with long Beaks of Iron or Brass, were driven with Violence against the Enemy's Ships, and made great Holes in them. It was therefore an essential Point in a Sea-fight, never to present any part of the Ship towards the Enemy, except the *Prow*. Nevertheless the *Romans* continued the Attack a great while, though they could not avoid turning their Flanks towards the *Carthaginian* Ships. Hence it was, that they had such Losses, and that their Efforts proved vain.

But we have already observed, that there was in the *Roman* Fleet a Squadron of *Pamphylian* Boats which came from the Port of *Sida*. These Eastern People, who were not so brave as the *Romans*, were more ready and able at inventing Expedients: And they first drew up their light Ships in a Line, at a just Distance from the *Carthaginians*. Then they placed behind them some of their more heavy Ships,

which they fixed ſteady with their Anchors. From the latter their lighter Ships were ſent out, as from their Station, to fall on the *Carthaginian* Ships; but they were faſtened with Cables to theſe Ships that lay at Anchor behind them. By this means, when it was neceſſary for them to retire, after they had ſtruck the Blow, they were drawn back by the Cords fixed to their *Sterns*, by turning them upon Capſtans, and were brought to the Place from whence they ſet out, in order to return again to the Charge: So that as they retired, they ſtill preſented no part of any Ship but the *Prow* towards the Enemy; and the *Roman* Admiral thought this ſo good an Invention, that he reſolved to make uſe of it. He worked his Fleet in the ſame manner, and thereby gained a great Superiority over the Enemy. The Fight laſted till the Night was far advanced, and then the Ships the *Carthaginians* had left retired into their Port. This was a glorious Action, both for the Beſiegers and the Beſieged. More Reſolution, Conſtancy, and Induſtry, could not be ſhewn by Men, than had appeared in both Parties.

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§. XXIX. THE *Conſul* had ſeen this Sea-fight from the Continent, and having obſerved, that the Terraſs which covered the City, on the ſide next the Sea, would be an important Poſt to him, if he could take it, he advanced that way, with his Land-Forces the next Day, in order to attack it. Whether he carried his Soldiers thither in Barks, or marched them along the Road, between the Sea and the Walls of the City, is not ſaid. But this at leaſt is certain, that the *Conſul* carried *Rams* to the Foot of the Mole, battered it all Day, and after he had beat down great part of it, reſolved to attack it the next Day, and depended on making himſelf Maſter of it. A vaſt Advantage indeed, if he could have gained it! This would have put it in his Power to command the Iſland of *Cothon*, and he would have ſhut up the Entrance into one of the Necks of the Port.

FULL of this Hope therefore, the *Roman* General left his Machines at the Foot of the Mole all Night, and continued there himſelf with a Detachment to guard them. But after Sun-ſet, the Beſieged plainly ſaw of what Importance it would be, to defend the Key, and prevent the Enemy's making a Lodgement there; and whilſt they were ſearching for Means to do this, a Company of reſolute Men came and offered to ſet Fire to the Machines of the *Romans*, and deſtroy the Preparations they had made for the next Day's attack: An Enterprize which ſeemed to be beyond the Power of Man. In order to do this, it was neceſſary firſt to ſwim croſs a good part of the Port. There was no reaching the Terraſs in Boats, for the muddy Places which muſt be paſſed over in order to come to it. Beſides, it was by no means proper to ſet out with burning Flambeaux in the Dark, becauſe the Light of them would diſcover the Deſign. But nevertheleſs the Company promiſed to ſurmount all theſe Difficulties. They ſtripped themſelves, went into the Water, and took unlighted Torches in their Hands. Oftentimes they ſwam, and ſometimes the Water was no higher than their Waſtes; and at length they came near enough to the Machines to burn them. Then they ſtruck Fire, and lighted their Torches, and threw them with Fury againſt the *Rams*, to reduce them to Aſhes. Theſe naked Men appeared to the *Roman* Detachment, as ſo many Monſters ſtarted up out of the Sea; and the Fire they had in their Hands ſurprized the *Legionaries*. Nevertheleſs they did not fail to throw their Darts at them, and march to meet them Sword in Hand; ſo that there was a great deal of *Carthaginian* Blood ſhed. Theſe Firemen had neither Arms to attack the Enemy, nor Bucklers to guard themſelves againſt their Blows. Nevertheleſs, they threw themſelves among their Darts like ſo many wild Beaſts. And at length they gained their Point, burnt the Machines, and put the *Romans* to flight, only with their Torches. If the *Conſul*, who was preſent in the Action, had not ordered thoſe of his Soldiers who fled to be killed, they would all have been diſperſed. In ſhort, they returned to the Camp; and the Impreſſions of Fear that had been made upon them were ſo ſtrong, that they continued all Night under Arms.

BUT though the Machines of the *Romans* were burnt, *Carthage* was afraid they would renew the Attack. They were a conſtant People, and did not deſiſt upon the firſt Difficulty: And therefore the *Carthaginians* repaired the Mole in all Haſte, and ſecured it as much as poſſible. They raiſed wooden Towers upon it, and filled them with Soldiers. Nevertheleſs, all this was not enough to diſcourage the *Conſul*. He thought he might turn theſe wooden Buildings, with which the

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Beſieged had guarded the Terraſs, to his Advantage: And in order to ſet Fire to them, and thereby drive away the Enemy, he prepared earthen Veſſels, which he filled with combuſtible Matter, and threw againſt the Towers with his *Balliſtæ*. This ſort of Bombardment was probably made from the Sea, by the Galliots, on which the *Balliſtæ* were raiſed. But be that as it will, the *Romans* took Advantage of the Confuſion the Fire made among the Defenders of the Terraſs, ſcaled it, drove the *Carthaginians* from the Mole, and *Æmilianus* made a Lodgment of four thouſand of his Soldiers upon it.

§. XXX. And now, Winter approached; but nevertheleſs it was neceſſary to keep Poſſeſſion of this advantageous Poſt; and the *Conſul* took care to ſecure his Men againſt the Sallies or Inſults of the Enemy. There was a conſiderable Space of Ground between the Walls of the City and the Key; and *Æmilianus* dug a Ditch there. Nor was this all. He built a Brick Wall all along the Terraſs, as high as the Walls of the City. From both theſe, Darts were mutually thrown, with equal Advantage. Thus *Carthage* was now pent in on the Sea, as well as the Land-ſide. This was the State of the Siege, when the Rigours of the Seaſon obliged the *Romans* to deſiſt from purſuing it till Spring.

But *Æmilianus* did not continue idle in his Trenches during the Rains and Froſts. He made it his Buſineſs, both to procure a Subſiſtence for his own Troops, and to deprive the Beſieged, who were already preſſed with Want, of all their Reſources. He ſent out ſeveral Detachments from his Camp to fetch Corn from the Fields at a great Diſtance; and reſerved himſelf for a more important Enterprize.

The Camp of the Enemy near *Nepheris*, formerly abandoned by *Aſdrubal*, had been repaired under the Command of one *Diogenes*, who might be the *Bythias* beforementioned. This *Diogenes* continually ſent Convoys of Proviſions from thence to the Beſieged by Sea; and they were brought into the new Baſon. To take *Nepheris* then was to deprive *Carthage* of her chief Magazine of Proviſions. The *Conſul Manilius* had twice failed in this Enterprize. Nevertheleſs, *Æmilianus* did not think it above his Strength. He attempted it, and ſucceeded. *Lælius* the *Conſul*'s Friend, and Lieutenant General of his Army, had Orders to keep cloſe to the *Pool*, and lead on a part of the Troops by Land. *Æmilianus* himſelf embarked in the *Pool*, and ſoon came up with his Detachment, which had ſet out ſome Days before him. *Guluſſa*, one of the *Numidian* Kings, was alſo of the Party with his Cavalry and Elephants. At length they arrived within about two *Stadia* from *Diogenes*'s Camp; and perhaps never were a greater Number of People aſſembled in any Trenches, than in thoſe of the *Carthaginian* Commander under *Nepheris*. All the Inhabitants of the Country who could not retire to *Carthage*, had fled to this Camp for Refuge. But this Multitude did not terrify the *Conſul*. He encamped himſelf within reach of the Enemy; deſired *Guluſſa* to watch the Sallies of the *Africans*, and fall upon them with his Horſe; and left the Command of his Camp to *Lælius*. As for himſelf, he divided his Care between the Bulk of his Army which continued before *Carthage*, and thoſe of his Troops which were encamped near *Nepheris*. He was continually running from one to the other, with unparallelled Activity. On one hand, he hindered his Soldiers from making any inconſiderate Attempts upon *Carthage*, during his Abſence; and on the other, he ſtirred up *Guluſſa* and *Lælius*, to take all Advantages that offered.

Liv. in Epit. App. in Punic. N. 78.

§. XXXI. One Day, when he was in *Lælius*'s Camp, he ordered his Machines to be advanced towards *Diogenes*'s Trenches, and battered his Out-works. With their *Rams* the *Romans* beat down two Towers, the Fall of which made two Breaches, large enough to be mounted in Aſſault; and *Æmilianus* commanded the two Attacks in Perſon. The firſt was made by three thouſand choſen Men, who followed one another ſo cloſe, that the firſt could not retire. They therefore penetrated into the Camp, but were immediately inveſted by all the *African* Soldiery, who ran thither to repulſe them. This was the very thing *Æmilianus* had expected; and in order to provide for it, he had placed a thouſand *Legionaries* near the other Breach, who had hid themſelves till further Orders.

Whilst the Battel grew warm at the firſt Attack, *Æmilianus* haſtened to put himſelf at the Head of the thouſand *Romans* who were hid, and continued unactive. With theſe he mounted the ſecond Breach, entered the Camp, broke down the

the Paliſades, and made himſelf Maſter of it. The *Africans* were ſeized with Dread, thinking that the whole *Roman* Army was come to fall upon them; and at length thought a diſorderly Flight their only Refuge. Soldiers and Peaſants, ſome on Foot, and ſome on Horſeback, diſperſed themſelves in the Fields, ſeeking a Retreat. But *Æmilianus* had taken care that very few of them ſhould eſcape. *Guluſſa*, with his Cavalry and Elephants waited for the Fugitives in the Plain, and made a terrible Slaughter of them. If we may credit one *Greek* Hiſtorian, ſeventy thouſand *Africans*, armed, and unarmed, loſt their Lives. The *Romans* made ten thouſand Priſoners of War; and of all this vaſt Multitude only four thouſand eſcaped.

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Thus the Camp in which *Diogenes* commanded was forced; but the City of *Nepheris* was not yet taken. It was, properly ſpeaking, only a Caſtle, ſituated on a Mountain, about twenty three Miles from *Carthage*. Whether *Diogenes*, or ſome other Governor, undertook to defend it, is not known. But this Siege appears to have been protracted longer than the *Roman* General had expected. Its Situation, and the Severity of the Cold, which was moſt ſenſible in a mountainous Country, kept the *Romans* twenty two Days before it. But at length *Æmilianus* reduced it, and as ſoon as he was Maſter of it, took it for granted that the Surrendry of *Carthage* muſt follow. From whence could the Inhabitants of this populous City now have their Proviſions? Indeed ſome Merchant Ships ventured to bring them ſome through numberleſs Dangers; but theſe Convoys were few, and the *Africans* were not ſo zealous for their Capital as formerly: So that the Famine there was extremely great. The Beſieged were ſtarving, and forced to feed on all thoſe things that Nature moſt abhors. *Aſdrubal* only enjoyed Plenty, and thereby in ſome meaſure inſulted the Miſeries of the Publick. He every Day ſate down to a ſumptuous Table, where no Delicacies were wanting. It would have been difficult for the moſt formidable Tyrants in *Greece* to have furniſhed themſelves with a better Table in Times of Peace; and the Luxury of the Governor was alſo accompanied with Pride, and great Barbarity. He without Pity ſaw a People periſhing with Hunger, whoſe Miſeries were wholly owing to himſelf; and if any of them dared to murmur, his Guards immediately diſpatched them. Nothing was to be ſeen in the Streets but dead Carcaſes, or walking Skeletons.

Polyb. in excerptis apud Valeſium.

§. XXXII. Inſomuch, that at length *Aſdrubal* himſelf was ſtruck with the Sight which he had continually before his Eyes; and whether he was afraid of ſome ſudden Revolution, or apprehended that he ſhould ſoon want Proviſions for himſelf, his Wife, and Children, he deſired an Interview with the *Conſul*. But he deſpaired of being able to get Acceſs to him himſelf, after his Cruelty to the *Roman* Captives. And therefore he found out a Way of coming at *Æmilianus*, by the Interpoſition of a Perſon, whom he had not ſo much exaſperated. *Guluſſa* was an *African* Prince whom *Aſdrubal* had not offended, and who beſides had a great deal of Intereſt in the *Roman* General; and it was by him that the *Carthaginian* conveyed his Requeſt to *Æmilianus*. *Aſdrubal* obtained a Conference with the *Numidian*, and appointed the Place of meeting.

Without *Carthage*, in a Place which was divided by ſeveral Cuts or Ditches, *Guluſſa* and *Aſdrubal* met, with thoſe Ditches between them. But in how different a manner! The King of *Numidia* came without a Guard, plainly dreſſed, and unarmed. On the contrary, the Governor of *Carthage* appeared attended by twelve Guards well armed, dreſſed in a Regal Manner, wearing a purple Mantle, and armed with a *Cuiraſs*: And the proud Republican was as haughty in his Conduct, as pompous in his Appearance. He ſtood fixed in his Place, and made Signs to the King to approach him. *Guluſſa* overlooked Ceremony; drew near to the Side of a pretty narrow Ditch, which divided him and *Aſdrubal*; and broke Silence thus.

What Occaſion had you for a Guard, to come to a private Conference, where all things were to be tranſacted in a friendly manner? I was afraid of the Romans, anſwered *Aſdrubal*. *Why then*, replied *Guluſſa*, *did you ſhut yourſelf up in a beſieged City? You commanded an Army in the Country, and might ſtill have avoided them. But to come to the Purpoſe. What do you deſire of me?* Here the Governor appeared Thunderſtruck, and plainly ſhewed his Confuſion, at being forced to have recourſe to the Mediation of an Enemy. *In the Name of our common Gods*, ſaid he

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he to the *Numidian* King, *I desire you to intercede with the* Roman *General. Let him but spare* Carthage, *and suffer it to subsist without demolishing it; and we are ready to submit to any thing else, even to Slavery itself.* *Gulussa* was surprized at this unexpected Request, and answered; *What? Have you no other Proposals to make now that you are oppressed with Famine, and surrounded on all Sides, than what were rejected at* Utica *before the Siege? No, No,* replied *Asdrubal* hastily, *we are not reduced so low as you imagine. Our Allies are arming on all Sides, at Home and Abroad. Our Troops are in a Posture of Defence, and we have the Gods for us. It is for the sake of Religion, and the Temples, that we continue the War; and Heaven is too just to abandon us. Give then the* Consul *to understand, That the Gods have Thunderbolts in their Hands; and That* Fortune *is not always constant. In a Word, we are determined not to survive* Carthage, *but will all perish before we see her demolished.*

GULUSSA could not but be affected with the Fate of one of the finest Cities in the World, and of that great Number of Inhabitants who were destined to perish; and he put an end to the Interview, and promised to appear at the same Place the next Day. When he was returned to the Camp, he gave the *Consul* an Account of the Conversation; and *Æmilianus* laughed at the Demand, the Bravadoes, and the Hopes, of *Asdrubal. If he depended so much on the Protection of the Gods,* said he, *should he have provoked them by violating the Laws of Nations? The Blood of our* Roman *Captives, whom he cruelly massacred, Cries for Vengeance against him.* Then the *Numidian* King plainly perceived that the Reasons of the *Carthaginian* were very weak ones; and took another Method to soften the Heart of the *Consul. Formerly your Grandfather* Scipio, said he, *was mollified by the Entreaties of the* Carthaginians, *and put them again in Possession of their Capital. And I am very ready to grant, that he in a great Measure did this upon Principles of Humanity. But had he not likewise some Regard to his own Interest at the same time? He made all Haste to conclude that Peace with* Carthage, *which humbled without destroying her; because, if I am rightly informed, he was afraid a new* Consul *would, by the Favour of the People, be soon sent, to rob him of the Glory and Fruit of his Labours. This was his Reason for finishing the War before a Successor could come from* Rome *to supplant him. And was he therefore deemed the less worthy of the illustrious Name of* Africanus? *If not; then neither will it be shameful for you, to follow the Steps of the Great* Scipio, *since you have as much Reason to fear a Rival in Glory.*

The King spake thus, because the *Consular* Year was just ready to expire, and the Judgments of the Senate and People were always uncertain. They might possibly be so capricious as to send one of the new *Consuls* to *Africa*; and then the new General, who had deserved nothing of it, would run away with all the Honour of the Siege which was almost finished, the Triumph, and the Surname of *Africanus*. *Æmilianus* therefore, who was not insensible of Glory, hearkened to *Gulussa*'s Advice. He became more ready to come into a Peace; but would upon no Terms give up the Interests of his Country. He knew that it was the Determination of the *Roman* Senate and People, that *Carthage* should be destroyed. And this being granted, he consented to allow the *Carthaginians* favourable Terms. *Asdrubal* had personally deserved his highest Resentments. Nevertheless the *Consul* sent him a Message, which might well have gained him. *Since you are to return again to the same Place to morrow,* said *Æmilianus* to the King, *You may assure the Governor from me, That I will give Life and Liberty to himself, his Wife, and Children; That I will give him leave to carry from* Carthage *ten* Talents *in Effects; and That I will, on his Account, give any ten Families that he shall chose, their Lives and Estates.* *Gulussa* did not doubt but these Offers would be agreeable to *Asdrubal,* and came to the Place of the Conference at the Hour appointed. The Governor also came, and appeared like a true Theatrical King. By his Walk, Dress, and Appearance, one would have imagined, that he was acting the first Part in a Tragedy. He was naturally fat and bulky; his good Plight appeared in his Face; and at this Time, the Ruddiness of his Countenance shewed that he had been regaling himself. He advanced, with very slow Pace, towards the King, who waited for him; and the latter began with, *I bring you good News,* Asdrubal, *I have succeeded.* Which said, he told him, how far the *Consul* had condescended

descended in his Favour; and then the *Carthaginian* fully displayed his foolish Vanity, and his want of Foresight. When he found that nothing was said of suffering *Carthage* to subsist, he assumed the Airs and Gesture of a Bully. *No, No*, cried he, striking hard and often upon his Thigh, *The Sun shall never see* Carthage *destroyed and* Asdrubal *alive*. Great Words in the Mouth of a vain Man! But he soon gave himself the Lie, by his Actions.

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§. XXXIII. The Conferences with *Asdrubal*, and *Æmilianus*'s *Consular* Year, ended almost at the same time; and the Republick chose *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *L. Mummius* for the new *Consuls*. They entered upon their Office on the *Calends of January*; but the Senate were not so unjust to *Æmilianus*, as to assign his Province in *Africa* to either of them. The People at *Rome* were truly informed of the State to which *Carthage* was reduced, by the Prudence and immense Labours of the old *Consul*; and the Generalship of the *Roman* Troops on the Coast of *Africa*, was unanimously given to *Æmilianus*, till such time as he should finish the great Work he had begun. As to the new *Consuls* their Provinces were assigned them by Lot. The Care of watching *Gaul*, and the Government of the rest of *Italy* fell to *Cornelius Lentulus*; and *Achaia* was *Mummius*'s Appointment. This was a new Commission. The Troubles lately raised in that part of *Greece* were thought to require the Presence of a *Consul*, and no less Forces than a whole *Consular* Army. There was an important War to be carried on there, the relation of which we shall suspend till the Siege of *Carthage* is ended. This Year was so fruitful in great Events, that they ought to be successively related, to avoid Confusion; and we will first pursue the Siege and Destruction of *Carthage*. This was a memorable Epocha, from which the *Romans* dated both the Origin of that boundless Power which they exercised over all the Earth, and the Decay of that rigid Virtue, which had so long distinguished them from all the Nations in the World.

Year of ROME DCVII. C. Cornelius Lentulus, L. Mummius Achaicus, Consuls.

The Winter is not long in *Africa*; and the return of the Spring soon gave the *Pro-Consul Æmilianus* leave to renew his Attacks upon a City, which was reduced by Famine to great Extremities. Nevertheless, their Rage still kept up, in some measure, the Spirits of the Besieged. As for the *Pro-Consul* he concluded, that if he could make himself Master of *The Great Port*, the Place could not long hold out.

To take *Cothon* and settle there, was absolutely to cut off all Supplies from *Carthage*, and to open himself a Way into it. To this end therefore, *Æmilianus* himself made a false Attack on the Citadel. *Byrsa* was the most important Post the Besieged had to preserve; and therefore almost all the *Carthaginian* Soldiers hastened thither, and made their utmost Efforts to repulse the Assailants. As for *Cothon*, it was divided into two equal Parts, one square, and the other circular; and *Asdrubal* thought he had sufficiently secured the whole Island by setting Fire to the Part next the Sea, which was called *The Square of Cothon*. But nevertheless it was on that Side that *Lælius* attacked this Rock which was deemed impregnable. Whilst the *Pro-Consul* was making a Diversion on the Side of the Citadel, his Lieutenant General was besieging *Cothon*, and the *Romans* entered it by the Point of the Mole, on which they had spent the Winter. They built a wooden Bridge over the neighbouring little Channel, and by that means scaled the Rock. *The Square of Cothon* was divided from the Mole, only by a small of Arm of the Sea; and it was taken without Difficulty. From thence *Lælius* and his Troops marched on to the circular part of *Cothon*, and drew near the City, after they had crossed the Ditches, which the Besieged had thrown up in the Island. The Garrison that defended these Trenches was so weak, that it was easy to disperse them. And as soon as *Lælius* was Master of the whole Island, his Men gave a great Shout, whereby *Æmilianus*, who was engaged before *Byrsa*, understood that *Cothon* was in the Hands of the *Romans*.

§. XXXIV. The happy Success of this first Enterprize increased the Emulation of the Besiegers, who were endeavouring to take *Byrsa*. They abandoned the false Attack, and fell so furiously on one of the Gates of the City that they broke it down, notwithstanding the Darts that were thrown from the Ramparts. From thence they advanced to the nearest Place, and there made a Lodgment. The Night overtook them, and hindered them from proceeding farther; but the *Consul* from that time

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CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, L. MUMMIUS ACHAICUS, Conſuls.

reſolved to attack the Citadel from the Inſide of the City. *Byrſa* was much leſs fortified there. As ſoon as it was Day, the General brought four thouſand freſh Troops from his Camp, but did not think it lawful to begin the great Expedition he was going upon, till he had firſt performed a religious Ceremony, then practiſed by the *Romans* before the taking and ſacking of great Cities. This was to [30] *Evocate* the tutelary Gods of the City, and entreat them to abandon a Place which was unworthy of their Preſence and Protection. The Form of Prayer that *Æmilianus* uſed to engage them to leave *Carthage*, was this. *O ye Gods, and Goddeſſes, if there be any to whom the Preſervation of this Capital is dear, abandon it! Renounce the Temples which have been dedicated to you there, and come and take up your Abode among the* Romans! *If you will, by the Event, give us ſenſible Proofs of your Aſſiſtance, I promiſe to erect Temples, and conſecrate* Games *to you, in* Rome. This ſaid, he ſacrificed ſome Victims, conſulted their Entrails, and had all favourable Anſwers. Then the *Pro-Conſul* devoted the Inhabitants of *Carthage* to Death, and to the Gods of Hell, in theſe Words. *O formidable* Pluto, *and ye infernal* Manes, *let looſe againſt the* Carthaginian *People Fear, Terror, and Vengeance! Let the Nations and Cities which have taken up Arms againſt us, be overcome and deſtroyed! Let all their Fields be plundered, and their Armies routed! I deliver up, and devote to You,* Furies, *all the Enemies of my Republick, in my own Name, and in the Name of the Senate and People of* Rome. *But as for our* Legions *and auxiliary Troops, guard them from Death and the Accidents of War! O* Tellus, *the Mother of all Living, and Thou Great* Jupiter, *I promiſe to ſacrifice to you three black Sheep!* Thus ſpake *Æmilianus*; and when he named the Goddeſs *Tellus*, he ſtretched out his Hands towards the Earth; as he had lifted them up towards Heaven, when he pronounced the Name of *Jupiter*.

As ſoon as the Ceremony was finiſhed, the *Pro-Conſul* ordered the four thouſand Men, newly come from the Camp, to begin the Attack on the Citadel. But they did not punctually obey their General's Order. A Temple of *Apollo*, which was known to be very rich, tempted them to loſe time in plundering it. The Statue of the God that was worſhiped there, was dreſſed in a Mantle of maſſy Gold, and all the Building was covered with Plates of Gold. The Soldiers therefore fell with ſurprizing Greedineſs on this fine Prey. They cut the Mantle and Gold Plates in pieces with their Sabres, to divide it among them; and it might very well happen, that one of the Plunderers might accidentally cut his Hand. Upon which weak Prejudice, ſome ſuperſtitious Hiſtorians have aſcribed an Event, to the miraculous Vengeance of the God, in which there was nothing but what was natural. At leaſt it is certain, that *Apollo*'s Anger did not ſave either *Byrſa* or *Carthage* from utter Deſtruction. After they had taken out of the Temple the Value of a thouſand [31] *Talents* *, the *Roman* Soldiers advanced towards the Side of the Citadel, and *Æmilianus* led them on to the Attack. *Polybius* the Hiſtorian who marched by his Side, repreſented to him, that to prevent his being ſurprized from behind, it was neceſſary to throw *Caltrops* on the Side of the Port, and Planks full of Nails with the Points upwards. But the brave General replied, *You are over cautious: There is nothing to be feared from a City which is full of Confuſion, and in effect already taken.* Which ſaid, nothing remained but to advance with all convenient Speed, to the Foot of the Citadel.

Val. Max. c. 1.

* 193750 *l. Sterl.*

Plut. in Apoph.

App. in Punic. N. 79.

§. XXXV. THERE were three exceeding ſteep Streets that led from the Market-Place to *Byrſa*. The Houſes on both Sides of them were very high, and the *Romans* were overwhelmed with Darts and Stones thrown from the Tops of them: So that it was dangerous for the Beſiegers to proceed further, till they had firſt cleared theſe Retreats of the great Numbers of Enemies that filled them. To this end, the *Pro-Conſul* in Perſon, at the Head of a Detachment, attacked the firſt Houſe, and made himſelf Maſter of it Sword in Hand. After his Example, his Officers and Soldiers went on from Houſe to Houſe, killed all that made any Reſiſtance, and the better to paſs from Houſe to Houſe, and croſs the Streets, they made Bridges of Beams and Planks, from one Roof to another. As faſt as the Houſes were cleared of Enemies on both Sides of the Street, the *Roman* Soldiers

30 See our two Diſſertations on the Origin, Uſe, Laws, Rites, and Forms, of *Devotements* and *Evocations*, in the firſt and ſecond Volumes.

31 Theſe thouſand *Talents*, according to our former Valuation of the *Talent*, amount to three Millions of *Livres*.

advanced

advanced in order of Battel towards the Citadel; but they were ſtill too much confined, and could not make ſo large a Front as they wanted. Never was more Blood ſhed in any Paſſage than in this. From the Market-place to the Citadel, two Troops of Soldiers fought their Way every Step, one above on the Roofs of the Houſes, the other below in the Streets; and they killed all they met, without any Diſtinction. The Air rung with Shrieks and Lamentations. Some threw themſelves down from the Tops of their Houſes; others were thrown down by the Soldiers from the higheſt Stories: And as they fell they periſhed ſeveral Ways. Some fell on the Darts of their Enemies, or the Points of their Swords; others beat themſelves to pieces with the Fall; and in ſhort, none eſcaped, but thoſe who hid themſelves in ſome private Places in their Houſes. Hitherto, the *Pro-Conſul* had endeavoured to make his Way to *Byrſa*, only with his Sword; and he was afraid leſt Fire ſhould be ſet to the Houſes whilſt his *Romans* were taking them by Force. In that Caſe, both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* would have been conſumed in the ſame Flames. But when the Advanced-Guard of the *Roman* Army was arrived before *Byrſa*, the *Pro-Conſul* himſelf thought fit to burn down all the Quarter that ſurrounded the Citadel. By that means he opened a Paſſage for the reſt of his Troops which he expected there, and made more room for the Operations of the Siege.

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AND then was ſeen a more terrible Sight, even than that of the Slaughter committed by the *Romans* in the Houſes. In the firſt Place the Heavens were darkened with Clouds of Smoke; then the Flames broke through them, and ſpread from Houſe to Houſe, and from Street to Street. The Side-Walls, burning Beams, and the Bodies of thoſe who had been ſtifled with the Smoke, or burnt with the Fire, fell all into the Ruins together. They had eſcaped the Swords of the Soldiers, only to die a more cruel Death. The Carpenters in the *Roman* Army aſſiſted the Flames in demoliſhing the Houſes. They, with Axes in their Hands, or long Crooks, and Forks of Iron, pulled down the Beams, and threw them into the Fire which was burning the lower Stories; and it is incredible how many *Carthaginians*, that were yet alive after their Fall, were maſſacred by theſe Workmen. With their Crooks they dragged them into great Ditches, prepared for the Dead, for fear of their infecting the *Roman* Army; and there they buried both the Dead and the Living. Only out of Pity to the latter, they ſometimes gave them great Blows on their Heads, and broke their Skulls, or trod them under their Horſes Feet. The *Tribunes* of the *Roman Legions* were hardened at the Sight of ſo many Cruelties; or at leaſt affected not to attend to them. They were buſy in keeping their *Manipuli* continually upon their Guard, againſt the Sallies the Enemy might make from the Citadel. But the Sight the Beſieged had before their Eyes diſcouraged them. At length, after the Fire and Demolition had laſted ſix Days, the Rubbiſh was removed, and the *Pro-Conſul* made a great Area for a Lodgment, and for the Employment of his Troops. But it was not without Trouble and Fatigue that the General compaſſed this painful Work. He was ſix Days and ſix Nights without taking any reſt. At length on the ſeventh Day he ſate down at an Eminence, to conſider what were the weak Parts of *Byrſa*, and how to manage his Attacks. Theſe Reflections, which employed him when alone, ſerved him inſtead of Sleep.

§. XXXVI. THE Preſence of the whole *Roman* Army which was then aſſembled before the Citadel, terrified that prodigious Number of Men and Women who had fled for Refuge thither, as to their ſafeſt *Aſylum*; and contrary to the Expectation of the *Pro-Conſul*, a Company of about five and twenty thouſand Women [32] came out of the Gates of *Byrſa*, in ſuch a Condition, as moved Pity. They threw themſelves proſtrate at the General's Feet, with the ſacred Garlands of *Æſculapius* in their Hands, and offered him the Symbols of that God, whoſe Name and Mediation they implored. All the Favour they asked was Life and Slavery. *Æmilianus* was ſoftened, and granted their Prayers. And it is ſaid, that then the Wife of *Aſdrubal* earneſtly entreated her Husband, to ſuffer her to join the Supplicants, and carry with her to the *Pro-Conſul* her two Sons, which were yet very young. But the barbarous Governor denied the Requeſt, and rejected the Remonſtrances of his Wife with Menaces.

Eutrop. & Oroſius, L. 4. ap. ult.

App. in Syriac. N. 81.

32 Some ſay the Women were but twenty thouſand; others ſay that the Men and Women who implored the Clemency of the Conqueror amounted together to fifty thouſand.

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IN the mean time, the favourable Reception the *Roman* gave the Women, made the Men hope that he would likewiſe ſhew them Favour; and there went out of *Byrſa* about thirty thouſand [33], who looked more pale and ghaſtly than the Women. The *Pro-Conſul* was moved with Compaſſion towards them, and gave all that would come to him their Lives, except the *Roman* Deſerters, whom he reſerved to ſuffer the Rigour of the Law. The Number of theſe Deſerters was conſiderable. They amounted to nine hundred; and being reduced to Deſpair, they reſolved to defend themſelves to the laſt Breath. *Aſdrubal* ſet theſe unfortunate Foreigners to guard his Wife and Children; and then gave a moſt remarkable Inſtance of Weakneſs and *Carthaginian* Inconſtancy, by ſurrendring himſelf up to the *Pro-Conſul*. This very Governor who had pretended ſo ſtoutly to brave Death when it was at a Diſtance; He, who had boaſted that it ſhould be his Glory to bury himſelf and Family in the Ruins of his Country; He, who had proteſted, That the Sun ſhould never ſee him ſurvive *Carthage*; This fierce *Aſdrubal*, had the Cowardice to come alone, and privately throw himſelf at the Conqueror's Feet. The General was well pleaſed to ſee this proud Rival humbled, and he granted him Life, and kept him to grace his Triumph. *Æmilianus* choſe to have him always by him, and made him an Eye-witneſs of the only Battel he had yet to fight, in order to complete the Reduction of *Carthage*.

INDEED the *Romans* were in effect already Maſters of *Byrſa*; and the Gates had been opened to them. They had now no Enemies to defeat, but the nine hundred Deſerters, who were forced by Deſpair to retire to the Temple of *Æſculapius* with *Aſdrubal*'s Wife and Children. This Temple might be looked on as a ſecond Citadel within the firſt. It ſtood on the higheſt Ridge of the Rock, and was inacceſſible on all Sides. There was no getting up to it, but by a ſort of Stair-caſe of ſixty Steps, which a few Men could defend againſt a whole Army. The Wife of *Aſdrubal*, whoſe Name the Hiſtorians have not tranſmitted to us, appeared on the Top of the Stairs, at the landing Place before the Temple, with an Intrepidity above her Sex; and from that Eminence, ſhe ſaw *Æmilianus*, and her cowardly Husband. Then lifting up her Voice, loud enough to be heard by him, ſhe firſt addreſſed herſelf to the *Roman* General in theſe Words. *May You enjoy, my Lord, May You for ever enjoy, the Protection of the Gods! The Laws of War authorize you to make us feel the Misfortunes we have brought upon ourſelves.* After which ſhe turned towards *Aſdrubal*, and ſaid, *May Heaven make thee feel the utmoſt Severity of its Wrath! May this firſt Puniſhment of being forced to ſee thy Wife and Children die before thy Eyes, be much the leaſt Evil that thou haſt to ſuffer! Mayeſt thou drag on an ignominious Life, amongſt thy Enemies; and to complete thy Shame, Mayeſt thou be made to grace the Triumph of thy Conqueror!* Thus ſpake the illuſtrious *Carthaginian*, and then retired into the inner Part of the Temple; where ſhe dreſſed herſelf in the fineſt Manner poſſible, and then appeared again, to act a ſecond Part.

IN the mean time, the Steps up to the Temple were attacked by the *Romans*, and the Deſerters were driven from Step to Step. Several of theſe Wretches fell into the Hands of the Enemy; and the reſt fled for Refuge into the Temple. But how could they defend themſelves, or ſubſiſt long there! They were almoſt ſtarved, and had no Means whatever of procuring themſelves Proviſions. In Rage and Deſpair therefore theſe furious Men were reſolved rather to periſh in the Flames, than deliver themſelves up to the Vengeance of *Rome*. They ſet Fire to the Temple of *Æſculapius*; and as the Fire ſpread, they retreated from one Part to another, to prolong their Lives for a few Moments. Till at length they got to the Roof of all the Building; and there *Aſdrubal*'s Wife appeared, very finely adorned. The Day of her Death ſeemed to be a Day of Triumph to her. She uttered the moſt bitter Imprecations againſt her Husband; and then added, *Though like a Coward thou haſt behaved thy ſelf baſely to ſave thy Life, thou ſhalt die this inſtant in thy Children.* Which ſaid, ſhe drew out a Dagger, and ſtabbed them both. Then while they were yet ſtruggling for Life, ſhe threw them from the Top of the Temple and leaped down after them into the Flames. A glorious Action, according to the Sentiments of prophane Antiquity; but a Death, which, it was ſaid, would bet

33 According to *Florus*, forty thouſand *Carthaginians* ſurrendered to the *Pro-Conſul* at Diſcretion.

ter have become the Husband than the Wife! The Ancients have all obſerved, that *Carthage* began and ended with two Heroines, whoſe [34] tragical Exits much reſembled each other.

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§. XXXVII. So many Scenes of Horror drew Tears from the Eyes of the General himſelf who had cauſed them, and caſt him into melancholy Reflections. The utter Deſtruction of a Capital which had ſubſiſted near [35] ſeven hundred Years, which had given Law to ſo many Provinces, which had extended her Reputation ſo far both by Sea and Land, and whoſe Inhabitants had partly periſhed by Fire and Sword, and were partly deſtined to Slavery; the reducing of ſo many Temples to Aſhes; the Demolition of ſo many Palaces, and the Deſtruction of ſuch ſtately Monuments; all theſe things affected him. At length, after long Silence, broken by many Sighs, *Æmilianus* recovering himſelf from his deep Muſings, repeated two Lines of *Homer*, in which the Poet makes the Fate of *Troy* to be foretold. *The Day will come when proud* Troy *ſhall fall a Prey to the Flames; and the Sword ſhall mow down* Priam *and his People.* The *Pro-Conſul* ſighed bitterly as he ſpoke theſe Words; and *Polybius*, who never left him, ventured to ask him, what he meant by *Troy* and *The People of Priam.* Upon which *Æmilianus*, without naming *Rome*, ſufficiently gave him to underſtand, that he was afraid his own Country would meet with the ſame Fate as *Ilium* and *Carthage. The greateſt States*, ſaid he, *have their Periods; after which* Fortune *overturns what ſhe took Pleaſure in raiſing.* A ſort of Prophecy, or rather Conjecture, which will be but too much verified in the Courſe of this Hiſtory. If *Rome* has not undergone the ſame utter Deſtruction which has overtaken many other Capitals, whoſe Names only are now remaining, it has been wholly owing to a Protection reached out to her from above. *Polyb. apud App.*

As to *Carthage*, the *Pro-Conſul* put the Decrees of the Senate rigorouſly in execution upon her. He firſt delivered up the City to be plundered, but in the Manner preſcribed by the *Roman* military Law. He gave up to the Soldiers all the Furniture, Utenſils, and Braſs-Money, which they ſhould find in private Houſes; and reſerved for the publick Treaſury only the Gold and Silver Statues, and rich Preſents, which had been made to the *Carthaginian* Gods, and were kept in their Temples. But he inſiſted, that the Monuments which the *Carthaginians* had formerly taken away from the Cities of *Italy* and *Africa* ſhould be reſtored to them. *Sicily* had long been expoſed to the Robberies of the *Carthaginian* Armies, and the *Conſul* reſtored to the *Sicilians* a great Number of Statues, and very valuable Pictures, of which they had been plundered. The *Thermitani* [36] were put in Poſſeſſion of a very fine Statue, which repreſented the City and River of *Himera* [37]. The Inhabitants of *Gela* [38] recovered a great Number of Monuments which they had loſt. An admirable Statue of *Diana* was reſtored to *Segeſta* [39]; and to [40] *Agrigentum*, the famous brazen Bull which *Phalaris* had ordered to be caſt, to be the Inſtrument of his Cruelty. We are aſſured, that when *Æmilianus* put it into the Hands of the *Agrigentini*, he ſaid, *You ſee how much better your Condition is under the Government of the* Romans, *than under the Dominion of your own* [41] *Tyrants.* *Eutropius; App. in Punic.*

AFTER theſe Reflections were made, the *Pro-Conſul* diſtributed the Rewards of Valour

34 See what we have obſerved in the ſecond Volume concerning the Foundation of *Carthage*, and *Virgil*'s relation of the tragical Death of *Dido*.

35 See what we have obſerved in the ſecond Volume of the Origin, and of the Time of the Foundation, and conſequently of the Duration of *Carthage*.

36 The *Thermitani* inhabited the City of *Himera*, which the Ancients call *Thermæ Himerenſes*, on account of the *Hot-Baths* in its Territory. It is now the City of *Termini*, which ſtands near the Mouth of the *Himera*. See what we have ſaid of this City, *Vol.* 2.

37 There were two Cities of *Himera* in *Sicily*. See our Accounts of them, *Vol.* 2.

38 We have given an Account of the Antiquities and Situation of the ancient City of *Gela*, Vol. 2.

39 Beyond *Drepanum* and *Erix*, at a little Diſtance from *Lilybæum*, ſtood the ancient City of *Segeſta*, which ancient Authors call *Egeſta*. See *Vol.* 2.

40 *Agrigentum* was the ſame Place as the preſent *Girgenti*, or *Gergenti*. It was formerly one of the moſt wealthy Cities in *Sicily*. See *Vol.* 2.

41 Among the Curioſities which *Æmilianus* gave to his Friends, and to ſeveral Lords of *Numidia*, *Saluſt*, in his *Jugurthan War*, mentions ſome Libraries. Theſe valuable Monuments of the *Punic* Literature were preſerved from the Flames of *Carthage* by the Care of the General, who knew the Value of ſo rich a Treaſure. He gave all the Books to the Sons of *Micipſa*; except, ſays the ſame Author, twenty eight Volumes which treated of a Country-Life. They were written in the Language of the Country, and were fathered upon a

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Cic. Verrin. 4. App. in Punic.

Valour among his Soldiers, according to their Merit. He excluded none from them but the four thouſand Men who had, without Orders, pillaged the Temple of *Apollo*, before the taking of *Byrſa*. However *Æmilianus* did not treat them as perſons guilty of Sacrilege; he ſuppoſed that the God had forſaken his Sanctuary ſince the Ceremony of the *Evocation*. He only did not give them the ſame Preſents which he made the reſt of the Troops, thereby to puniſh their Avarice and Diſobedience. And laſtly, the *Pro-Conſul* put part of the Spoils he had taken from the *Carthaginians* on board a Galley, and ſent it to *Rome*, with Advices to the Senate that he had finiſhed the War in *Africa*. At the ſame time, he deſired to have new Inſtructions from the *Conſcript Fathers*; and till ſuch time as he ſhould receive them he put a Stop to the Demolition of the Walls, Temples, and Houſes of *Carthage*. His good Nature and Compaſſion reſtrained him; and he was reſolved to ſhew the World, that if he muſt uſe the utmoſt Severity, it ſhould be purely in Obedience to Authority.

In the mean time, he ſold to the beſt Bidders the Priſoners he had made in *Carthage*, and returned the Money into the publick Treaſury. This was cuſtomary with the *Roman* Generals. Then he gathered together all the Machines of War, the Arms the Beſieged uſed, and the uſeleſs Hulks of Ships which he found in the Port; made a Pile of them, and burnt them with great Form. He tucked up his Robe after the manner of the *Gabians*, took a Flambeaux in his Hand, and ſaid, *To the God* Mars, *To* Minerva, *To the Goddeſs* Lua [42], *and to all the other Deities, to whom it belongs to purify us, after the ſhedding of ſo much Blood, I devote theſe Remains of* Carthage. Which ſaid, he immediately ſet Fire to the Pyramid. Then the *Roman* Soldiers reſted after their Labours: And it is probable that the General choſe this time of Inaction to amuſe them with *Games*, which were agreeable to their Taſte. *Æmilianus* remembered, that *Paulus Æmilius* his Father had, after his Conqueſt of *Macedon*, entertained the Aſſembly of the *Greeks* with a very fine Show. But in this Climate, which was ſo different, and among a People who had more Barbariſm among them, he contented himſelf with diverting his Troops with a new kind of Combats. He forced the Deſerters whom he had taken in War, and deſigned to execute, to fight with Lions, Tygers, Panthers, and other wild Beaſts of *Africa*. Theſe Sorts of Shows were then little uſed in *Rome*, but afterwards became more common there.

§. XXXVIII. WHILST the *Pro-Conſul* was wholly taken up with refreſhing his Troops, the Galley he had ſent entered the *Tyber*, and in the Evening appeared in the Port of *Rome*. The *Romans* ſaw that *Æmilianus* had been victorious, before his Diſpatches were communicated to the Senate and People. They judged that *Carthage* was taken, by the Spoils with which the *Roman* Ship that came from *Africa* was adorned. The News was immediately ſpread through all Quarters of the City, and the Rejoicings upon it were extraordinary. Thoſe who told the News to others embraced them at the ſame time, and they mutually congratulated each other, as upon ſome perſonal Advantage to every one of them. *At length*, ſaid they, *we have got rid of all our Enemies, and are become Maſters of the World. We have had many Wars to maintain in* Italy *and the* Levant, *againſt* Philip, Perſes, *and* Antiochus. *Weak Adverſaries, over whom our Generals eaſily triumphed! But how many Years has* Carthage *alone kept us in Exerciſe? How many of our Fleets has ſhe ſunk in the* Sicilian *Seas? How many of our Officers has ſhe deſtroyed in* Spain? *How much* Roman *Blood has ſhe ſhed in* Italy? *The Great* Scipio *had humbled her, nevertheleſs ſhe ſoon recovered from her Loſſes, and became more formidable for her Artifices than her Power. But the Gods reſerved a* Scipio *utterly to extinguiſh the* Carthaginian *Name. What an Hero is this* Scipio Æmilianus! *He even ſurpaſſes his Grandfather.* The whole Night was ſpent in ſuch Diſcourſes. The Streets were full of Crowds of People, who by Word and Geſture deſcribed the Siege, according to their Notions of it. A few only of the *Romans*, and they ſome of the moſt prudent and moſt ſenſible, entered into *Naſica*'s Fears. *We have now*, ſaid they, *no Rival left. The Gods grant that the Virtue of the* Romans *may not ſuffer by it!*

Carthaginian named *Mago*. A Work which the *Roman* Senate thought ſo uſeful, that they ordered ſome able Perſons to tranſlate it into *Latin*: So very ſenſible were the *Romans* of the Advantages of Agriculture. The moſt illuſtrious Men among them applied themſelves ſeriouſly to it, and thought it the chief Reſource of the State.

42 See *Vol.* 2. concerning the Goddeſs *Lua*. We have there taken Notice of this ſuperſtitious Practice of the *Romans*, after gaining a Victory over an Enemy. *Our*

Our Fears of the Carthaginian *Republick are what have kept us in Concord. And we are afraid that foreign Wars will now be ſucceeded by inteſtine Diviſions. We are too reſtleſs to continue idle.* Rome *will prey upon her own Entrails, when ſhe has no more Enemies to fight or fear.* However, the Multitude enjoyed the preſent Bliſs, and gave themſelves no Concern about Futurity. Year of ROME DCVII. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, L. MUMMIUS ACHAICUS, Conſuls.

THE next Day, the People anticipated the Orders of the Senate, and, of their own accord, met by their *Tribes*, and offered up Prayers in the Temples. The Rejoicings began before the Decree that appointed them was paſs'd. At length, *Æmilianus*'s Meſſenger entered the Senate. The Hiſtorians don't name him, but it was probably his faithful Friend *Lælius*. Upon his Report of the Condition in which he had left *Carthage*, the *Fathers* deliberated whether it ſhould be razed; and they were ſo earneſt for the Deſtruction of this proud City, that one would have thought *Cato* had been ſtill alive. The Inſtructions they ordered to be ſent to the *Roman* General were theſe. 1. *The City of* Carthage *ſhall be entirely demoliſhed, and no Footſteps of it left remaining.* 2. Byrſa *and* Megalia, *or* Megara, *ſhall undergo the ſame Fate. No Body ſhall be ſuffered to keep or build any Houſes there.* 3. *All the Cities that have given the* Carthaginians *any Aſſiſtance ſhall be diſmantled.* 4. *Rewards ſhall be given to the Cities who have declared for the* Romans; *and their Territories ſhall be enlarged with Lands taken from the Enemy.* 5. Utica, *which firſt ſurrendered to the* Romans, *ſhall be moſt amply recompenſed; all the Lands that lay between* Carthage *and* Hippo, *ſhall be divided among her Inhabitants.* 6. *All the* Africans *of the* Carthaginian *State, both Men and Women, ſhall pay an annual Tribute to the* Roman *Republick of ſo much* per *Head.* 7. *The whole Country which was ſubject to the* Carthaginian *Republick, ſhall be turned into* a Roman Province, *and be governed by a* Prætor, *in the ſame manner as* Sicily *is.* 8. Rome *ſhall ſend into* Africa *ten Commiſſioners, there to act jointly with the* Pro-Conſul, *ſettle the State of the new Province, take Care to ſee the Statutes put in Execution, and determine all Diſputes.*

THESE Orders were carried to *Carthage* by the Commiſſioners; and as ſoon as *Æmilianus* received them, he put them literally in Execution. But before he deſtroyed *Carthage*, he performed all thoſe religious Ceremonies which were appointed to be practiſed on ſuch Occaſions. He firſt ſacrificed Victims to the Gods. Then he ordered a Plough to be drawn round the Walls that were to be demoliſhed. It was cuſtomary [43] to make uſe of a Plough, to draw a Line, both round the Walls of Cities that were to be built, and thoſe that were to be deſtroyed. After this, the Towers, Ramparts, Moles, and all the fine Works, which the *Carthaginians* had ſo long raiſed, and at ſuch vaſt Expence, were levelled with the Ground. The Fire which the Inhabitants themſelves ſet to the Edifices of this proud City, conſumed them all, not one eſcaped. We may judge of the Largeneſs of this Capital, by the time it took up to reduce it to Aſhes. Tho' the Fire began in all Quarters at the ſame time, it was not extinguiſhed till after ſeventeen Days. Then the *Pro-Conſul* and Commiſſioners ſettled the new *Province*, according to the Rules preſcribed them. After which *Æmilianus* embarked his Troops, and returned to *Rome*. *Florus, B. 2. c. 15.*

WE may very well conclude, that a Triumph was unanimouſly granted to the Conqueror and Deſtroyer of *Carthage*; but the Ceremony was poſtponed to the End of the *Conſular* Year. Indeed the Hiſtorians, to avoid Repetitions, have given us no Account of it: But the Proceſſion was, no doubt, regulated by that of the firſt *Scipio*, or rather, that of *Paulus Æmilius*. There had been found in *Carthage*, a prodigious Number of Statues, Vaſes, and Pictures, which the *Carthaginians* had taken from ſeveral Nations, in their Incurſions, and Conqueſts; and theſe valuable Moveables were carried to *Rome*, and made Part of the Show. Four thouſand three hundred and eighty Pounds * weight of Silver were carried on Hand-barrows; which was all that was taken in this opulent City. This was then deemed a conſiderable Sum; but in After-Ages, when Gold and Silver became much more plenty, it was thought very ſtrange that *Æmilianus* had brought ſo little Money from *Carthage*. He depoſited in the *Capital* an Urn full of the Aſhes of the Capital of *Africa*; which he thought an agreeable Offering to *Jupiter Capitolinus*. But *Plin. B. 2. c. 15.*

* 13140 *l. Sterl. at* 5 *s. per Ounce.*

43 See what we have ſaid in the firſt Volume, of the Cuſtom received among the Ancients, of marking out the Compaſs of a City, before its Foundations were laid.

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what did him moſt Honour at his Triumph, was the great Number of captive *African* Lords, who walked in Chains before the Victor's Chariot. *Aſdrubal* and *Bythias*, one the Captain-General of the *Carthaginians*, and the other their General of Horſe, were moſt taken Notice 44 of by the Spectators. Tho' they were unworthy either of Life or Liberty, the Republick ſuffered them to enjoy both, at the Requeſt of *Æmilianus*; and they inglorioufly ſpent the Remainder of their Days in *Italy*. The reſt of the Priſoners were ſold to the beſt Bidders, or periſhed in Priſon. *Æmilianus*, after the Example of his Grandfather by Adoption, took the Surname of *Scipio Africanus the Second*, which he ever after retained; and we ſhall for the future call him by no other Appellation.

§. XXXIX. Whilst the *Romans* were obſtinately purſuing the Siege and Deſtruction of *Carthage*, they alſo made ſome new Enemies in *Greece* feel the Weight of their Arms. *Achaia* had declared againſt *Rome*, ever ſince ſhe had been contending with the *Carthaginians* in *Africa*, with two imaginary Kings in *Macedon*, and with *Viriathes* in *Spain*. The *Greek* Republick thought ſhe had ſeized the critical Moment, for humbling the *Roman* Republick, and making her repent of the rigorous Treatment ſhewn to the *Achæan* Lords, whom ſhe had ſo long kept in a kind of Slavery. And indeed, could any one imagine that a ſingle Republick would be able to maintian ſo many Wars at once? Nevertheleſs, we ſhall find that *Rome* was ſtrong enough to deſtroy *Carthage* and *Corinth* in the ſame Year, and ſucceſsful enough to triumph over *Achaia*, *Africa*, and *Macedon*, at the ſame time. This is one of the moſt conſiderable Occurrences of the *Roman* Hiſtory, and ſo very extraordinary as almoſt to make that Hiſtory incredible, did not we otherwiſe know to what Height the Strength and Power of *Rome* was then arrived. We will therefore return back a little to the Origin of the War the *Romans* made in *Achaia*; and ſhall ſee the Work of the Great *Flamininus* compleated, and a laſting Tranquillity reſtored to all *Greece*, by the Deſtruction of the ſingle City of *Corinth*.

Pauſanias in Achaic.

The Avarice of the *Athenians* was what ſowed throughout all *Greece* the Seeds of thoſe Diviſions which never ended till the *Romans* put a Stop to them by the Force of their Arms. We have already obſerved, That *Oropus* 45, a City bordering upon *Attica*, had formerly been pillaged by the *Athenians*, in a time of great Want; and That the *Roman* Senate had definitively condemned *Athens* to pay the *Oropians* a hundred *Talents* *, by way of Satisfaction. The *Athenians* were not in haſte to diſcharge this Debt; but found out an Expedient to ſatisfy the Creditors, without diſburſing any Money. They agreed to maintain a certain Number of Troops in *Oropus*. This Garriſon committed Violences in the City. The *Oropians* complained of it; but *Athens* had no Regard to their Complaints. *Oropus* therefore thought it proper to implore the Aſſiſtance of the *Achæans*. It is well known, That *Achaia* was then the moſt flouriſhing Republick in *Greece*; not ſo much with regard to the Extent of the Country that was ſubject to it, as the prodigious Number of great Cities, which being entered into a Confederacy together, made as it were but one State, governed by a general Diet, to which every City ſent its Deputies. *Thebes*, *Argi*, *Lacedæmon*, and eſpecially *Corinth*, were ſome of the chief of theſe Cities. *Oropus* then could not implore the Aſſiſtance of more powerful Defenders; but the *Achæans* were afraid of embroiling themſelves with *Rome* and *Athens* too. However, the *Oropians* conceived Hopes of obtaining thoſe Succours of the Head of the Nation, who was annually choſen, which they deſpaired of getting from the general Diet. The preſent Governour was a ſelfiſh Man, named *Menalcidas*; who being a *Lacedæmonian* by Birth, had more Weight and Intereſt in his native City, than in the Republick of which he was the Head. The *Oropians* agreed to give him ten † *Talents*, if he could prevail on the Diet in which he preſided to revenge their Quarrel, and aſſiſt them with Troops to guard againſt the Vexation of the *Athenians*. The *Lacedæmonian* accepted the Propoſal, and in order to gain his Point, offered to divide the Money betwee

* 19375 *l. Sterl.*

† 1937 *l.* 10 *s. Sterl.*

44 According to *Appian*, *Aſdrubal* killed himſelf to avoid the Shame of being carried in Triumph.

45 The ancient Geographers mention three Cities of *Oropus*. One, which *Ariſtotle* calls *Græa*, ſtood in the Iſland of *Eubœa*, or the *Negropont*. Another, which gave Birth to *Seleucus Nicator*, belonged to *Macedon*. The third, which is here ſpoken of, ſtood in *Bœotia*, near the Confines of *Attica*, two Miles from the Shore of the *Euripus* three Miles from the River *Aſopus*, and forty four Miles North of *Athens*. It is now only a Village which the Natives call *Ropo*. *Stephen of Byſantium* ſpeaks alſo of a City of *Oropus* in *Syria*.

himſelf and that *Callicrates* who had always openly eſpouſed the Intereſt of the *Romans*, and who, under their Protection, had made himſelf Maſter of the Aſſemblies of his Country. And theſe two Men made ſuch Efforts with their Intereſt, that they at length extorted from the *Achæans* their Conſent to ſend their Troops to the Defence of *Oropus*.

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THE Reſolutions of the *Achæan* Diet could not be long unknown in *Athens*. All *Attica* was in Arms, and came and fell on *Oropus*. The City was pillaged, and the Inhabitants had much Difficulty to ſave any of their Effects out of the Hands of the Robbers. Upon this the *Achæans* ran immediately to their Aſſiſtance; but it was too late to ſave *Oropus* from being plundered. *Menalcidas* however entered *Attica* with his Troops; but finding the *Athenians* all upon their Guard, retired. Nevertheleſs, he demanded the ten *Talents* of the *Oropians*, with as much Rigour, as if his Aſſiſtance had been effectual, and they had not been plundered. Such is the miſerable Condition of free Cities, which lay between two Nations more powerful than themſelves! They fall a Prey to one or the other, and their Liberty is often worſe than Slavery. *Menalcidas* extorted the Money from the unfortunate *Oropians*; but could not prevail on himſelf to divide it with *Callicrates*. He firſt made uſe of Delays, and then openly declared, That he would keep the ten *Talents* to himſelf. This was then the Temper of the *Greeks*, of whom ſo many fine things are ſaid. Their Wit amounted to no more than mere Cunning; and their Philoſophy was not Proof againſt their Intereſt. As for *Callicrates*, he, on the other hand, was as revengeful as *Menalcidas* was deceitful; and only ſuſpended his Reſentment for a time. As ſoon as *Menalcidas* was out of his Office, *Callicrates* accuſed him before the Council of his Nation, of a capital Crime. He pretended, That this old *Prætor* of *Achaia* had, when upon an Embaſſy at *Rome*, uſed his utmoſt Endeavours with the *Roman* Senate to prevail upon them to withdraw *Lacedæmon* his Country from the *Achæan* League. The Proceſs was carried on with ſuch Rigour, that *Menalcidas* would have ſunk under it, if he had not thought of offering three **Talents* to *Diæus*, who ſucceeded him in the *Prætorſhip*. Upon this Conſideration, this Chief Magiſtrate acquitted *Menalcidas*, contrary to the Opinion of the wiſeſt Part of the Aſſembly; and thereby drew upon himſelf the Hatred of all the Nation. He was thought inclined to the Separation of *Lacedæmon*, and the Diminution of the Forces of the *Achæan* State. This was a great Stain on his Reputation, and he endeavoured to wipe it off by this bold Step. In order to convince the People that he was neither the Friend nor Protector of the *Lacedæmonians*, he maintained in the publick Aſſembly, That the Inhabitants of *Lacedæmon* were ſubject to the Determinations of the General Diet, even in criminal Caſes; and That *Rome* had ſo decreed. Nothing could be more falſe; but this Lie ſcreened him, at leaſt for a time, from the Hatred he had incurred by ſelling his Vote and Intereſt to *Menalcidas* the *Lacedæmonian*. The whole City of *Lacedæmon* cried out againſt the new Law which *Diæus* would have ſet up; and ſaid, *The* Lacedæmonians *have ever had a Right of judging their Criminals, in their own private Diets. It is an Impoſition, to pretend to palm upon us a new Statute of the* Roman *Senate. We demand Leave to ſend to* Rome *to diſcover the Cheat.* And then appeared that Spirit of Chicanery which was ſo natural to the *Greeks*. Upon the bare Suggeſtion of *Diæus*, who knew that what he had aſſerted was falſe, the *Lacedæmonians* were forbidden to ſend to *Rome*, under Pretence that it belonged only to the General Diet to ſend Deputations thither.

* 581 *l.* 5 *s. Sterl.*

§. XL. ALL theſe Breaches of publick Faith, and Intrigues, exaſperated the *Lacedæmonians*; and they ſeemed diſpoſed to maintain their old Rights. Nevertheleſs, they were afraid to have Recourſe to Arms. *Laconia* alone was not able to cope with all the *Achæan* Canton, when united againſt her. So that ſhe was terrified when ſhe ſaw the Head of the *Achæan* Nation aſſemble Troops in order to fall upon *Lacedæmon*; and ſhe had Recourſe to Negotiation, rather than Force. The *Lacedæmonians* ſent their Agents to the chief Cities of the Canton to which they belonged; thereby to divert thoſe Cities from ſending Troops to the *Prætor*, whoſe Deſign was to ravage their Territory. But the only Anſwer they received was, That the Order for ſending their Contingent was arrived, and muſt be obeyed. Upon which, *Lacedæmon* humbled herſelf ſo far as to ſend to

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Diæus, to intreat him not to precipitate Hoſtilities. The *Prætor*'s Anſwer to the Deputy was, That he had no Quarrel with all the Citizens of *Lacedæmon* in general; but only with a few Diſturbers of the publick Peace, whom he named, and who were in Number twenty four. Upon this News, the Council of *Lacedæmon* aſſembled; and a grave Senator, named *Ageſiſthenes*, made a Motion, which was applauded. It was, That the twenty four accuſed ſhould voluntarily baniſh themſelves, and go and carry their Complaints to *Rome*. This was better than delivering them up to *Diæus*. Nevertheleſs, as ſoon as they were gone out of the City, the Council, for Form's ſake only, condemned them to Death. This prudent Reſolution ſcreened *Lacedæmon*, at leaſt for a time, and gave her an Opportunity to carry her Complaints to the *Roman* Senate. *Menalcidas* embarked for *Italy*, and came thither both to ſupport the Cauſe of the Exiles, and that of *Lacedæmon*. *Diæus* and *Callicrates* followed cloſe after him, and came to *Rome*, to plead the Cauſe of the *Achæan* Canton, againſt the Exiles. But they did not both reach that City; *Callicrates* died at *Rhodes*, whither his Affairs called him; and if he had not, his Cauſe was ſo bad, that it ſeemed certain that he would have loſt it, notwithſtanding the Intereſt he had in the Capital of the World.

THEN *Diæus* and *Menalcidas* only, appeared before the *Conſcript Fathers*. Their Speeches were full of mutual Invectives; and by their *Greek* Eloquence they diſguiſed the Affair on both Sides with ſo much Artifice, that the *Romans* could not poſſibly diſcover where the Truth lay. The Senate therefore thought it neceſſary to ſend Commiſſioners into *Peloponneſus*, to inform themſelves of the Caſe, and determine the Diſpute upon the Spot. Accordingly, the Commiſſioners were nominated, but they were too dilatory in ſetting out. *Menalcidas* and *Diæus* embarked in the mean time, one for *Lacedæmon*, and the other for *Corinth*. It is no uncommon thing for Pleaders, before Judgment is given, to magnify their Hopes, and flatter themſelves that every thing will be determined in their Favour. But this was not enough for the two *Greeks*. After their Return from *Rome*, *Diæus* aſſured the *Achæan* Diet, That the *Roman* Deputies would give the Cauſe for them; and *Menalcidas* aſſured the *Lacedæmonians*, That in a little time their City and Territory would be divided from the *Achæan* League, and ſettled in an abſolutely independent State. Both Parties flattered themſelves with theſe Hopes; their Minds were ſowered; and the *Achæans* had Thoughts of taking up Arms, to force the *Lacedæmonians* to change their Language.

ALL theſe Things paſſed, whilſt *Metellus* was buſy in *Macedon*, ſubduing the two pretended Sons of *Perſes*, and ſettling the Affairs of *Rome* there. This *Prætor*'s Army was within Reach of *Greece*; and he was ſoon informed of the Troubles in *Peloponneſus*. He therefore deſired the Ambaſſadors which his Republick was ſending into *Aſia*, to take *Corinth* and *Lacedæmon* in their Way, in order to prevail on the *Achæans* to put a Stop to their Hoſtilities, till the Arrival of the Commiſſioners, who were nominated to end their Differences in an amicable manner. When theſe *Romans* arrived in *Achaia*, they found *Diæus* out of Office, and one *Democritus* choſen in his room. This *Democritus* acted with the ſame Views as his Predeceſſor, and was then in full March with an Army, to go and inſult the *Lacedæmonians*, and plunder their Territory. Nevertheleſs, the *Roman* Ambaſſadors had ſtill time enough to hinder the Blow's being ſtruck, if *Democritus* and his *Achæans* would have hearkened to their Remonſtrances. But how could they ſtop a Torrent in its Courſe! The *Achæan* deſpiſed the Advices of the *Romans*, continued his March, and came and gave the *Lacedæmonians* Battel. They ſtood upon the defenſive, near their Walls; where they fought a Battel, which turned to their Diſadvantage. They had a thouſand of their Men killed upon the Spot, and retired within their Walls, after a Loſs which was very conſiderable for ſo weak a Nation. The Flight of the Vanquiſhed was ſo precipitate, and their Rout ſo general, that if *Democritus* had warmly purſued them, his Army might have entered *Lacedæmon* with the Fugitives. But he ſounded a Retreat too ſoon; and contented himſelf with carrying his Troops to plunder *Laconia*. Therefore, tho' he was Conqueror, the Diet made it criminal in him that he did not puſh his Advantage further. He was fined fifty *Talents* *; and not being able to pay them, laid down his Office, and led a rambling Life, continually ſtrolling from Town to Town, in *Peloponneſus*.

* 9687 *l.* 10 *s. Sterl.*

THEN that *Diæus* who was the Author of the Troubles, that declared Enemy to *Lacedæmon*, was again put at the Head of his Republick. *Metellus* heard of his Promotion, in *Macedon*; and of his own head, ſent a Deputation to him, to admoniſh him to let the *Lacedæmonians* continue in Peace, till the Arrival of the Commiſſioners which *Rome* was going to ſend to *Peloponneſus*: And *Diæus* complied. But he employed the Time of the Truce in Negotiations, which were more prejudicial to the *Lacedæmonians* than open War. The artful *Greek* drew all the Cities that bordered upon the Territory of *Lacedæmon* into his Meaſures; and cauſed them to be fortified, to ſerve on a proper Occaſion, as ſo many Caſtles to ſhut in *Laconia*, and keep its Capital in a manner blocked up. In this preſſing Danger the *Lacedæmonians* thought no Man ſo proper to govern them as *Menalcidas*: They knew him to be a Man of Valour and Experience. He had governed the whole *Achæan* Republick: Nevertheleſs, this ſo much renowned General wanted Prudence in the very firſt Step. In order to give ſome Luſtre to his Arms, he of his own Head took the Field with his Troops, and fell upon the City of *Jaſos*, which ſtood within the Diſtrict of *Laconia*, but had always been ſubject to the *Achæans*. This was breaking the Truce *Metellus* had deſired, and drawing on himſelf the Reſentment of the *Roman*: But a Love of falſe Glory got the better of the moſt ſolid Reflections. In ſhort, *Menalcidas* ſurprized *Jaſſos* [46], and plundered it. Nevertheleſs, the *Lacedæmonians* themſelves were ſenſible of the Baſeneſs of this Action, which made them the Aggreſſors, and gave a bad Turn to their Cauſe, who before had the beſt Side of it. This exaſperated all the People againſt their General; and he could not ſtand the Injuries and Affronts he received. He poiſoned himſelf, to get out of the Way of them. Thus died a factious and reſtleſs Man, who both when *Prætor* of all *Achaia*, and when *Prætor* of *Lacedæmon* only, loved nothing but Diſcord; and kindled a Flame in *Greece*, which was not extinguiſhed till it had conſumed *Corinth*.

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§. XLI. SCARCE was *Menalcidas* dead, before the *Roman* Commiſſioners, which had been ſo long expected, arrived in *Peloponneſus*. Their Buſineſs was to put an End to a Civil War, which was begun in the Heart of *Achaia*; and therefore the Judges ſent by the Senate landed at *Corinth*, which was looked on as the Capital of the *Achæan* League. There they aſſembled all the Members of the Diet, and a pretty many *Lacedæmonians* alſo came with the reſt. *Aurelius Oreſtes*, the Head of the *Roman* Deputation, opened the Seſſions with a Speech which was much fitter to create new Troubles, than compoſe old Diviſions. He, probably, exceeded the Inſtructions he had brought from *Rome*. An Author, who was perſonally intereſted in the Affairs of *Achaia*, pretends that the Commiſſioners exceeded their Powers, and changed bare Menaces into abſolute Orders. According to him, the Deſign of the Senate was only to intimidate the *Achæans*, in order to bring them to Concord by that Means. The *Fathers* had not ordered, That the *Achæan* League ſhould be immediately deſtroyed: So that it is probable that *Aurelius* changed the Threatenings of the *Roman* Senate into poſitive Decrees. He ſpake thus: Rome *has long been endeavouring to eſtabliſh a perfect Union between the free Cities of* Greece. *This was* Flamininus's *ſole Deſign, when he delivered you from the Yoke which* Philip *impoſed upon you. The* Macedonian *had ſeized your Cities and Countries; and we ſet them at Liberty: So that they might have enjoyed their Liberty ſeparately, without uniting in one Republick. But you choſe to form a League among yourſelves: A League which ſhould depend on a Diet which was to give Law to it, and which was to be governed by a* Prætor *choſen by a Plurality of Voices. In this you endeavoured to ſecure your common Safety; but your great Precaution has produced nothing but Troubles. And indeed, how can you be ſecure, that your Deputies will always agree among themſelves, take no Reſolutions but what are equally for the Advantage of all the Cities, and ſo adjuſt all Intereſts as to leave no room for Complaint on any hand? Such a Government as yours is ſubject to a thouſand Inconveniences: You have but too much experienced it. Your general Aſſemblies make Laws, which every particular City will not accept. This makes it neceſſary to have Recourſe to Violence to force them; and hence theſe eternal Diſſentions. Hence the Hoſtilities which oblige you to be always un-*

Polyb. in Legat. N. 143.

Pauſanias in Achaicis.

46 We know nothing more of the City of *Jaſſos*, than what *Pauſanias* ſays of it. We are ignorant of its true Situation.

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der Arms, and to look on your very Confederates as Enemies. Rome *is concerned to ſee ſo many inteſtine Wars kindled among you, knows the Cauſe of theſe Misfortunes, and would fain remedy them. When you are leſs united, you will be more happy; and will never be compleatly ſo, till you make the neceſſary Separations. Attend then to the Orders I am going to divulge to you, and put them in Execution with Readineſs. It is the Will and Pleaſure of the* Roman *Senate and People, that you ſhould do ſo. All the Cities which were not formerly of the* Achæan *Circle, that is,* Corinth, Lacedæmon, Argi, Heraclea [47], *and* Orchomenos [48], *ſhall be ſeparated from the general League; and ſhall be governed by their own Laws, independently of the reſt of the Confederacy.*

No ſooner had *Aurelius* pronounced theſe Words, but, without giving him time to finiſh his Diſcourſe, the *Achæan* Lords left the Aſſembly, and called together the People of *Corinth*, in the Market-place. The Commons were enraged at the Decree that was come from *Rome*; and all the City was in an Uproar. The *Lacedæmonians* were thought to be the Authors of the Decree *Aurelius* had publiſhed, and the People exaſperated one another more againſt them, than againſt the *Romans*. All the *Lacedæmonians* that could be found in the City were ſtripped, or put to Death. If a Man was ſhod or ſhaved after the *Lacedæmonian* Manner, this was enough to involve him in the Maſſacre. Even they who fled to the *Roman* Ambaſſadors for Refuge were ill treated. *Aurelius* and his Collegues in vain cried out, That their Republick would revenge the Injuries done *Lacedæmon*. The enraged Populace little regarded Advice or Remonſtrances: They forced the Ambaſſadors themſelves to ſave their Lives by Flight. It may therefore well be imagined, that when they returned to *Rome* they ſet the Inſults they had received from the *Corinthians* in a very ſtrong Light: They are ſaid to have exaggerated them. They repreſented the Inſurrection not as a ſudden Commotion, but as a premeditated Plot. The Senate were full of all juſt Indignation at it; but thought it neceſſary to proceed with Moderation. *Carthage* was not yet taken; and it was adjudged dangerous to engage in too many Affairs at once: So that the *Conſcript Fathers* only voted for ſending three new Commiſſioners to *Achaia*. *Sextus Julius*, a prudent and pacifick Man, was at the Head of the Deputation. His Inſtructions were, That he ſhould reprove the *Achæans* in a very tender Manner, and prevail on them by gentle Methods not to hearken any more to bad Counſels. Upon this, a Report was ſpread, That *Rome* condeſcended ſo far, only becauſe ſhe was exhauſted of Men; ſome of whom had periſhed, and others were employed before *Carthage*. But it is certain, that in the late *Luſtration*, which was the fifty ſixth from their Inſtitution, the *Cenſors*, *Cornelius Lupus*, and *Marcius Cenſorinus*, had reckoned up three hundred and twenty two thouſand *Roman Citizens*, fit to bear Arms; and conſequently, the Complaiſance the *Romans* ſhewed theſe Rebels, muſt have proceeded rather from Compaſſion, than from Neceſſity.

Polyb. in Legat. N. 143.

Faſt. Capit.

§. XLII. *JULIUS* and his Collegues embarked without Delay; and after their Arrival in *Peloponneſus*, they met a Deputy of the *Achæan* Faction, named *Thearidas*, whom the Seditious were ſending to *Rome*, there to give an Account of their Proceedings againſt *Aurelius*. But upon meeting the *Roman* Ambaſſadors, the *Achæan* was obliged to return back to his own Country. He accompanied *Julius* thither, and was a Witneſs of the new Occurrences there. *Achaia* had then changed her *Prætor*; and *Critolaus* had ſucceeded *Diæus*. Theſe two Men were formed upon the ſame Plan. They were equally audacious and raſh, equally Lovers of Sedition, and equally delighted in ſeducing Mankind. *Diæus* differed from *Critolaus* only in this, that being born with as cruel, avaritious, deceitful, and imperious a Diſpoſition as his, he carried all theſe Vices to a greater Exceſs. The new Ambaſſador was to treat with *Critolaus*; and was probably received with all

47 This City of *Heraclea*, which had joined in the *Achæan* Confederacy, ſtood in *Phthiotis*, a Province of *Theſſaly*, near the Paſs of *Thermopylæ*. We have before given an Account of it, under the Name of *Heraclea Trachynea*, to diſtinguiſh it from the other Cities that bore the Name of *Heraclea*.

48 *Orchomenos* was one of the largeſt Cities in *Bœotia*, and famous for a Temple dedicated to the three *Graces*; which was one of the moſt ancient and wealthy of any in *Greece*. We muſt take care not to confound this City with another of the ſame Name in *Arcadia*, near *Mantinea*. The Territory of the latter was marſhy, according to *Dion. Halicarnaſſeus*. *Strabo* alſo mentions a City and River of *Theſſaly*, called *Orchomenos*.

the Marks of Diſtinction due to the Republick he repreſented. A Diet was aſ- Year of
ſembled at *Ægium* 49, to hear him; and *Julius* ſpoke with that Air of Sweet- *ROME*
neſs which was natural to him, and tempered his Reproaches with the moſt ten- DCVII.
der Expreſſions. *We can excuſe,* ſaid he, *the firſt Commotions of a Multitude,* CN. CORNELI-
whoſe Zeal for their Country led them aſtray; and are ſenſible that the Heads of the US LENTULUS,
State cannot govern them on ſuch Occaſions. Friends and Enemies are confounded L. MUMMIUS
together in theſe blind Tranſports. If our Ambaſſadors have ſuffered any ill Treat- ACHAICUS,
ment, in Times of Trouble and Inconſideration, the Fault is eaſy to be repaired. The Conſuls.
Romans *will be appeaſed with the leaſt Signs of Repentance. All the Satisfaction* *Pauſan. in Achaia.*
that Rome *would require of you, is only to leave* Lacedæmon *in Peace, and no longer* *Polyb. in Legat.* N. 144.
to rend the Boſom of Greece, *but reſtore Tranquillity to* Peloponneſus.

THIS moderate Diſcourſe, in which *Julius* deſignedly omitted ſaying one Word of the odious withdrawing of many Cities from the *Achæan* League, was extremely agreeable to the greateſt Part of the Aſſembly. The moſt Senſible recollected their paſt Fault, and called to mind the Rigour *Rome* had lately exerciſed againſt *Macedon.* They very well knew, That the *Prætor Metellus,* after he had deſtroyed the Projects of two imaginary Kings, continued ſtill in the Neighbourhood of *Greece*; and That it would be very eaſy for him to come into *Peloponneſus,* and revenge the Injury done the *Romans.*

THESE Reflections made them very ſenſible of the Clemency of the Senate, and the Mildneſs of the Ambaſſador's Diſcourſe. *Critolaus* and *Diæus* were the only Perſons whoſe Fury carried them far beyond the Bounds of Reaſon. That *Critolaus* who had not performed one valiant Act during the War, was now very ardent to cope with the *Roman* Generals; and he joined with *Diæus,* in endeavouring to efface the Impreſſions *Julius*'s Speech had made on the Minds of the Aſſembly. Nevertheleſs, to amuſe the Ambaſſadors, he at firſt treated them with Civility. He promiſed *Julius* to ſend *Thearidas* to *Rome,* to efface the Prejudices that had been inſtilled into the Senate againſt the *Achæan* Circle. But theſe Civilities and Declarations were only an Artifice, the better to conceal the private Proceedings of the *Prætor* and his Confident. They underhand called together an Aſſembly of ſome conſiderable Men of the Cities of their Canton; but took care that it ſhould conſiſt of Men of their own Stamp, and devoted to their Faction. To theſe the *Prætor* repreſented, That it was dangerous to truſt to the ſeeming Moderation of the *Romans*; That their Republick only ſuſpended her Revenge till *Carthage* was deſtroyed; That they would ſoon ſee her *Legions* burn *Peloponneſus* with the ſame Flambeaux they had uſed in laying *Africa* deſolate; and That it was neceſſary to prevent theſe Hoſtilities, raiſe up Enemies againſt the *Romans,* and deſtroy their Friends. Such were the Diſcourſes of *Critolaus* and *Diæus,* in their private Conventicles. In publick, they ſpake a very different Language, to the *Roman* Deputies. They invited them to *Tegea* 50, to meet an extraordinary Aſſembly, in which the Affairs of *Lacedæmon* ſhould be amicably adjuſted, to the Satisfaction of both Parties. But the artful *Greeks* intended only to deceive and provoke the Ambaſſadors themſelves, by ſhewing them that they ſported with their Credulity. However, *Critolaus* appointed the Day when the Conference was to be held at *Tegea*; fully reſolved both to fruſtrate the Expectations of the Ambaſſadors, and to exaſperate them.

§. XLIII. ACCORDINGLY, *Julius* and his Collegues came with the *Lacedæmonians* to the Place appointed; and long waited for the Arrival of the Deputies of *Achaia.* Not an *Achæan* appeared. Whilſt the *Romans* were idle in one Corner of the Province, *Critolaus* was ſending Couriers from City to City, to prevent the Heads appearing at the Congreſs. *Julius* was impatient, and already began to expreſs his Uneaſineſs, when *Critolaus* alone came to *Tegea*; and, to the great Surprize of the *Romans,* ſaid, That the Diſpute between the *Achæans* and *Lacedæmonians* was of too much Importance to be determined in a private Aſſembly; That it was neceſſary to poſtpone the Conſideration of it, till a general Diet could meet; and That ſuch a

49 We have ſeveral times mentioned *Ægium,* a City of *Achaia Propria.* It ſtood on the South Coaſt of *The Gulph of Corinth,* between *Patræ* and *Sicyon.* It is now called *Voſtiza.*

50 *Tegea* was a City of *Peloponneſus,* ſituated on the Banks of the River of *Eurotas.* It belonged to *Arcadia.* It is now only a Caſtle, to which *Chalcondylas* and *Niger* give the Name of *Muchli.* This City was famous for a Temple conſecrated to *Minerva,* and a Marble Theatre built by *Perſes* King of *Macedon.* The Temple was an inviolable *Aſylum* for all who took Sanctuary in it.

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Diet could not be aſſembled, according to Law, in leſs than ſix Months. The Pride of the *Romans* is well known; and we may from thence judge how provoking this Deceit of *Critolaus* was to the Ambaſſadors. They thought their Republick inſulted, and complained that they had been perſonally ill uſed, and laughed at by the *Prætor*. The latter gloried in having mortified *Rome*, in the Perſons of her Envoys, and took no one Step to pacify them. He laughed at their Rage, and ſuffered them to ſet out for *Rome*, without vouchſafing to ſend *Thearidas* thither to juſtify his Proceedings to the Senate. *Critolaus* deſired War, and ſought to bring it upon himſelf in ſuch a manner, that his Nation ſhould not be able to reproach him with having offered any Violence. He attacked the *Romans* by their *Foible*; and thought that indiſcreet Acts of Contempt would as effectually exaſperate them, as Rage, and direct Hoſtilities. Nevertheleſs *Rome* was not in Haſte to declare herſelf openly. Notwithſtanding the warm Complaints of *Julius* and his Collegues, the Senate would not immediately reſolve on a War with *Achaia*. They contented themſelves with referring the Affair to *Metellus*, who having conquered the falſe *Philip*, and the falſe *Alexander*, in *Macedon*, was now governing that *Province* in Peace. The Orders ſent him were, to treat, as of his own Head, with *Critolaus*, in order to bring him to Reaſon. *Metellus* therefore ſent to *Achaia* four Agents, whom he probably choſe out of the Officers of his Troops. Their Names were, *Cn. Papirius*, *Ælius Lamia*, *A. Gabinius*, and *Q. Fannius*. This new Embaſſy ought to have been received with the more Reſpect, as it came from a victorious General, whoſe Army was encamped in *Macedon*, on the Confines of *Greece*. Could *Rome* then poſſibly have ſhewn *Achaia* more Condeſcenſion and Regard? She plainly did all that was in her Power to preſerve her from the Deſtruction which ſhe was raſhly bringing upon her own Head.

CRITOLAUS, after the Departure of *Julius*, appeared like a Fury let looſe to deſtroy his Country. He vented his Rage in all Places, and ſpread his Reproaches from City to City. He ſpent the whole Winter in inveighing againſt the *Romans*, blackening them with Calumnies, and making their Name odious, even beyond the Confines of *Peloponneſus*. In order to increaſe his Party, he publiſhed an Edict in favour of Perſons over-run with Debt. He forbad the Judges of all the Canton to proſecute or impriſon any *Achæan* for Debt, till the Diſpute between the Diet and *Lacedæmon* was at an End. This made the greateſt Number deſire the Continuation of the preſent Troubles, and gained him their Suffrages.

A little tranſient Advantage made the Multitude forget their common Danger; and the People inconſiderately gave in to the Paſſions of a Madman, who neither foreſaw his own Misfortunes, nor thoſe of his Nation. During theſe Tranſactions, the four Deputies whom the *Prætor* ſent from *Macedon*, to make the laſt Efforts upon *Critolaus*, landed at *Corinth*. But the Diet was not aſſembled to receive them; neither were they ſuffered to appear before an Aſſembly of grave, peaceable Men, who were capable of hearkening to Reaſon. The *Achæan Prætor* would only ſuffer them to declare their Buſineſs to the Commonalty of *Corinth*, aſſembled in the Market-place. This Aſſembly almoſt wholly conſiſted of factious Artificers, and ſome turbulent Burghers; and *Papirius*, who was the Mouth of the *Romans*, ſpake with at leaſt as much Moderation as *Julius* had done.

His Diſcourſe tended wholly to ſhew, how much it was the Intereſt of *Achaia*, to keep up a good Correſpondence with *Rome*; and he ſaid not one Word of the Separation of *Lacedæmon*, and the other Cities, from the *Achæan* League. But *Critolaus* was baſe and artful, enough to make the *Corinthians* look on the Care of the Ambaſſadors not to provoke them, as a Proof of the Weakneſs and Fear of the *Romans*; and upon this Prejudice, which was in an Inſtant ſpread thro' the Aſſembly, the Populace made no Scruple of inſulting the Meſſengers from *Metellus*. There were at *Corinth* many Smiths of all kinds, who often came to their *Comitia*, with their Heads warmed with the Fires of their Forges; and theſe Brutes now fell upon the *Romans*, loaded them with Reproaches, and drove them out of the Aſſembly. Nay, I had almoſt added, that they rudely beat them. But as all the Hiſtorians are not agreed in this Particular, I ſhall only ſay, that they offered them all the Affronts poſſible; and threw Dirt upon them, as they retired to their Lodgings.

Livy in Epit. Florus; Oroſius; Pauſan. &c.

§. XLIV. THUS

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§. XLIV. THUS *Critolaus* was now gone too far to be able to retreat; and he harangued the Multitude, whom he had already exaſperated in his firſt Tranſports. His Diſcourſe was artful; and at firſt fell only indirectly on the *Romans*. The paſſionate Invectives of the *Prætor* were chiefly levelled at the many Friends the *Romans* yet had among the *Achæans* of the firſt Rank. *After the Death of* Callicrates, ſaid he, *we had Reaſon to believe that the* Achæan *Circle had at length recovered her Liberty. That Advocate for a foreign Power found his Account in enſlaving us, and turned our Slavery to his own Advantage. He, by his Accuſations, firſt cauſed all the Nobility of the Country to be carried into* Italy; *and then, being left here almoſt without a Rival, governed us in a deſpotick manner. We therefore juſtly hated him when alive; but have we gained much by his Death? For one* Callicrates, *whom the Gods have taken from us, there are ſtarted up an hundred in the Boſom of* Achaia. *Theſe Men, who are wholly devoted to their own Intereſt, meanly cringe to a foreign Senate, in order to get the Dominion in their native Country into their own Hands. Shall we then never extirpate theſe Vipers who prey upon the Vitals of their Country? Nay, ſhall we even raiſe them to the firſt Dignities? No,* Achæans; *we will no longer ſuffer thoſe Men to govern us, who are uſed to receive Impreſſions from Abroad, and to ſacrifice the Independence of their own Republick to the Caprices of an imperious Nation.* Achaia *is not yet deſtitute of Men who have Prudence enough to govern it by their own Underſtandings, without the Dictates of Foreigners; and Bravery enough to defend it, againſt all Attacks from Abroad. Shall we always tremble under the Dominion of the* Romans? *But what have I ſaid? Why did that Expreſſion eſcape me? However, ſince I have gone ſo far, I will now venture to declare my whole Mind to you. Let us have* Rome *for a Friend; but never ſuffer her to be our Miſtreſs.*

THESE laſt Words terrified the prudent old Men who were in the Aſſembly; and they ſurrounded the *Prætor*, and would have ſilenced him. Upon this, *Critolaus*, tranſported with Rage, called to his Guard; threatened theſe venerable Men with the worſt of Treatment, if they ventured but to touch his Robe; and, in a greater Paſſion than ever, went on thus. *No; the* Lacedæmonians *and* Romans *are not our greateſt Enemies. They are moſt to be dreaded, who, tho' educated among us, betray their Country, and divulge all her Secrets, for Gain.* This ſaid, he named two Men of unblameable Conduct, and accuſed them of informing the *Roman* Ambaſſadors of all that paſſed in the National Councils. One of theſe accuſed was of *Ægium*, and named *Evagoras*; the other of [51] *Trithæum*, and named *Strategius*. The latter immediately gave the *Prætor* the Lie, and ſteadily inſiſted on his Innocence. *I have indeed*, ſaid he, *ſeen* Papirius *and the* Romans, *and I am reſolved to viſit them, till ſuch time as they are declared Enemies to us. But as to any thing more, I call the Gods to witneſs, that I never diſcovered to them any of the Secrets of our Aſſemblies.* However, the Multitude was for the *Prætor*; and they, without farther Examination, received the Accuſation as true, and condemned *Strategius*, notwithſtanding his Oath. This notorious Act of Injuſtice convinced *Critolaus* that he was abſolute Maſter of the People; and then he carried his Fury to the utmoſt Extremity. He, in the ſame Aſſembly, cauſed War to be declared with the *Lacedæmonians*, and conſequently with the *Romans*, who were united with them in the ſame Cauſe. Thus one ſingle Man, who was not Maſter of his Paſſions, made all the poſſible Haſte he could, to forward his own Ruin, and that of his Country.

Pauſan. in Achaic. Polyb. ibid.

§. XLV. WHEN the War was declared, the Ambaſſadors parted. *Papirius* went firſt to *Athens*, and then to *Lacedæmon*, there to watch the Steps of the Enemy. *Ælius* ſet out for *Naupactus*, in order to favour the March of the *Roman* Troops towards *Peloponneſus*. *Gabinius* and *Fannius* returned to *Metellus*'s Camp in *Macedon*, and excited him not to delay revenging the Inſults the *Achæans* had offered to *Rome*. Upon which the *Prætor* probably did not wait for the Anſwers of the Senate. In order to prevent Delays, he ſeems to have taken upon him, to march towards *Greece*, before his Republick had juridically declared the *Achæans* her Enemies. But be that as it will, *Metellus* took the Road towards *Achaia*, and reſolved to enter it by *Theſſaly*.

Florus, B. 2. c. 16.

51 *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* place the City of *Trithæum* in *Phocis*, at a little Diſtance from the Canton of the *Locri Ozolæ*.

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CRITOLAUS had promiſed the *Achæans*, that before he began the War, he would make his Party ſtrong enough to reſiſt both the *Lacedæmonians* and *Romans* together. A ſtrange Deluſion, which this blind People believed, contrary to all manner of Probability! However, the *Prætor* of *Achaia* reſolved at leaſt to take the Advantage of a favourable Opportunity that offered of increaſing his Troops. There were two Countries in *Greece* which had been diſobliged by *Metellus*, ſince his Abode in *Macedon*. The Inhabitants of *Thebes* in *Bœotia* had lately loſt two Cauſes, which had been brought before the Tribunal of the *Roman Prætor*. In the firſt place, the *Thebans* had been condemned to make the *Phocæans* Satisfaction, for the Loſſes the latter had ſuffered by their frequent Incurſions. And in the ſecond place, the ſame *Thebans* had been forced, by another Decree, to deliver up a third Part of their Harveſt to the Inhabitants of *Amphiſſa* [52], in *Locris*, for having reaped the Corn of theſe Neighbours, and taken it to themſelves. Theſe Things enraged the *Thebans*, and they joined their Forces to thoſe of *Critolaus*, under the Command of *Pythias*, the *Theban* General. Upon the ſame Motives *Chalcis* alſo joined the *Achæans*. The Inhabitants of that Capital had ravaged a Part of *Eubœa*, and *Metellus* had ordered them to make Reſtitution. But after all, what was this Addition, of two Cities rather than of two Nations, to enable them to reſiſt the Power of *Rome?* Who can excuſe *Critolaus* of Raſhneſs, or Folly? Powerful Kings, ſuch as *Philip*, *Antiochus*, or *Perſes*, may be excuſed for entering the Liſts with a powerful Republick. But ſhould a petty People, whom *Rome* had treated with too great Civility, either out of Pity, or Contempt; ſhould they, have pretended to cope with the moſt powerful State in the World, which had hitherto been invincible? Thus two turbulent Men, of great Intereſt, conveyed their own Paſſions into the Breaſts of an inconſiderate Multitude. *Diæus* [53] and *Critolaus* had been of the Number of thoſe Exiles whom the *Romans* had kept ſo long in *Italy*, in a kind of Captivity; and they ſought to revenge themſelves, tho' at the Expence of their Country.

METELLUS, before he heard the Report of the Ambaſſadors, either upon bare Conjectures, or Rumours ſpread from Mouth to Mouth, had left *Macedon*, and was advancing towards *Greece*, by way of *Theſſaly*. He led with him only a *Prætorian* Army; but it was a victorious one, and ſufficient to bring *Achaia* to Reaſon. And when he had received certain Information, that *Critolaus* had cauſed War to be declared, and begun it, he haſtened his March. Indeed the *Achæan Prætor* was already beſieging *Heraclea*, a City of the Circle of *Achaia*, which refuſed to ſubmit to the Circle, and was near to *Theſſaly*. But tho' the *Theban* and *Chalcidian* Succours had already joined the *Achæan* Army, and it was as complete as it could be, *Critolaus* was ſtruck with Dread, when he heard that *Metellus* was drawing near him. His Courage and Preſence of Mind failed him all at once. He might eaſily have ſeized the Paſs of *Thermopylæ*, and encamped in the Defiles, where the *Perſians* had formerly been baffled; and thereby might have ſtopped at leaſt, if not defeated, the *Roman* Army. But the *Achæan* General choſe rather to enter into his own Country, *Achaia*, and poſt himſelf under [54] *Scarphea*, than wait for the Enemy, and fight him to Advantage. Men that talk loftily in their Paſſions, don't always act with a Reſolution and Courage equal to their Words. *Critolaus*'s Retreat had all the Appearance of a Flight. In the mean time, the *Roman* General paſſed the *Sperchius*, and followed cloſe after the *Achæans*. At length he came up with them, and fought them; and tho' the Hiſtorians have not told us the Particulars of the Battel, we may well conclude that it coſt the *Greeks* dear. The *Romans* took a thouſand of them Priſoners of War; and at length, the Rout of the *Achæan* Army was general. *Critolaus* himſelf loſt his Life by it; not in the Heat of the Battel; but he in Deſpair made away with himſelf. Some ſay he took Poiſon; others that he threw himſelf down from Mount *Oeta* into a Marſh,

52 *Amphiſſa*, which ſtood on the Banks of a little River of the ſame Name, was one of the greateſt Cities in *Locris*. It is now called *Salona*. But *Niger* thinks its ancient Situation agrees better with that of a little Village now called *Lambino*.

53 This *Diæus* is the ſame Man who is called *Dracus*, in *Livy*'s *Epitome*. *Oroſius*, *Eutropius*, and the Author of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men*, have ſo disfigured the Name of this *Greek*, that it is hard to be known.

54 *Scarphea* was a City of *Locris*. It bordered upon *Theſſaly*, near *The Paſs of Thermopylæ*. *Mollet* thought he found ſome Footſteps of it near a Place called *Bondoniza*.

where he was drowned. At leaſt it's certain he was never ſeen more; neither was his Body found on the Field of Battel. A ſhameful End, thus to die without having performed one Feat of Valour; but worthy of ſuch an Incendiary, whoſe whole Compoſition was Vanity and Fury!

Year of ROME DCVII. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS L. MUMMIUS ACHAICUS, Conſuls.

§. XLVI. IT was an eſtabliſhed Law among the *Achæans*, That when the Head of their Nation died during his Office, his immediate Predeceſſor ſhould ſucceed him, and govern the Republick till the next general Diet, which was held on a certain ſtated Day. So that *Diæus* now became Governour again, and took upon him the Command of the ſcattered and disbanded Army. He was informed, that a Body of about a thouſand *Arcadians*, who came with *Pythias* to the Aſſiſtance of *Achaia*, had eſcaped out of the Battel, and fled for Refuge to *Elatea* 55 in *Phocis*; but that *Metellus* had fallen upon them there, and not one of them had eſcaped Death. This was melancholy News; nevertheleſs *Diæus* was not diſcouraged by it. He had been the firſt Cauſe of the War; and it behoved him to maintain it. He therefore ſent four thouſand of his Troops to *Megara*, under the Command of one *Alcamenes*. He flattered himſelf that this ſmall Body would be able to ſtop the *Romans*, who had juſt utterly deſtroyed the whole Army of *Critolaus*. Then *Diæus* came to *Argi*, and from thence ſent an Order to all the Cities of *Achaia*, to raiſe new Troops. The Edict commanded, 1. That no leſs than twelve thouſand of thoſe Slaves who had been born in the Country ſhould be inliſted; and that in caſe of Neceſſity ſome of the Slaves that had been brought from foreign Countries might be incorporated with them, to make up the Number. 2. That all Men who were of Age to bear Arms, whether in *Achaia* or *Arcadia*, ſhould repair to *Corinth*, and there take the military Oaths. 3. That all Perſons of Subſtance, whether Men or Women, ſhould bring all their Gold and Silver into the publick Treaſury. This Edict convinced all *Achaia* of the extreme Danger that threatened them; and as they could not depend on the Ability of their Governours, the Deſpair was univerſal. Nevertheleſs, as they were embarked in a dangerous War, they blindly purſued the mad Scheme. The Conſternation was greateſt among the Inhabitants of *Elea*, *Meſſene* 56, and *Patræ* 57. They had been informed, That a *Conſular* Army was ready to arrive from *Rome*; and That a *Conſul* was immediately coming, with new *Legions*, to take the Place of the *Prætor Metellus*. And as theſe Cities were expoſed to the firſt Attacks of the Enemy, after their landing, they expected the moſt ſevere Treatment. *Patræ* eſpecially, had already loſt the fineſt Part of her Youth, which had been killed in the Battel of *Scarphea*; and the greateſt Number of her unfortunate Citizens gave themſelves up to Rage and Deſpair. Several of them killed themſelves, for fear of falling into the Conqueror's Hands. But the wiſeſt Part had Recourſe to the Clemency of the Conqueror, and fled to *Metellus*'s Camp for Refuge. There they informed againſt the moſt factious of their Countrymen, tho' no Enquiry was yet made after them. This was the Temper of the *Greeks*. They ſcrupled nothing, to gain the Favour of any new Party that they embraced.

Polyb. in excerptis ex Valeſio.

IN the mean time, the *Roman Prætor* entered *Arcadia*, and drew near to *Thebes*, a City which had openly declared for the *Achæan* Confederacy. *Pythias* the *Theban* had ſtirred up all the People there; and it was in ſearch of him that *Metellus* came. But the Incendiary had baniſhed himſelf from his native Country, and was gone, with his Wife and Children, to ſome Place in *Peloponneſus*; and after his Example, moſt of the *Thebans* had abandoned their City. So that it was nothing but a vaſt Deſert. However, the *Roman* General, who made himſelf Maſter of it, ſhewed great Moderation. He gave the few Citizens he found there their Lives, ſaved the Temples and Houſes from being plundered, and only ſet a Price upon *Pythias*'s Head. Then the Incendiary was ſoon brought to the *Prætor*, and immediately executed by his *Lictors*. This Mixture of Mildneſs and Severity, filled the People of *Achaia* with Confidence, and their Governours with Dread; and *Metellus* marched on, to enter the Lands of the *Achæan* Republick. *Me-*

55 See what we have ſaid of the City of *Elatea*, *Vol.* 3. The Moderns pretend that it ſtood near a Village which is now called *Turchocori*.

56 We have already deſcribed the Cities of *Elea* and *Meſſene*.

57 *Patræ*, which ſtands on *The Gulph of Corinth*, retains the ſame Name to this Day. We have ſpoken of it already.

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gara [58] was the firſt Poſt he was to ſeize; but it was guarded by *Alcamenes*, with a Detachment of four thouſand Men. Nevertheleſs, the bare Preſence of a *Prætorian* Army ſo terrified this Commander, that he left the City defenceleſs, and retired to *Corinth*, whither *Diæus* was already come: So that *Megara* opened her Gates to the *Romans*, and the Plains of *Achaia* became a Prey to the Enemy. And then *Metellus* thought he might take Advantage of this general Conſternation, to promote his own Glory. He had been informed, that the *Conſul Mummius* had obtained Leave of the Senate to come into *Achaia*, and finiſh the War there by the Deſtruction of *Corinth*. To end the War therefore by a Peace, would be both for the Advantage of *Metellus* and the *Achæans*. The former would have triumphed, for having vanquiſhed *Andriſcus* and ſettled *Achaia* in Peace. The latter would have prevented the Loſs of many of their Lives, and ſaved their Capital from the Fire and Swords of the *Romans*. All then that was wanting to conclude a Treaty that ſhould be favourable to both Parties, was only to find Reaſon enough in *Diæus* and the Heads of his Faction to conſent to it. The *Achæans* in general inclined to Peace, and dreaded the Conſequences of the War; and this favourable Opportunity of working upon *Diæus* and his Faction was not to be neglected. *Metellus* therefore ſent from his Camp three *Achæans* of Conſideration in their own Country, and well affected to the *Romans*; but more ſtrongly touched with the Misfortunes into which their own Republick was going to be plunged. The Names of theſe three *Achæans* were *Andronidas*, *Logius*, and *Archippus*. *Metellus* would not chuſe *Romans* for this Embaſſy. Thoſe he had formerly ſent to *Corinth* had been too unworthily treated. And the Deputies he now ſent met with a much worſe Reception. *Diæus* looked on the three Ambaſſadors as the Subjects of his Republick, and Traitors to their Country; and after he had produced them before the Aſſembly of the People, he ordered them to be thrown into Priſon. The *Achæan Prætor* was ſo obſtinate that he could not be prevailed on to alter his Meaſures, either by the Remonſtrances of *Philo*, who came on purpoſe from *Theſſaly*; or by the Intreaties and Careſſes of *Stratius*, a wiſe old Man of *Trithæum*, his particular Friend.

§. XLVII. But notwithſtanding the Bravadoes of the *Achæan* General, it was viſible enough that he preferred War to Peace, only becauſe he ſecretly deſpaired of being able to reconcile himſelf to the *Romans*. The Madman gave himſelf but little Pain, that his own Ruin would bring with it that of all his Nation; and made it his whole Buſineſs to bring into his Meaſures the principal Members of the Council, who were Men of Paſſion, and devoted to his Faction. Theſe, to ſhew their Reſentment to the uttermoſt, condemned to Death *Andronidas*, *Logius* and *Archippus*, the three Deputies ſent by *Metellus*; and joined with them in the ſame Condemnation *Soſicrates*, a venerable Senator, whoſe only Crime was his having voted for treating of a Peace with the *Romans*. *Soſicrates* was firſt executed; and no kind of Torture was ſpared, in order to extort from him ſuch a Confeſſion as *Diæus* wanted. But *Soſicrates* maintained to the laſt, That Peace was preferable to War; and this inflexible Conſtancy made ſome Impreſſion on the People. *Diæus* pretended to be afraid of a Sedition, and ſuſpended the Execution of the Sentence paſſed upon *Andronidas* and his Collegues. But the true Secret was, that it was agreed to ſell them their Deliverance at a great Price. The covetous *Prætor* got for himſelf a *Talent* * of *Andronidas*, and forty † *Minæ* [59] of *Archippus*. Nothing but his Greedineſs of Gain could have quenched his Thirſt for Blood. A few Days before, *Diæus* had delivered up to Death one *Phillius*, and his Children; only becauſe they were ſuſpected of keeping an Intelligence with *Menalcidas* at *Lacedæmon*, and inclining to favour the *Roman* Party. Unfortunate *Achæans!* to be governed by Heads who neither had any Rules of Conduct but their Paſſions, or any Talent for War but their Ferocity! Inſomuch, that we ſhall ſoon ſee *Achaia* obliged to acknowledge, that the *Romans* promoted her Happineſs by ſubduing her, after they had firſt delivered her from her Tyrants.

* 193 *l.* 15 *s. Sterl.*
† 129 *l.* 3 *s.* 4 *d. Sterl.*

58 *Megara* was the Capital of a Canton of *Achaia*, called *Megaris*. It is now but a little City ſituated on an Hill, near *The Iſthmus of Corinth*. It had the Glory to give Birth to the famous Mathematician *Euclid*.

59 The forty *Minæ* made two thirds of an *Attick Talent*, which contained ſixty.

The

Year of *ROME* DCVII. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS L. MUMMIUS ACHAICUS, Conſuls.

THE Victory which *Metellus* had gained near *Scarphea*, was already known at *Rome*. A vain Coxcomb, named *Poſtumius*, had ſent an Account of it, and tho' abſent from the Battel, under Pretence of Sickneſs, had given a pompous Deſcription of it, as if he had been in it. This Relation made the *Conſul Mummius* haſten his Departure for *Achaia*, which had fallen to his Lot. Why the Senate did not ſuffer *Metellus* to finiſh a War which he had proſecuted ſo far, is now hard to ſay. Perhaps they were reſolved to puniſh him for having undertaken it, without waiting for the Orders of the Republick. But be that as it will, *Mummius* came to ſucceed *Metellus*, and had no Difficulty in making a Conqueſt which his Predeceſſor had almoſt finiſhed. The *Conſul* had already landed the numerous Army he brought with him, when *Metellus* was advancing towards *Corinth*, to make his laſt Efforts to perſuade *Diæus*. If he had found him at all tractable, he would have concluded the Treaty of Peace with him, before the Arrival of the *Conſular* Army, and would have deprived *Mummius* of the Honour of finiſhing his Work. But the Obſtinacy of the *Achæan* Head, and the Vengeance of Heaven, which led him on to his Deſtruction, made *Diæus* deſpiſe very advantageous Offers. *Pauſan. in Achaic.*

AT length *Mummius*, inveſted with all the Authority of his Republick, appeared before *Corinth*. His firſt Care was immediately to ſend back *Metellus* and his Troops into *Macedon*. The *Conſular* Army was ſufficient for him. It conſiſted of three thouſand five hundred Horſe, and twenty three thouſand Foot, excluſive of a Body of *Cretan* Archers, and the *Pergamian* Troops which King *Attalus* the Son of *Eumenes* had ſent to the *Conſul*, to enlarge his Army. *Mummius* encamped near *The Iſthmus of Corinth*, and poſted Advanced-Guards in ſeveral Places. But as no Enemy appeared, and all the *Achæan* Army was ſhut up in the Place, Diſcipline was a little neglected among the *Romans*. They rambled about the Fields, and no one kept to his Poſt. The *Corinthians* obſerved this, fell ſuddenly on theſe *Legionaries*, routed them, and drove them fighting to their Trenches. But a ſlight Advantage is often a Bait to draw raſh Men into a Snare. *Diæus* now conceived great Hopes of conquering; and *Mummius* heightened them by a feigned Terror. The *Conſul* kept his *Legions* cloſe in his Camp, and pretended not to be able to bear the Sight of the Enemy. Which made the *Achæan* General both audacious and inſolent.

AFTER he had aſſembled together all the Soldiers in the Country, he formed a *Phalanx* of them, which, with the auxiliary Troops he received from *Chalcis*, made up an Army equal, if not ſuperior in Number, to that of the *Romans*. It only wanted a General of Experience, and Soldiers who had been long uſed to fight pitched Battels. However, *Diæus* thought that Deſpair, and the great Importance of their Cauſe, would ſupply the Want of Courage and Experience in his Soldiers. And he therefore offered the *Conſul* Battel, which the latter pretended to decline. This he did, to draw the *Achæan* into a Valley called *Leucopetra*[60], at the Extremity of the *Iſthmus* which joined *Attica* to *Peloponneſus*: And accordingly, the *Achæan* Army repaired thither, long before the *Conſular*. *Diæus* was ſo ſure of Victory, that he had invited the Women and Children of *Corinth* to come and entertain themſelves with the Sight of the Slaughter of the Enemy. He placed them on the Eminencies, where he ſuppoſed they would be ſafe: And had ordered a great Number of Waggons to follow his Army, to carry the Booty which he was to take from the Enemy. *Auth. de Vir. Illuſtr.*

AT length, the *Conſul* appeared in the Plain with his Troops, which he drew up in Battalia. He had the Day before had the Precaution to lay in Ambuſh the greateſt Part of his Squadrons, in a Place from whence they were to ſally out in the Heat of the Action, and attack the *Achæan Phalanx* in Flank. The Battel began; and the *Achæan* Cavalry gave way before that of the *Romans*. But the *Phalanx*, whoſe Diſpoſition was its ſole Support, made a little more Reſiſtance. However, at length a Body of a thouſand *Legionaries* broke it; and then the Slaughter was terrible. The two Seas which were divided by *The Iſthmus of* *Pauſan. in Achaic. Zonaras, B. 9. c. 31.*

60 The Author of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men* is the only one who mentions a Valley in *Achaia*, called *Leucopetra*. We know no Place of this Name, but a Mountain which divides the Country of the *Parthians* from *Hyrcania*; and a Promontory now called *Capo dell' Armi*, in *South Calabria*.

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Corinth [61], were died with Blood. All that eſcaped the Sword of the Enemy fled; and the fierce *Dieus* took Refuge in *Megalopolis*, his native City. It was an unpardonable Fault in him to abandon *Corinth*, and not to have appointed that for a Place of Retreat for his Troops, in caſe of Misfortune. This City was then one of the ſtrongeſt Places in the World. Beſides the two Ports of *Lechæum* and [62] *Cenchrea*, which covered it on the two Sides of *The Iſthmus*, it had a Citadel within its Walls, which was ſo high that it was for that Reaſon called [63] *Acro-Corinthus*. It may ſafely be affirmed, That, notwithſtanding the Loſs of the Battel, *Dieus* might have held out a Siege in his Capital longer than *Aſdrubal* kept *Africanus the Second* before *Carthage*. But this is a common Fault with preſumptuous Generals: They depend ſo much on Victory, that they make no Proviſion for a Retreat, in caſe of ill Succeſs. However, *Dieus* had his Share of that Courage at leaſt which the Ancients ſo much commend in ſome of their Heroes. When he came to [64] *Megalopolis*, he ſet Fire to his Houſe; threw his Wife into the Flames, for fear ſhe ſhould fall into the Enemy's Hands; and diſpatched himſelf by Poiſon. A melancholy Effect of Raſhneſs and Deſpair! If he had ſhut himſelf up in *Corinth*, he might perhaps have ſaved the City by an honourable Capitulation.

§. XLVIII. AFTER the Loſs of the Battel, all things were in Confuſion at *Corinth*. The few Remains of the routed Troops which had fled thither left the Walls, which the General himſelf had abandoned; and after the Example of the Soldiers, the Inhabitants fled to other Places for Safety, leaving the City deſerted. The Gates were opened, and there appeared no Body on the Ramparts to defend them. This News was brought to the victorious Army; and the *Conſul*, who was ſurprized at it, ſuſpected that an Ambuſcade was laid for him, under the Pretence of a Deſertion: And therefore he reſtrained the Ardour of his Soldiers, who were very earneſt to enter *Corinth*, and plunder it. But at length, after three Days Delay, when *Mummius* had taken proper Precautions, and narrowly obſerved all Places within and without the City, he led his Troops thither, and made himſelf Maſter of it. Then the Cruelty of the *Roman* Soldiers was ſuch, that they ſpared none who were able to bear Arms. They gave Life only to the Women and Children, whom they ſold for Slaves to the beſt Bidder. After this, the City was plundered; and who can reckon up the immenſe Riches which the *Romans* brought from thence? There were more Workmen in Gold, Silver, and Copper, in *Corinth*, than in any City in the World. It was, if I may ſo ſpeak, the univerſal Magazine where *Europe* and *Aſia* furniſhed themſelves with Veſſels of all Sorts of Metals. There the fineſt Statues were caſt for Temples and Palaces. The Arts ſeemed to have taken up their Habitation in this City, where [65] Painting and Sculpture eſpecially were brought to great Perfection. What Pity was it then, that ſo many valuable Works of the greateſt Maſters ſhould fall into the Hands of Soldiers, who ſet no Value on theſe Maſter-pieces of Art! *Polybius* the *Achæan* was himſelf an Eye-witneſs, according to *Strabo*, both of the Deſtruction of the Capital of his Country, and the Want of Taſte in the *Roman* Troops. He had haſtened from *Africa* to do his Country what Service he could, and ſaw

61 *The Iſthmus of Corinth* was ſhut in, to the Weſt by the *Ionian*, and to the Eaſt by the *Ægæan*, Sea.

62 The Port of *Cenchrea* was formed by the *Ægean* Sea, and that of *Lechæum* by the *Ionian*. Theſe two Ports, which lay at the Extremities of the *Iſthmus*, were forty *Stadia*, or five thouſand geometrical Paces, aſunder.

63 According to *Strabo*, the *Acro-Corinthus* was three *Stadia* and an half, or two thouſand one hundred and ninety Foot, perpendicular in Height. The Declivity or Deſcent of it was thirty *Stadia*, or almoſt a *French* League and a quarter. *Stephen of Byſantium* ſays, that the Mountain on which the Citadel of *Corinth* was built, was firſt called *Heliopolis*, or *The City of the Sun*, on account of the dryneſs of the Soil. Nevertheleſs, *Strabo* ſays there were ſeveral Springs of freſh Water in it, which filtrated thro' the Earth, and ran to the City. Theſe Waters made a large Fountain, which was ſufficient to ſupply the Wants of all the Inhabitants. There was the famous Fountain of *Peirene* conſecrated to the *Muſes*. The ſame Geographer alſo ſays, that it never overflowed. He makes the City alone to have been forty *Stadia*, or near two Leagues, in Circumference; and incluſive of the Mountain, or *Acro-Corinthus*, he makes its whole Compaſs to have been eighty five *Stadia*.

64 See what we have already ſaid in this Volume, of *Megalopolis*, one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in *Arcadia*.

65 According to *Iſidorus*, Painting was firſt invented at *Corinth*. But *Pliny* ſeems to divide this Honour between *Corinth* and *Sicyon*. At leaſt he ſays, that the firſt Sketches of Pictures were made by *Ardius*, and *Tolophanes*; one a *Corinthian*, and the other a *Sicyonian*. *Thucidydes* alſo aſcribes the Invention of *Triremes*, or of Galleys with three Ranks of Oars, to the Inhabitants of *Corinth*.

the *Roman* Soldiers caſting Dice on a Picture of *Ariſtides* [66], which was thought one of the Wonders of the World. It was a *Bacchus*; and ſo very fine a one, that it became a Proverb in *Greece*, that nothing ever excelled the *Bacchus* of *Ariſtides*. But this perfect Original was taken from theſe Barbarians, and the King of *Pergamus* offered for it ſix hundred thouſand * *Seſterces* [67], when the Spoils of *Corinth* were put up to Sale. The *Conſul* was ſo ſurprized to hear ſuch a Sum offered for a Picture, that he thought there was ſome magical Virtue in it; and therefore kept it, brought it to *Rome*, and placed it in the Temple [68] of *Ceres*. *Mummius* appears to have underſtood the Art of War much better than thoſe of Painting and Sculpture. When he put the Pictures and Statues he had taken in *Corinth*, on board the Tranſports, he made it a Condition with the Captains, that if any of them were ſpoiled, they ſhould find him others inſtead of them. As if any Copies could equal theſe capital Pieces of the moſt celebrated Maſters in *Greece*.

Year of ROME DCVII.
CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, L. MUMMIUS ACHAICUS, Conſuls.
* 4843 *l.* 15 *s. Sterl.*
Plin. B. 35. *c.* 4.
Vell. Pat. B. 1.

WHEN *Corinth* was pillaged, nothing remained but to reduce it to Aſhes. This was the Decree of the Senate of *Rome*, which the *Conſul* was obliged to put in Execution. But what Inhumanity was it, to give up two of the moſt wealthy Cities in the World, *Carthage* and *Corinth*, a Prey to the Flames in one Year! The *Roman* Policy then went no farther, than to ſtrike Terror into the reſt of the World, thereby to keep all Nations ſteddy in their Obedience to *Rome*. The Fire was ſet to all the Corners of *Corinth* at the ſame time, and the Flames increaſing more and more towards the Center, at laſt united there, and then made but one Conflagration. And this produced that famous Mixture of Metals which Art could never imitate. The Gold, Silver, and Braſs, which the *Corinthians* had hid, and which had eſcaped the Searches of the Soldiers, were melted, and ran down the Streets in Streams. As dangerous as it was to gather it up, ſome of the greedy Soldiers broke thro' the Flames in order to it, and were burnt to Death. And at length, when the Fire was extinguiſhed, then was picked up that Metal, compoſed of [69] a Mixture of ſeveral Metals, which was ſo much eſteemed in the following Ages. The Walls of the City, which were already calcined, were eaſily demoliſhed, and the *Romans* diverted themſelves with beating them down. Thus was deſtroyed that famous City, which, according to ſome, was founded as early as the Days of *Moſes*; and, as others ſay, in the time of *Othniel*, above thirteen hundred Years before its Deſtruction. But it is more probable, That it was built by [70] *Alethes*, the Son of *Hyppotes*, the fifth Grandſon of *Hercules*; and That it did not ſubſiſt above nine hundred and fifty two Years.

Vell. Pat. B. 7.

§. XLIX. THUS was the Capital of *Achaia* deſtroyed; and it was now neceſſary to determine the Fate of the *Achæans* in general. As to the *Corinthians*, and the Slaves that had taken up Arms againſt *Rome*, they were again condemned to Slavery. After they had been ſought for, in all the Places where they were diſperſed, the whole Nation was ordered to aſſemble in the open Fields. This great Crowd was ſurrounded by the *Roman* Soldiers; and becauſe they were all afraid of being involved in one common Misfortune, therefore Proclamation was made, That only the Natives of *Corinth*, and the Slaves that had become Soldiers, ſhould

66 *Ariſtides*, a Co-temporary of the famous *Apelles*, one of the moſt celebrated Painters of Antiquity, flouriſhed at *Thebes*, about the 122d *Olympiad*, which anſwers to the Year of *Rome* 467, or thereabouts. He was thought the firſt who attempted to give a viſible Repreſentation of the Motions of the Heart of Man, and repreſent the Paſſions of the Soul in Colours.

67 Suppoſing, as we have elſewhere done, that the *Roman Denarius* was worth ten *French Sols*, and that the *Little Seſterce* was the fourth Part of the *Denarius*, it will follow that ſix hundred thouſand *Seſterces* were worth ſeventy five thouſand *Livres*.

68 *Strabo* ſays that he had the Pleaſure of admiring this Maſter-piece, before it was conſumed in the Fire which reduced the Temple of *Ceres* to Aſhes.

69 *Pliny* ſays there were three Sorts of *Corinthian* Braſs; the white, the red, and that which was of the Colour of Money; according to the different Proportions of Gold, Silver, and Copper, that were in it.

70 Indeed *Corinth* had been in being, ſeveral Ages before *Alethes* made himſelf Maſter of it. But *Velleius Paterculus* gives us Reaſon to believe, that this Conqueror was at leaſt the Reſtorer of this great City, if he did not lay the firſt Foundations of it. It was originally called *Ephyra*. Afterwards, when it was re-peopled by one *Corinthus*, the Son of *Pelops*, it was called *Corinth*. Prophane Authors ſay it was ſucceſſively governed by Kings, from *Siſyphus*, of the Race of the *Æolidæ*, till it was conquered by the *Heraclidæ*. The latter alſo furniſhed it with ſome Kings, of whom the firſt was *Alethes*, the Son of *Hippotes*. But at length, the *Corinthians* aboliſhed the Regal Power, which ended with *Automenes*, of the Race of the *Bacchiadæ*; and from that time to its Deſtruction, *Corinth* was governed by Magiſtrates who were annually choſen, called *Prytaneis*.

Year of ROME DCVII.
CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, L. MUMMIUS, ACHAICUS, Conſuls.

be ſold. The *Conſul* gave the reſt of the Inhabitants of the Country their Liberty. Then he ſold the Lands of the Citizens of *Corinth*; and the *Sicyonians* got the beſt Part of them. *Thebes*, *Chalcis*, and ſome other Cities, were puniſhed for having borne Arms againſt *Rome*, by being diſmantled. *Chalcis* was obliged to pay the Inhabitants of *Heraclea* a hundred **Talents*, and *Achaia* to pay the *Lacedæmonians* two hundred ‡, by way of Satisfaction for the Injuries they had done them. Soon after, ten Commiſſioners arrived from *Rome*, to ſettle the Government of *Greece* in general, and of *Achaia* in particular; and they ordered that *Peloponneſus* ſhould be reduced to the State of a *Roman Province*, and governed by a *Prætor*. So that the general Diets, and the Union of the Cities with one another, were aboliſhed. Nevertheleſs, each City continued in Poſſeſſion of its Liberty, and was governed by its own Laws, under the Superintendency of the Magiſtrate *Rome* annually ſent to *Achaia*. The whole Nation paid a certain Tribute to the *Romans*; and the Rich were forbidden to poſſeſs Lands any where but in their own Country.

* 19375 *l. Sterl.*
‡ 38750 *l. Sterl.*

Pauſan. in Achaic.

THE Preſence of *Polybius* was of more Service to his Country than can be expreſſed. By his Intereſt in *Africanus the Second*, he obtained many Favours for his Countrymen. The Statues of the Great Men, who had done Honour to *Achaia*, were reſtored to her, by his Means; and therefore the People erected one to him, with this Inſcription. *To the Memory of* Polybius, *whoſe Counſels would have ſaved* Achaia, *if they had been followed*; *and who comforted her in her Diſtreſs*. *Rome* appointed him to go to all the Cities, and every where ſettle the new Form of Government. A moſt honourable Commiſſion, which he diſcharged both to the Satisfaction of the Senate of *Rome*, and the People of *Achaia*! The ten Deputies tarried but ſix Months in the *Levant*; and then *Metellus* ſet out with them, in order to triumph. His Proceſſion preceded that of *Mummius*, who tarried ſome Days after him in *Achaia*. It cannot be denied, That *Metellus* had juſtly merited the greateſt military Honours; and accordingly, after he had vanquiſhed *Andriſcus* in ſeveral pitch'd Battels, he made him walk before his Chariot, with all the Ornaments of a true King. A whole Squadron of *Equeſtrian* Statues were carried in Waggons; which Statues *Alexander the Great* had ordered to be caſt by the famous [71] *Lyſippus*, in Honour to the brave Cavaliers who had followed him, and loſt their Lives in paſſing the *Granicus*. The City of *Dium* in *Macedon* had been adorned with theſe valuable Monuments, which were now removed to *Rome*, and became Part of its Decorations. The triumphant Victor was alſo permitted to take the Surname of *Macedonicus*, as the *Scipio's* had taken that of *Africanus*. But this was thought too great a Mark of Diſtinction, and diſpleaſed the Publick. Was it juſt to grant ſo ſplendid a Title to the Conqueror of a mock King, when it had not been granted to *Paulus Æmilius*, after he had vanquiſhed and taken Priſoner *Perſes*, the true King of *Macedon*? The bare demanding it by *Metellus*, was a Mark of Pride which much diſpleaſed the Commons; and they ſoon found Means to make him repent of it.

§. L. AFTER him, *Mummius* triumphed in his Turn; for having conquered *Achaia*, and ſubjected her to the Republick. But it muſt be owned, that if this *Conſul* finiſhed that Work, the *Prætor Metellus* had very far advanced it. Yet after all, *Mummius* had filled *Peloponneſus* with his Fame. The Victory he had gained over *Diæus* was indeed an eaſy one; but *Corinth*, which could have made a long Reſiſtance, ſurrendred without fighting. And the Republick received the ſame Benefits from his Conqueſt, as ſhe would have done, if he had completed it with much more Bloodſhed. The Riches the *Conſul* had brought from *Corinth* were as great as they would have been if he had taken it by Force. Beſides, *Mummius's* civil Virtues had gained him as much Honour, as the Flight of the Enemy had deprived him of. During his whole Abode at *Achaia*, you would have taken him for one of thoſe ancient *Romans* whom the Contagion of the Vices of the *Levant* had not yet infected. Great Sweetneſs of Diſpoſition, Moderation, and Diſintereſtedneſs, appeared in all his Actions. Of all that prodigious Quantity of Wealth which he took from the *Corinthians*, he reſerved nothing for himſelf. This plainly appeared after his Return. When he came to marry his Daughter, his Poverty

[71] See *Vol.* 3.

was ſo well known, that the Republick thought herſelf obliged to give her a Portion. This Man, who was ſo brave, ſo wiſe, and ſo virtuous, came to the Temple of *Bellona*, there to wait the Decree for his Triumph; and both Senate and People readily agreed to grant it: So that he entered *Rome* with a Magnificence ſurpaſſing every thing that had been ſeen before. Indeed, no Kings in Chains walked before his Chariot; but his Triumph was embelliſhed with all the fineſt Paintings and Sculptures that *Greece* had produced. And the Booty that was taken in *Corinth* [72] only, furniſhed *Rome* with more Ornaments than it could contain. The triumphant Victor diſtributed ſome in all the neighbouring Cities. It happened, that a Man of Figure, named *Licinius Lucullus*, deſired to borrow Part of his Statues, to adorn a Temple which he had vowed to build, and which he was going to dedicate; and *Mummius* granted his Requeſt. But the Borrower was not ſo ready to reſtore what he had borrowed. He alledged, That whatever had been uſed in any religious Ceremony, belonged to the Gods, to whom it had been conſecrated. And *Mummius* had more Magnanimity than *Lucullus* Honeſty. As valuable as theſe Monuments were, he never asked for them more. By all theſe Virtues therefore, and ſo fine a Conqueſt, he juſtly merited the glorious Surname of *Achaicus*. No Body had any Claim to it but himſelf; and he aſſumed and bore it all his Life, without Envy. Thus ended a Year which advanced the *Roman* Republick to her higheſt Pitch of Glory. But if it was remarkable for the great Valour of her Generals and Soldiers, it muſt be owned at the ſame time, that the Hiſtory of it leaves ſuch Impreſſions of the Avarice and Inhumanity of the Senate on the Reader's Mind, as are not for her Honour. To deſtroy every thing that gave her Umbrage, To ſack other Nations to enrich herſelf, and To conquer purely for the ſake of Plunder; what was all this, but to make War after the Manner of Barbarians? So that upon the whole, if on the one hand, *Rome* was now more formidable than ever; it muſt be allowed on the other, that ſhe had much leſs Virtue than in former Ages.

Year of *ROME* DCVII.
CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS
L. MUMMIUS ACHAICUS,
Conſuls.
Plin. Strab. Auct. de Vir. Illuſtr. Cicer. pro Muren.

72 According to *Tacitus*, *Annal*, *B.* 14. *Lucius Mummius* brought from *Greece* into *Italy*, a true Taſte for Dramatic Performances. During the Ceremony of his Triumph, he ordered ſome to be preſented, which were compoſed after the Model of the *Greeks*. So that, through the Care of the Conqueror of *Achaia*, the Stage at *Rome* was reformed, and made more regular and decent. And conſequently, if *Tacitus* was not miſtaken, the Hiſtorians who repreſent *Mummius* as an heavy dull Man, have not done Juſtice to his Memory.

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Dictator.	C. SERVILIUS NEPOS.	
Gen. of Horſe.	P. Ælius Pætus.	
Prætor of Rome.	C. Aurelius Cotta.	
Prætor at Ariminum.	M. Sextius Sabinus.	
Prætor in Bruttium.	C. Livius Salinator.	
Prætor in Sicily.	C. Tremellius Flaccus.	
Curule Ædiles.	L. Licinius Lucullus. Q. Fulvius Pætinus.	
Plebeian Ædiles.	P. Ælius Tubero. L. Lætorius Plancianus. M. Cincius Alimentus. C. Scantinius Capitolinus.	
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Pro-Conſul in Hetruria.	C. Servilius Nepos.	
Pro Conſul in Ciſalpine Gaul.	M. Cornelius Cethegus.	
Pro-Conſul in Hither Spain.	L. Cornelius Lentulus.	
Pro-Conſul in Further Spain.	L. Manlius Acidinus.	
Pro-Conſul in Africa.	P. Cornelius Scipio.	
Pro-Prætor in Liguria.	Sp. Lucretius Gallus.	
Pro-Prætor in Sardinia.	Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.	
Pro-Prætor on the Sea-Coaſts of Sicily.	P. Villius Tappulus.	
Pro-Prætor on the Coaſts of Sardinia.	Cn. Octavius Nepos.	

Pro Prætor on the Sea-Coasts of Italy. — M. MARCIUS RALLA.

Pro-Quæstors. — C. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.
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T. JUVENTIUS THALNA.

251. *Consulship. Year* 552. — CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.

Prætor of Rome. — M. JUNIUS PENNUS.

Prætor in Campania. — M. VALERIUS FALTO.

Prætor in Sicily. — P. ÆLIUS TUBERO.

Prætor in Sardinia. — M. FABIUS BUTEO.

Curule Ædiles. — L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. — L. APUSTIUS FULLO.
Q. MINUCIUS RUFUS.

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M' ACILIUS GLABRIO.
C. HELVIUS BLASIO.
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L. HORTENSIUS NEPOS.
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M. MINUCIUS FESSUS.
C. TERENTIUS VARRO.

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CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS.
P. MANLIUS VULSO.
CN. CORNELIUS MERENDA.
C. ATINIUS LABEO.
T. ROMULEÏUS NEPOS.
M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.
Q. OPPIUS SALINATOR.

Pro-Consul in Hetruria. — M. SERVILIUS PULEX GEMINUS.

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Pro-Consul in Further Spain. — L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS.

Pro-Consul in Africa. — P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

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Pro-Quæstors. — C. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.
C. LÆLIUS NEPOS.
P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
L. OPPIUS SALINATOR.

SCIPIO triumphs over *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, and *Syphax* King of *Numidia*.

252. *Consulship. Year* 553. — P. SULPICIUS GALBA MAXIMUS.
C. AURELIUS COTTA.

The *Macedonian* War.

Prætor of Rome. — CN. SERGIUS PLANCUS.

Prætor in Ciſalpine Gaul. — L. FURIUS PURPUREO. He triumphs over the *Gauls*.

Prætor in Bruttium. — Q. MINUCIUS RUFUS.

Prætor in Sicily. — Q. FULVIUS GILLO.

Curule Ædiles. — M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
SEX. ÆLIUS PÆTUS CATUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. — L. TERENTIUS MASSA.
CN. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.

Tribunes of the People. — C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
M. MINUCIUS RUFUS.
L. OGULNIUS GALLUS.
Q. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.
TI. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.
M. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.
L. STERTINIUS NEPOS.
Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS.
Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS.
P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.

Quæstors. — L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
L. VALERIUS TAPPUS.
M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.
D. JUNIUS BRUTUS.
M. VALERIUS MESSALLA.
L. PORCIUS LICINUS.
M. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.

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Pro-

Pro-Consul in Further Spain. — L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS.

Pro-Prætor on the Sea-Coasts of Greece. — M. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.

Pro-Prætor in Sardinia. — M. VALERIUS FALTO.

Pro-Quæstors. — M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.
CN. CORNELIUS MERENDA.
L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS. Upon his Return from *Spain*, he receives the Honours of an *Ovation*.

253. *Consulship.* *Year* 554. — L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
P. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.

Censors. — P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO *Africanus*.
P. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.

THE FORTY SIXTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor of Rome. — L. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.

Prætor at Ariminum. — CN. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.

Prætor in Sicily. — L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

Prætor in Sardinia. — L. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.

Curule Ædiles. — C. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
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Plebeian Ædiles. — M. PORCIUS CATO.
C. HELVIUS BLASIO.

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M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.
M' CURIUS DENTATUS.
C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO.
C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS.
T. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.
C. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
TI. CLAUDIUS CANINA.
L. AURELIUS ORESTES.
C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors. — Q. ÆLIUS TUBERO.
M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
M. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.
M. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.
M. TUCCIUS NEPOS.
A. CORNELIUS MAMMULA.
C. LIVIUS SALINATOR.
L. ARUNCULEIUS COTTA.

Pro-Consul in Macedon. — P. SULPICIUS GALBA MAXIMUS.

Pro-Consul in Hither Spain. — CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

Pro-Consul in Further Spain. — L. STERTINIUS NEPOS.

Pro-Prætor in Bruttium. — Q. MINUCIUS RUFUS.

Pro-Quæstors. — L. VALERIUS TAPPUS.
D. JUNIUS BRUTUS.
L. PORCIUS LICINUS.

254. *Consulship.* *Year* 555. — T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.
SEX. ÆLIUS PÆTUS CATUS.

Prætor of Rome. — L. CORNELIUS MERULA.

Prætor in Cisalpine Gaul. — C. HELVIUS BLASIO.

Prætor in Sicily. — M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Prætor in Sardinia. — M. PORCIUS CATO.

Curule Ædiles. — Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS.
TI. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. — C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
M. HELVIUS BLASIO.

Tribunes of the People. — CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
SEX. DIGITIUS NEPOS.
C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
C. CLAUDIUS CANINA.
P. RUTILIUS RUFUS.
T. JUVENTIUS THALNA.
SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS.
CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.
M. PORCIUS LICINUS.
C. COSCONIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors. — C. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.
C. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS.
C. SALLONIUS SARRA.
M. EMILIUS LEPIDUS.
CN. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
C. ATINIUS LABEO.
C. CORNELIUS BLASIO.
CN. CORNELIUS MERULA.

Pro-

Pro Conſul in Ciſalpine Gaul.	L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
Pro-Conſul in Hither Spain.	CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
Pro-Conſul in Further Spain.	L. STERTINIUS NEPOS.
Pro-Prætor on the Coaſt of Greece.	L. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.
Pro-Quæſtors.	M. LICINIUS LUCULLUS. M. TUCCIUS NEPOS. A. CORNELIUS MAMMULA. L. ARUNCULEÏUS COTTA.
255. *Conſulſhip. Year* 556.	C. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS. He triumphs over the *Inſubres* and *Cænomani.* Q. MINUCIUS RUFUS. He triumphs over the *Ligures* and *Boii*, on the Hill of *Alba.*
Prætors of Rome.	M. SERGIUS SILUS. M. MINUCIUS RUFUS.
Prætor in Sicily.	L. MANLIUS VULSO.
Prætor in Sardinia.	L. ATTILIUS REGULUS.
Prætor in Hither Spain.	C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
Prætor in Further Spain.	M. HELVIUS BLASIO.
Curule Ædiles.	P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA. CN. MANLIUS VULSO.
Plebeian Ædiles.	M' ACILIUS GLABRIO. C. LÆLIUS NEPOS.
Tribunes of the People.	L. OPPIUS SALINATOR. Q. FULVIUS NOBILIOR. C. ACILIUS GLABRIO. C. ATINIUS LABEO. C. URSANIUS NEPOS. L. PORCIUS LÆCA. L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO. C. RUTILUS RUFUS. K. DUILIUS NEPOS. CN. PUPIUS NEPOS.
Quæſtors.	L. EMILIUS REGILLUS. L. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS. L. BÆBIUS DIVES. Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

	M. CÆCILIUS METELLUS. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS. SEX. POMPONIUS NEPOS.
Pro Conſul in Macedon.	T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.
Pro-Prætor on the Sea-Coaſts of Greece.	L. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.
Pro-Quæſtors.	C. SALLONIUS SARRA. CN. CORNELIUS MERULA. L. ARUNCULEÏUS COTTA. CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO.
256. *Conſulſhip. Year* 557.	L. FURIUS PURPUREO. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. He triumphs over the Inhabitants of *Coma*, and the *Inſubres.*
Prætors at Rome.	L. APUSTIUS FULLO. M' ACILIUS GLABRIO.
Prætor in Sicily.	C. LÆLIUS NEPOS.
Prætor in Sardinia.	T. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.
Prætor in Hither Spain.	Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS.
Prætor in Further Spain.	Q. FABIUS BUTEO.
Curule Ædiles.	M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR. C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.
Plebeian Ædiles.	CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS. C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO.
Tribunes of the People.	Q. MARCIUS REX. C. ATINIUS LABEO. T. ROMULEÏUS NEPOS. C. ATILIUS SERRANUS. M. JUNIUS BRUTUS. Q. OPPIUS SALINATOR. SEX. TULLIUS NEPOS. L. FLAVIUS NEPOS. L. MARCIUS CENSORINUS. C. LIVIUS DRUSUS.
Quæſtors.	Q. FABIUS LABEO. L. AURELIUS COTTA. SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS. P. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS. C. STERTINIUS NEPOS.

C. Au-

	C. AURELIUS SCAURUS. M. FURIUS LUSCUS. T. MÆNIUS NEPOS.
Pro-Conſul in Macedon.	T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.
Pro-Prætor on the Sea-Coaſts of Greece.	L. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.
Pro-Quæſtors.	C. SALLONIUS SARRA. CN. CORNELIUS MERULA. L. ARUNCULEIUS COTTA. CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS. He receives the Honours of an *Ovation*.
257. *Conſulſhip. Year* 558.	M. PORCIUS CATO. L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
Prætors of Rome.	C. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS. C. ATINIUS LABEO.
Prætor in Sicily.	CN. MANLIUS VULSO.
Prætor in Hither Spain.	P. MANLIUS VULSO.
Prætor in Further Spain.	AP. CLAUDIUS NERO.
Prætor in Hetruria.	P. PORCIUS LÆCA.
Curule Ædiles.	L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO. M. VALERIUS MESSALLA.
Plebeian Ædiles.	M. JUVENTIUS THALNA. SEX. DIGITIUS NEPOS.
Tribunes of the People.	M. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS. L. VALERIUS TAPPUS. M. JUNIUS BRUTUS. D. JUNIUS BRUTUS. L. PORCIUS LICINUS. C. ÆBUTIUS CARUS. Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS. CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS. M' MARCIUS RALLA. C. NUMICIUS NEPOS.
Quæſtors.	P. CLAUDIUS PULCHER. L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS FULVIANUS. M. FURIUS CRASSIPES. C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS. C. CALPURNIUS PISO. Q. FABIUS PICTOR.
	Q. NÆVIUS MATHO. C. AFRANIUS STELLIO.
Pro-Conſul in Greece.	T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.
Pro-Prætor on the Coaſts of Greece.	L. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.
Pro-Conſul in Sardinia.	TI. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.
Pro-Quæſtors.	C. SALLONIUS SARRA. C. AURELIUS SCAURUS. CN. CORNELIUS MERULA. M. HELVIUS BLASIO; *Pro-Prætor* in *Hither Spain.* He receives the Honours of an *Ovation.* Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS. He triumphs over *Hither Spain.*
258. *Conſulſhip. Year* 559.	P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO AFRICANUS, a ſecond time. TI. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.
Cenſors.	SEXTUS ÆLIUS PÆTUS CATUS. C. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.

THE FORTY SEVENTH LUSTRUM.

Prætors of Rome.	CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS. T. JUVENTIUS THALNA.
Prætor in Sicily.	CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO.
Prætor in Hither Spain.	SEX. DIGITIUS NEPOS.
Prætor in Further Spain.	P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.
Curule Ædiles.	C. ATILIUS SERRANUS. L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO.
Plebeian Ædiles.	M. JUNIUS BRUTUS. Q. OPPIUS SALINATOR.
Tribunes of the People.	Q. ÆLIUS TUBERO. C. LIVIUS SALINATOR. L. ARUNCULEIUS COTTA. Q. SALLONIUS SARRA. C. LUTATIUS CATULUS. P. POPILIUS LÆNAS. M. TUCCIUS NEPOS. A. ATILIUS SERRANUS. M. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS. Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS.

Quæſtors. L. POSTUMIUS TYMPANUS.
AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
P. SULPICIUS GALBA.
P. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.
C. SEMPRONIUS RUTILUS.
Q. TERENTIUS CULEO.
C. DECIMIUS FLAVUS.
C. ATILIUS SERRANUS.

Pro-Conſul in Ciſalpine Gaul. L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

Pro-Conſul in Hither Spain. M. PORCIUS CATO.

Pro-Conſul in Greece. T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS. He triumphs over *Macedon*, and King *Philip*, for three Days together.

Pro-Conſul on the Coaſt of Greece. } L. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.

Pro-Quæſtors. C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS.
C. SALLONIUS SARRA.
C. AFRANIUS STELLIO.
M. FURIUS CRASSIPES.
C. CALPURNIUS PISO.
Q. NÆVIUS MATHO.
MARCUS PORCIUS CATO. He triumphs over *Hither Spain.*

259. Conſulſhip. Year 560. L. CORNELIUS MERULA.
Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS.

Prætors of Rome. C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO.
M. VALERIUS MESSALLA.

Prætors in Sicily. L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
L. PORCIUS LICINUS.

Prætor in Hither Spain. C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.

Prætor in Further Spain. M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.

Curule Ædiles. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. OPPIUS SALINATOR.
M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.

Tribunes of the People. M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
M. TITINIUS NEPOS.
C. TITINIUS NEPOS.
M. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.
CN. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
L. JUVENTIUS THALNA.
C. ANTISTIUS NEPOS.
L. POBLICIUS BIBULUS.
L. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS.
C. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.

Quæſtors. C. VALERIUS TAPPUS.
SER. SULPICIUS GALBA.
P. CORNELIUS SULLA.
L. QUINCTIUS CRISPINUS.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLINUS.
P. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.
L. POSTUMIUS TYMPANUS.
CN. SICINIUS NEPOS.

Pro-Conſul in Ciſalpine Gaul. TI. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.

Pro-Conſul in Further Spain. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.

Pro-Quæſtors. C. DECIMIUS FLAVUS.
C. AFRANIUS STELLIO.
Q. NÆVIUS MATHO.
C. ATILIUS SERRANUS.

260. Conſulſhip. Year 561. L. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.
CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.

Prætors of Rome. CN. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS.
L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO.

Prætor in Sicily. L. VALERIUS TAPPUS.

Prætor in Sardinia. Q. SALLONIUS SARRA.

Prætor in Bruttium. M. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.

Prætor in Further Spain. A. ATILIUS SERRANUS.

Curule Ædiles. M. TUCCIUS NEPOS.
D. JUNIUS BRUTUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. LIVIUS SALINATOR.
L. ARUNCULEÏUS COTTA.

Tribunes of the People. Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
C. ATINIUS LABEO.
P. PUPPIUS NEPOS.
SEX. POMPONIUS NEPOS.
L. BÆBIUS DIVES.
Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.
M. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
P. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS.
L. APULEÏUS SATURNINUS.

Quæſtors. Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS.
TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.
P. COR-

P. Cornelius Cethegus.
M. Aburius Geminus.
A. Terentius Varro.
L. Mummius Nepos.
L. Puppius Nepos.

Pro-Conſul in Liguria. Q. Minucius Thermus.

Pro-Prætor in Hither Spain. C. Flaminius Nepos.

Pro-Prætor in Further Spain. M. Fulvius Nobilior.

Pro Prætor on the Coaſt of Sicily. L. Oppius Salinator.

Pro-Quæſtors. L. Quinctius Crispinus.
Cn. Sicinius Nepos.
L. Postumius Tympanus.
C. Atilius Serranus.

War with *Antiochus the Great.*

261. *Conſulſhip.* M' ACILIUS GLABRIO.
Year 562. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA. He triumphs over the *Boii.*

Prætor of Rome. M. Junius Brutus.

Prætor in Bruttium. A. Cornelius Mammula.

Prætor in the Fleet ſent againſt Antiochus. C. Livius Salinator.

Prætor in Sicily. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

Prætor in Sardinia. L. Oppius Salinator.

Prætor in Further Spain. L. Æmilius Paulus.

Curule Ædiles. Sp. Postumius Albinus.
Q. Fabius Pictor.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. Plautius Hypsæus
M. Sempronius Tuditanus.

Tribunes of the People. P. Sempronius Blæsus.
C. Stertinius Nepos.
C. Aurelius Scaurus.
L. Albinius Nepos.
M. Allienius Nepos.

Quæſtors. C. Centenius Penula.
T. Mænius Nepos.
C. Terentius Massa.
C. Albius Carrinas.
L. Apustius Fullo.
Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
Sp. Postumius Albinus Paullulus.
C. Terentius Istra.
L. Cæcilius Denter.
L. Duronius Nepos.
C. Fannius Strabo.
Q. Petillius Spurinus.
Q. Mummius Nepos.

Pro-Conſul in Ciſalpine Gaul. Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.

Pro-Conſul in Liguria. Q. Minucius Thermus.

Pro-Prætor in Sicily. L. Valerius Tappus.

Pro-Prætor in Hither Spain. C. Flaminius Nepos.

Pro-Prætor in Epirus *and* Greece. M. Bæbius Tamphilus.

Pro-Prætor on the Sea-Coaſts of Greece. A. Attilius Serranus.

Pro-Quæſtors. L. Quinctius Crispinus.
L. Postumius Tympanus.
L. Pupius Nepos.
M. Aburius Geminus.
L. Mummius Nepos.
M. Fulvius Nobilior. He receives the Honours of an *Ovation*, at his Return from *Further Spain.*

262. *Conſulſhip.* L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
Year 563. C. LÆLIUS NEPOS.

Prætors of Rome. L. Arunculeïus Cotta.
Cn. Fulvius Flaccus.

Prætor in Hetruria. D. Junius Brutus.

Prætor in Apulia *and* Bruttium. M. Tuccius Nepos.

Prætor in Sicily. L. Atinius Labeo.

Prætor on Board the Fleet designed to act against Antiochus. — L. ÆMILIUS REGILLUS.

Curule Ædiles. — P. CLAUDIUS PULCHER. L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS FULVIANUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. — M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

Tribunes of the People. — L. AURELIUS COTTA. T. SEMPRONIUS RUTILUS. C. CALPURNIUS PISO. M. OGULNIUS GALLUS. TI. SEMPRONIUS RUTILUS. M. FURIUS CRASSIPES. M. FURIUS LUSCUS. M. ALBINIUS NEPOS. P. PETILLIUS GEMINUS. M. CONSIDIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors. — C. FURIUS ACULEO. TI. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS MOLLICULUS. M. VALERIUS LÆVINUS. L. JULIUS CÆSAR. P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS. P. CORNELIUS SISENNA. A. MANLIUS VULSO. P. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.

Pro Consul in Cisalpine Gaul. — P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.

Pro Consul in Greece. — M' ACILIUS GLABRIO. He triumphs over King *Antiochus*, and the *Ætolians*.

Pro-Consul in Liguria. — Q. MINUCIUS THERMUS.

Pro-Consul in Further Spain. — L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.

Pro-Prætor in Ætolia. — A. CORNELIUS MAMMULA.

Pro-Prætor in Sicily. — L. VALERIUS TAPPUS.

Pro-Prætor in Sardinia. — L. OPPIUS SALINATOR.

Pro Prætor in Hither Spain. — C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.

Pro-Quæstors. — Q. PETILIUS SPURINUS. C. FANNIUS STRABO. L. POSTUMIUS TYMPANUS. M. ABURIUS GEMINUS.

263. Consulship. Year 564. — CN. MANLIUS VULSO. M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.

Censors. — T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

THE FORTY EIGHTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor of Rome. — SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

Prætor in Sicily. — M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.

Prætor in Sardinia. — Q. FABIUS PICTOR.

Prætor in Hither Spain. — L. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS.

Prætor in Further Spain. — L. BÆBIUS DIVES.

Prætor on the Sea-Coasts of Greece. — Q. FABIUS LABEO.

Curule Ædiles. — AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER. P. SULPICIUS GALBA.

Plebeian Ædiles. — Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS. M. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

Tribunes of the People. — P. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS. C. SEMPRONIUS RUTILUS. Q. TERENTIUS CULEO. C. ATILIUS SERRANUS. C. PETILLIUS SPURINUS. Q. FICTORIUS NEPOS. Q. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS. C. DECIMIUS FLAVUS. C. MÆNIUS NEPOS. C. NÆVIUS CRISPUS.

Quæstors. — Q. FABIUS BUTEO. P. CORNELIUS MAMMULA. L. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS. Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA. P. ÆLIUS LIGUS. T. ÆBUTIUS CARUS. M. TITINIUS CURVUS. M. PINARIUS POSCA.

Pro Consul in Cisalpine Gaul. — C. LÆLIUS NEPOS.

Pro-Consul in Further Spain. — L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.

Pro-Prætor in Hetruria. — D. JUNIUS BRUTUS.

Pro-Prætor in Bruttium. M. Tuccius Nepos.

Pro-Prætor in Sardinia. L. Oppius Salinator.

Pro-Quæstors. C. Valerius Lævinus.
C. Fannius Strabo.
P. Cornelius Cethegus.
Q. Petillius Spurinus.
A. Manlius Vulso.
P. Cornelius Sisenna.

L. Æmilius Regillus has a Naval Triumph for having beaten *Antiochus*'s Fleet.
L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus triumphs for having vanquiſhed *Antiochus*.
Q. Fabius Labeo triumphs after his happy Expedition in the Iſland of *Crete*.

264. *Conſulſhip.* C. LIVIUS SALINATOR.
Year 565. M. VALERIUS MESSALLA.

Prætor of Rome. M. Claudius Marcellus.

Prætor in Sicily. Q. Marcius Philippus.

Prætor in Sardinia. C. Stertinius Nepos.

Prætor in Hither Spain. L. Manlius Acidinus Fulvianus.

Prætor in Further Spain. C. Atinius Labeo.

Curule Ædiles. P. Cornelius Sylla.
L. Quintius Crispinus.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. Licinius Lucullus.
T. Mænius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People. C. Valerius Nepos.
M. Claudius Marcellinus.
Q. Nævius Matho.
Cn. Sicinius Nepos.
M. Racilius Nepos.
M. Decimius Nepos.
P. Minucius Rufus.
P. Sempronius Longus.
L. Postumius Tympanus.
Sex. Roscius Nepos.

Quæſtors. Q. Fabius Maximus.
C. Licinius Crassus.
P. Licinius Crassus.
C. Claudius Nero.
P. Mucius Scævola.
M. Titinius Nepos.
T. Fonteïus Capito.
M. Æmilius Lepidus.

Pro-Conſul in Ætolia. M. Fulvius Nobilior.

Pro-Conſul in Aſia. Cn. Manlius Vulso.

Pro-Prætor in Bruttium. M. Tuccius Nepos.

Pro-Quæſtors. Q. Mucius Scævola.
P. Cornelius Sisenna.
P. Cornelius Cethegus.
L. Postumius Albinus.
A. Manlius Vulso.

265. *Conſulſhip. Year* 566. M. ÆMILIUS LÆPIDUS.
C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.

Prætors at Rome. Ser. Sulpicius Galba.
Q. Terentius Culeo.

Prætor in Ciſalpine Gaul. M. Furius Crassipes.

Prætor at Tarentum. Ap. Claudius Pulcher.

Prætor in Sicily. L. Terentius Massa.

Prætor in Sardinia. Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

Curule Ædiles. P. Cornelius Cethegus.
A. Postumius Albinus.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. Sempronius Blæsus.
M. Furius Luscus.

Tribunes of the People. Q. Petillius Spurinus, the Son of *Quinctus*.
Q. Petillius Spurinus, the Son of *Caius*.
M. Nævius Crispus.
C. Minucius Augurinus.
L. Mumunius Nepos.
Q. Mumunius Nepos.
C. Fannius Strabo.
T. Sempronius Gracchus.
M. Aburius Geminus.
L. Pupius Nepos.

Quæſtors. C. Claudius Pulcher.
Cn. Cornelius Scipio.
C. Numisius Nepos.
L. Aquilius Gallus.
M. Popillius Lænas.

M. Licinius Crassus.
M. Fulvius Flaccus.
P. Valerius Lævinus.

Pro-Prætor in Hither Spain. L. Manlius Acidinus Fulvianus.

Pro-Prætor in Further Spain. C. Atinius Labeo.

Pro-Quæstors. Q. Fabius Maximus.
C. Licinius Crassus.
P. Valerius Lævinus.
A. Manlius Vulso.
M. Fulvius Nobilior. He triumphs over the *Ætolians* and *Cephalenians*.
Cn. Manlius Vulso. He triumphs over the *Asiatick Gauls*.

266. *Consulship.* SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.
Year 567. Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

Prætor of Rome. M. Licinius Lucullus.

Prætor in Sicily. P. Cornelius Sylla.

Prætor in Sardinia. C. Aurelius Scaurus.

Prætor in Hither Spain. L. Quinctius Crispinus.

Prætor in Further Spain. C. Calpurnius Piso.

Curule Ædiles. P. Cornelius Sisenna.
Sp. Postumius Albinus Paulus.

Plebeian Ædiles. Q. Nævius Matho.
C. Decimius Flaccus.

Tribunes of the People. M. Fulvius Flaccus.
M. Ogulnius Gallus.
C. Terentius Istra.
L. Acilius Glabrio.
Q. Opimius Nepos.
Q. Opimius Pansa.
A. Terentius Varro.
L. Cæcilius Denter.
L. Duronius Nepos.
M. Trebonius Flavus.

Quæstors. A. Hostilius Mancinus.
L. Villius Tappulus.
L. Postumius Albinus.
C. Popillius Lænas.
Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispalus.
C. Valerius Lævinus.
C. Lucretius Trio.
C. Cluvius Saxula.

Pro-Prætors in Spain. The same as the last Year.

Pro-Quæstors. Q. Fabius Maximus.
C. Licinius Crassus.
M. Fulvius Flaccus.
P. Valerius Lævinus, the Son of *Publius*.
P. Valerius Lævinus, the Son of *Marcus*.
A. Manlius Vulso.

267. *Consulship.* AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
Year 568. M. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.

Prætors. P. Cornelius Cethegus.
C. Africanius Stellio.
M. Claudius Marcellinus.
A. Postumius Albinus.
C. Atilius Serranus.
L. Postumius Tympanus.

Curule Ædiles. L. Julius Cæsar.
M. Valerius Lævinus.

Plebeian Ædiles. Cn. Sicinius Nepos.
L. Puppius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People. M. Nævius Crispus.
Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
A. Trebius Gallus.
C. Trebonius Asper.
L. Mædius Tullus.
T. Minucius Augurinus Mollículus.
Q. Catius Nepos.
M. Trebius Gallus.
Sp. Antius Restio.
P. Scantinius Capitolinus.

Quæstors. Ti. Claudius Nero.
A. Licinius Nerva.
C. Quinctius Flamininus.
C. Aburius Geminus.
T. Annius Luscus.
C. Memmius Gallus.
C. Arennius Nepos.
T. Metilius Croto.

Pro-Prætors in Hither *and* Further Spain. L. Quinctius Crispinus.
C. Calpurnius Piso.

Pro-Quæstors. C. Lucretius Trio.
M. Fulvius Flaccus.
C. Clu-

C. CLUVIUS SAXULA.
P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS FULVIANUS.
L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS FULVIANUS. He receives the Honours of an *Ovation*, at his Return from his *Pro-Prætorſhip* in *Spain*.

268. Conſulſhip. P. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
Year 569. L. PORCIUS LICINUS.

Cenſors. L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
M. PORCIUS CATO.

THE FORTY NINTH LUSTRUM.

Prætors at Rome. C. DECIMIUS FLAVUS.
P. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.

Prætor in Sicily. C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS.

Prætor in Sardinia. Q. NÆVIUS MATHO.

Prætors in Hither *and* Further Spain. A. TERENTIUS VARRO.
P. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.

Curule Ædiles. Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
M. OGULNIUS GALLUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. MUMMIUS NEPOS.
L. CÆCILIUS DENTER.

Tribunes of the People M. TITINIUS CURVUS
L. MINUCIUS THERMUS.
P. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.
M. FANNIUS STRABO.
C. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.
Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
M. SCAPTIUS NEPOS.
M. POMPILIUS NEPOS.
Q. TITIUS NEPOS.
Q. APRONIUS NEPOS.

Quæſtors. CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
AP. CLAUDIUS CENTHO.
C. PAPIRIUS TURDUS.
SER. CORNELIUS SYLLA.
C. CASSIUS LONGINUS.
M. ATTILIUS SERRANUS.
C. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.
M. MATTIENIUS NEPOS.

Pro-Prætor at Tarentum. L. POSTUMIUS TYMPANUS.

Pro-Quæſtors. P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.

C. ARENNIUS NEPOS.
M. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
T. METILIUS CROTO.
C. CALPURNIUS PISO. He triumphs over the *Luſitanians*, and *Celtiberians*.
L. QUINCTIUS CRISPINUS. He triumphs over the ſame Nations.

269. Conſulſhip. Q. FABIUS LABEO.
Year 570. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Prætors at Rome. P. CORNELIUS SISENNA.
C. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

Prætor in Apulia. L. PUPIUS NEPOS.

Prætor in Ciſalpine Gaul. L. JULIUS CÆSAR.

Prætor in Sicily. SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

Prætor in Sardinia. CN. SICINIUS NEPOS.

Curule Ædiles. A. MANLIUS VULSO.
Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. DURONIUS NEPOS.
M. PINARIUS POSCA.

Tribunes of the People. P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
T. FONTEÏUS CAPITO.
C. FURIUS ACULEO.
Q. ANTONIUS BALBUS.
M. GENUCIUS CIPUS.
P. ÆLIUS LIGUS.
C. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
L. ATIUS NEPOS.
C. SEXTIUS CALVINUS.
A. VIRGINIUS NEPOS.

Quæſtors. Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
L. PAPIRIUS MASO.
M. CORNELIUS SCIPIO MALUGINENSIS.
C. CICEREÏUS NEPOS.
L. CLAUDIUS ASELLUS.
L. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.
CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.
C. MATTIENIUS NEPOS.

Pro-Conſul in Liguria. L. PORCIUS LICINUS.

Pro-Conſuls in Hither *and* Further Spain. A. TERENTIUS VARRO.
P. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.

Pro-

Pro-Quæſtors. SER. CORNELIUS SYLLA.
C. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.
C. ARENNIUS NEPOS.
M. MATTIENUS NEPOS.
T. METILIUS CROTO.

270. *Conſulſhip.* L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.
Year 571. CN. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.

Prætors at Rome. M. OGULNIUS GALLUS.
M. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.

Prætor in Sicily. L. CÆCILIUS DENTER.

Prætor in Sardinia. C. TERENTIUS ISTRA.

Prætor in Hither Spain. Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

Prætor in Further Spain. P. MANLIUS VULSO.

Curule Ædiles. TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.
A. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. TI. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS MOLLICULUS.
C. MÆNIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People. T. ÆBUTIUS CARUS.
C. NUMISIUS NEPOS.
P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
C. GENUCIUS CLEPSINA.
M. TITINIUS NEPOS.
M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
M. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
P. LICINIUS STOLO.
M. SEXTILIUS NEPOS.
M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

Quæſtors. N. FABIUS BUTEO.
M. JUNIUS PENNUS.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
CN. SICINIUS NEPOS.
SER. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS.
SP. CLUVIUS SAXULA.
L. ARENNIUS NEPOS.
C. FURIUS BIBACULUS.

Pro-Conſuls in Liguria *and* Ciſalpine Gaul. Q. FABIUS LABEO.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Pro-Prætor in Apulia. L. PUPIUS.

Pro-Quæſtors. L. CLAUDIUS ASELLUS.
L. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.
T. METILIUS CROTO.
C. CICEREÏUS NEPOS.
C. ARENNIUS NEPOS.
A. TERENTIUS VARRO. He receives the Honours of an *Ovation*, after having conquered the *Celtiberians*.

271. *Conſulſhip.* P. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.
Year 572. M. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.

Prætors at Rome. Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS.
Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS.

Prætor in Ciſalpine Gaul. Q. FABIUS BUTEO.

Prætor in Apulia. L. DURONIUS NEPOS.

Prætor in Sicily. C. CLAUDIUS NERO.

Prætor in Sardinia. M. PINARIUS POSCA.

Curule Ædiles. CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
C. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.

Tribunes of the People. C. ORCIUS NEPOS.
L. AQUILIUS GALLUS.
C. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
CN. FURIUS BROCCHUS.
C. VETURIUS CALVINUS.
M. AQUILIUS FLORUS.
C. CLUVIUS SAXULA.
D. QUINCTIUS NEPOS.
T. NUMICIUS NEPOS.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

Quæſtors. L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
P. FURIUS PHILUS.
SP. LUCRETIUS GALLUS.
L. HORTENSIUS NEPOS.
C. HOSTILIUS TUBULUS.
M. FABIUS BUTEO.
P. LICINIUS VARUS.
M. FABIUS DORSO.

Pro-Conſuls in Liguria. CN. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.
L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS. He triumphs over the *Ligures*.

Pro-Prætors in Hither *and* Further Spain. Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
P. MANLIUS VULSO.

Pro-Quæſtors. CN. SICINIUS NEPOS.
SP. CLUVIUS SAXULA.
L. AREN-

	L. ARENNIUS NEPOS.
	M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
	C. FURIUS BIBACULUS.
	L. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.
272. *Conſulſhip.* *Year* 573.	A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS. C. CALPURNIUS PISO. The latter dies in his Office, and is ſucceeded by Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
Prætors at Rome.	A. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS. TI. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS MOLLICULUS. C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
Prætor in Sicily.	P. CORNELIUS MAMMULA.
Prætor in Sardinia.	C. MÆNIUS NEPOS.
Prætors in Hither *and* Further Spain.	TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS. L. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.
Curule Ædiles.	TI. CLAUDIUS NERO. C. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.
Plebeian Ædiles.	M. TICINIUS CURVUS. P. ÆLIUS LIGUS.
Tribunes of the People.	L. VILLIUS TAPPULUS. C. CANINIUS REBILUS. M. CANINIUS REBILUS. M. CÆCILIUS DENTER. Q. BÆBIUS SULCA. T. ANNIUS LUSCUS. M. MARCIUS RALLA. T. METILIUS CROTO. C. MEMMIUS GALLUS. C. ARENNIUS NEPOS.
Quæſtors.	C. MARCIUS FIGULUS. C. LUCRETIUS GALLUS. CN. OCTAVIUS NEPOS. T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS. Q. MÆNIUS NEPOS. M. CORNELIUS MAMMULA. C. LUTATIUS CERCO. C. FÆBIUS LICINUS.
Pro-Conſuls in Liguria.	P. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS. M. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS. They both triumph over the *Ligures.*
Pro-Prætor in Ciſalpine Gaul.	Q. FABIUS BUTEO.
Pro Prætor at Tarentum.	L. DURONIUS NEPOS.
Pro-Prætor in Sardinia.	M. PINARIUS POSCA.
Pro-Prætors in Hither *and* Further Spain.	Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS. P. MANLIUS VULSO. The former triumphs for having conquered *Hither Spain.*
Pro-Quæſtors.	SP. LUCRETIUS GALLUS. SER. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS. P. LICINIUS VARUS. L. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA. C. CICEREIUS NEPOS. C. FURIUS BIBACULUS. M. FABIUS DORSO.
273. *Conſulſhip.* *Year* 574.	L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS FULVIANUS. Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS, Brothers. The latter triumphs over the *Ligures.*
Cenſors.	M. ÆLIUS LEPIDUS. M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.
	THE FIFTIETH LUSTRUM.
Prætors at Rome.	P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA. CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO HISPALLUS.
Prætor in Sicily.	Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
Prætor in Sardinia.	C. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.
Curule Ædiles.	CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO. AP. CLAUDIUS CENTHO.
Plebeian Ædiles.	C. NUMISIUS NEPOS. M. POPILLIUS LÆNAS.
Tribunes of the People.	T. JUVENTIUS THALNA. A. TERENTIUS VARRO. C. CASSIUS LONGINUS. L. MINUCIUS THERMUS. C. MATTIENIUS NEPOS. P. AQUILLIUS GALLUS. M. ATILIUS SERRANUS. C. LUCRETIUS TRIO. P. MATTIENIUS NEPOS. T. OTACILIUS CRASSUS.
Quæſtors.	CN. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS. L. ANICIUS GALLUS. M. SERVILIUS PULEX. L. PORCIUS LICINUS.

M. MARCIUS SERMO.
C. SULPICIUS GALBA.
L. FURIUS PHILUS.
P. FONTEÏUS CAPITO.

Pro-Prætors in Hither *and* Further Spain: TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS. L. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

Quæstors. T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS. M. FABIUS DORSO. C. FABIUS LICINUS. L. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

274. *Consulship. Year* 575. M. JUNIUS BRUTUS. A. MANLIUS VULSO.

Prætors at Rome. M. TITINIUS CURVUS. TI. CLAUDIUS NERO.

Prætor in Sicily. P. ÆLIUS LIGUS.

Prætor in Sardinia. T. ÆBUTIUS CARUS.

Prætors in Hither *and* Further Spain: M. TITINIUS NEPOS. T. FONTEÏUS CAPITO.

Curule Ædiles. L. PAPIRIUS MASO. M. CORNELIUS SCIPIO MALUGINENSIS.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. POPILIUS LÆNAS. L. AQUILLIUS GALLUS.

Tribunes of the People. A. LICINIUS NERVA. C. PAPIRIUS TURDUS. Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS. L. EGILIUS NEPOS. C. CICEREÏUS NEPOS. L. CANULEÏUS DIVES. C. MATTIENIUS NEPOS. M. MATTIENIUS NEPOS. L. CLAUDIUS ASELLUS. M. RACIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors. SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR. Q. CASSIUS LONGINUS. Q. APULEÏUS PANSA. C. SERVILIUS GEMINUS. T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS. C. PAPIRIUS CARBO. P. FONTEÏUS BALBUS. C. DECIMIUS FLAVUS.

Pro-Prætors in Hither *and* Further Spain: TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS. He triumphs over the *Celtiberians.*

L. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS. He triumphs over the *Luſitani*, and *Raccæi.*

Pro-Quæſtors. TI. MANLIUS TORQUATUS. L. FURIUS PHILUS. M. FABIUS DORSO. L. FABIUS LICINUS. P. FONTEÏUS CAPITO. L. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

275. *Conſulſhip. Year* 576. C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER. He triumphs over the *Ligures*, and *Iſtri.* TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.

Prætors at Rome. P. ÆLIUS TUBERO. C. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.

Prætors in Ciſalpine Gaul. C. CORNELIUS SCIPIO. P. VALERIUS LÆVINUS.

Prætor in Sicily. C. NUMISIUS NEPOS.

Prætor in Sardinia. L. MUMMIUS NEPOS.

Curule Ædiles. SER. CORNELIUS SYLLA. N. FABIUS BUTEO.

Plebeian Ædiles. T. ANNIUS LUSCUS. C. MEMMIUS GALLUS.

Tribunes of the People. CN. FULVIUS FLACCUS NOBILIOR. C. SALLONIUS SARRA. L. TERENTIUS MASSA. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS. CN. SICINIUS NEPOS. L. FLAVIUS NEPOS. M. JUNIUS PENNUS. L. DECIMIUS FLAVUS. SP. CLUVIUS SAXULA.

Quæſtors. SER. CORNELIUS LENTULUS. L. APULEÏUS SATURNINUS. M. FONTEÏUS CAPITO. L. LIVIUS DENTER. C. LICINIUS NERVA. Q. MARCIUS RALLA. C. SULPICIUS GALLUS. P. TERENTIUS LUCANUS.

Pro-Conſuls at Aquileia; *and in* Iſtria: M. JUNIUS BRUTUS. A. MANLIUS VULSO.

Pro-Conſul at Piſa. TI. CLAUDIUS NERO.

Pro

Pro-Conſul in Sardinia. T. ÆBUTIUS CARUS.

Pro Prætors in Hither *and* Further Spain. M. TITINIUS NEPOS. T. FONTEÏUS CAPITO.

Pro-Quæſtors. Q. APULEÏUS PANSA. C. PAPIRIUS CARBO. C. DECIMIUS FLAVUS. C. SERVILIUS GEMINUS. P. FONTEÏUS BALBUS. P. FONTEÏUS CAPITO.

276. *Conſulſhip. Year* 577. CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO HISPALLUS. Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS. The former dies in his Office, and is ſucceeded by C. VALERIUS LÆVINUS. The latter was killed in *Liguria.*

Prætors at Rome. L. PAPIRIUS MASO. M. ABURIUS GEMINUS.

Prætor in Sicily. L. AQUILLIUS GALLUS.

Prætor in Sardinia. M. POPILLIUS LÆNAS.

Prætors in Hither *and* Further Spain. P. LICINIUS CRASSUS. M. CORNELIUS SCIPIO MALUGINENSIS.

Curule Ædiles. P. FURIUS PHILUS. N. FABIUS BUTEO.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. CASSIUS LONGINUS. M. ATTILIUS SERRANUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. ABURIUS GEMINUS. L. HORTENSIUS NEPOS. C. MUNATIUS PLANCUS. P. LICINIUS VARUS. C. SERVILIUS CASCA. SP. LUCRETIUS GALLUS. A. POMPEÏUS NEPOS. CN. LICINIUS NERVA. M. AURELIUS COTTA. SEX. POMPILIUS NEPOS.

Quæſtors of Rome. CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS. A. MANLIUS TORQUATUS. M. ACILIUS GLABRIO. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR. C. TITINIUS NEPOS.

M. ÆBUTIUS ELVA. P. CLOELIUS SICULUS.

Pro Conſul in Ciſalpine Gaul. L. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

Pro-Conſul at Piſa. TI. CLAUDIUS NERO.

Pro-Conſul in Sardinia. TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.

Pro-Prætor in Sardinia. T. ÆBUTIUS CARUS.

Pro-Prætors in Hither *and* Further Spain. M. TITINIUS NEPOS. T. FONTEÏUS CAPITO.

Pro-Quæſtors. M. FONTEÏUS CAPITO. C. PAPIRIUS CARBO. C. DECIMIUS FLAVUS. L. LIVIUS DENTER. P. FONTEÏUS BALBUS.

The *Conſul* VALERIUS triumphs over the *Ligures.*

277. *Conſulſhip. Year* 578. P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, a ſecond time. He triumphs over the *Ligures.*

Prætors. C. POPILLIUS LÆNAS. T. ANNIUS LUSCUS. C. MEMMIUS GALLUS. C. CLUVIUS SAXULA.

Prætor in Sardinia. SER. CORNELIUS SYLLA.

Prætor in Further Spain. AP. CLAUDIUS CENTHO.

Curule Ædiles. L. CANULEÏUS DIVES. C. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. VILLIUS TAPPULUS. C. CANINIUS RÆBILUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. MARCIUS FIGULUS. Q. MÆNIUS NEPOS. M. DECIMIUS FLAVUS. T. MEMMIUS NEPOS. SEX. MARCIUS REX. C. LUCRETIUS GALLUS. C. LUTATIUS CERCO. CN. APULEÏUS PANSA. C. FURIUS BROCCHUS. P. DECIUS SUBULO.

Quæſtors.

Quæſtors. M. JUVENTIUS THALNA.
M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.
C. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.
C. FANNIUS STRABO.
SEX. SULPICIUS GALBA.
TI. CLAUDIUS NERO.
P. QUINCTILIUS VARUS.
P. CORNELIUS BLASIO.

Pro-Quæſtors. C. TITINIUS NEPOS.
P. CLODIUS SICULUS.
M. ÆBUTIUS ELVA.

278. *Conſulſhip.* SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.
Year 579. Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.

Cenſors. Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

Prætors at Rome. C. CASSIUS LONGINUS.
L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.

Prætor in Sicily. L. CLAUDIUS ASELLUS.

Prætor in Sardinia. M. ATTILIUS SERRANUS.

Prætor in Hither Spain. P. FURIUS PHILUS.

Prætor in Further Spain. CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.

Curule Ædiles. C. SULPICIUS GALBA.
L. FURIUS PHILUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. SICINIUS NEPOS.
M. JUNIUS PENNUS.

Tribunes of the People. CN. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.
P. FONTEIUS CAPITO.
CN. OCTAVIUS NEPOS.
C. RACIUS NEPOS.
M. MARCIUS SERMO.
L. ANICIUS GALLUS.
M. SERVILIUS PULEX GEMINUS.
L. PORCIUS LICINUS.
Q. MARCIUS FIGULUS.
L. PUBLILIUS PHILO.

Quæſtors. Q. VOCONIUS SAXA.
P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.
P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
C. SULPICIUS RUFUS.
M. CLAUDIUS FLAMININUS.
C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO.
CN. AUFIDIUS NEPOS.
P. RUTILUS CALVUS.

Pro-Prætor in Sardinia. SER. CORNELIUS SYLLA.

Pro-Prætor in Hither Spain. AP. CLAUDIUS CENTHO. He vanquiſhes the *Celtiberians*, and receives the Honours of an *Ovation*.

Pro-Quæſtors. TI. CLAUDIUS NERO.
C. TITINIUS NEPOS.
P. CLOELIUS SICULUS.
P. QUINCTILIUS VARUS.
M. ÆBUTIUS ELVA.

279. *Conſulſhip.* L. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.
Year 580. M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

Prætors at Rome. A. ATTILIUS SERRANUS.
C. CLUVIUS SAXULA.

Prætor in Sicily. M. FURIUS CRASSIPES.

Prætor in Sardinia. C. CICEREIUS NEPOS.

Prætors in Hither *and* Further Spain. N. FABIUS BUTEO.
M. MATTIENIUS NEPOS.

Curule Ædiles. T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.
Q. HOSTILIUS TUBULUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
C. SERVILIUS CASCA.

Tribunes of the People. Q. CASSIUS LONGINUS.
C. PAPIRIUS CARBO.
C. DECIMIUS FLAVUS.
CN. FULVIUS GILLO.
L. PETILLIUS GEMINUS.
C. SERVILIUS GEMINUS.
P. FONTEIUS BALBUS.
L. COELIUS CALDUS.
Q. TREBELLIUS NEPOS.
M. POBLICIUS MALLEOLUS.

Quæſtors. C. TREMELLIUS FLACCUS.
P. DECIMIUS FLAVUS.
L. POSTUMIUS TYMPANUS.
M. AUFIDIUS NEPOS.
Q. POBLICIUS BIBULUS.
A. BÆBIUS SULCA.
L. CINCIUS ALIMENTUS.
Q. NÆVIUS POLLIO.

Pro-Prætor in Sardinia. M. ATTILIUS SERRANUS.

Pro-Prætor in Hither Spain. P. FURIUS PHILUS.

Pro-Quæſtors. C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO.
P. CLOELIUS SICULUS.
CN. AUFIDIUS NEPOS.

280. *Conſulſhip.* C. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
Year 581. P. ÆLIUS LIGUS. Both *Plebeians*, for the firſt time.

Prætors at Rome. C. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
CN. SICINIUS NEPOS.

Prætor in Sicily. C. MEMMIUS GALLUS.

Prætor in Sardinia. SP. CLUVIUS SAXULA.

Prætor in Hither Spain. M. JUNIUS PENNUS.

Prætor in Further Spain. SP. LUCRETIUS GALLUS.

Curule Ædiles. C. SULPICIUS GALLUS.
SER. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. Q. MÆNIUS NEPOS.
C. MARCIUS FIGULUS.

Tribunes of the People. M. LUCRETIUS GALLUS.
M. MARCIUS SERMO.
Q. MARCIUS RALLA.
Q. APULEÏUS PANSA.
L. LIVIUS DENTER.
M. PERPERNA.
C. ANTISTIUS LABEO.
L. APULEÏUS SATURNINUS.
P. TERENTIUS TUSCIVICANUS.
L. JUNIUS SILANUS.

Quæſtors. M. VALERIUS MESSALLA.
M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.
L. BÆBIUS DIVES.
A. ANTONIUS NEPOS.
C. APULEÏUS SATURNINUS.
A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.
M. ANTONINUS NEPOS.
M. POMPONIUS MATHO.

Pro-Conſul in Liguria. M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

Pro-Quæſtors. M. AUFIDIUS NEPOS.
M. CINCIUS ALIMENTUS.
Q. NÆVIUS POLLIO.
P. CLOELIUS SICULUS.
C. CICEREÏUS. He triumphs over the *Corſicans*, on *The Hill of Alba.*

The ſecond War with *Macedon.*

281. *Conſulſhip.* P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
Year 582. C. CASSIUS LONGINUS.

Prætors at Rome. C. SULPICIUS GALBA.
L. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.

Prætor on Board the Fleet deſigned to act againſt Perſes. P. LUCRETIUS GALLUS.

Prætor in Sicily. C. CANINIUS REBILUS.

Prætor in Sardinia. L. FURIUS PHILUS.

Prætor in Hither *and* Further Spain. L. CANULEÏUS DIVES.

Curule Ædiles. CN. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.
CN. OCTAVIUS NEPOS.

Plebeian Ædiles. P. FONTEÏUS CAPITO.
L. ANICIUS GALLUS.

Tribunes of the People. M. FURIUS NOBILIOR.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
M. ICILIUS GLABRIO.
CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
T. NUMISIUS TARQUINIENSIS.
M. FONTEÏUS CAPITO.
P. MANILIUS NEPOS.
C. LICINIUS NERVA.
C. TITINIUS NEPOS.
CN. ANICIUS GALLUS.

Quæſtors. L. AURELIUS ORESTES.
M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
TI. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.
C. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.
TI. SEMPRONIUS MUSCA.
L. NÆVIUS BALBUS.
M. SERGIUS SILUS.
CN. SERGIUS PLANCUS.

Pro-Quæſtors. L. CINCIUS ALIMENTUS.
Q. NÆVIUS POLLIO.

282. *Conſulſhip.* A. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.
Year 583. A. ATTILIUS SERRANUS.

Prætors at Rome. M. RÆCIUS NEPOS.
Q. MÆNIUS NEPOS.

Prætor on the Sea-Coasts of Greece. — L. HORTENSIUS NEPOS.

Curule Ædiles. — SER. SULPICIUS GALBA. C. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. — Q. CASSIUS LONGINUS. CN. FULVIUS GILLO.

Tribunes of the People. — M' JUVENTIUS THALNA. CN. AUFIDIUS NEPOS. C. FANNIUS STRABO. Q. MAMILIUS VITULUS. M. TITIUS RUFUS. P. COMINIUS NEPOS. L. SILIUS NERVA. Q. MANILIUS NEPOS. C. APRONIUS LIMO. C. CÆDICIUS NOCTUA.

Quæstors. — CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA. C. MAMILIUS TURRINUS. TI. VETURIUS CALVINUS SEMPRONIANUS. SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR. Q. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS. Q. VALERIUS FALTO. M. ÆMILIUS REGILLUS. P. CURATIUS NEPOS.

Pro Consul in Macedon. — P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

Pro-Consul on Board the Fleet. — C. LUCRETIUS GALLUS.

Pro-Quæstors. — TI. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS. M. SERGIUS SILUS. TI. SEMPRONIUS MUSCA. L. CINCIUS ALIMENTUS.

283. *Consulship. Year* 584. — Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS, a second time. CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.

Censors. — C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER. TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.

THE FIFTY SECOND LUSTRUM.

Prætors at Rome. — C. SULPICIUS GALLUS. C. DECIMIUS FLAVUS.

Prætor on the Coasts of Greece. — C. MARCIUS FIGULUS.

Prætor in Sicily. — SER. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

Prætor in Sardinia. — P. FONTEÏUS CAPITO.

Prætor in Spain. — M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Curule Ædiles. — P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA. P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. — A. LICINIUS NERVA. L. LIVIUS DENTER.

Tribunes of the People. — C. SULPICIUS RUFUS. M. CLAUDIUS FLAMININUS. P. RUTILIUS CALVUS. Q. VOCONIUS SAXA. L. ANICIUS GALLUS. Q. MINUCIUS RUFUS. L. OGULNIUS GALLUS. C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO. C. OTACILIUS CRASSUS. M. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.

Quæstors of Rome. — Q. OPIMIUS NEPOS. L. POMPEÏUS NEPOS. T. MINUCIUS RUFUS. L. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS. L. LICINIUS POLLIO. Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS. Q. MINUCIUS RUFUS. C. AURELIUS COTTA.

Pro-Consul in Macedon. — A. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.

Pro-Quæstors. — TI. VETURIUS CALVINUS SEMPRONIANUS. M. ÆMILIUS REGILLUS. P. CURATIUS NEPOS.

284. *Consulship. Year* 585. — L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS, a second time. C. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

Prætors at Rome. — CN. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.

Prætor in Illyricum. — L. ANICIUS GALLUS.

Prætor on the Coasts of Greece. — CN. OCTAVIUS NEPOS.

Prætor in Sicily. — M. ÆBUTIUS ELVA.

Prætor in Sardinia. — C. PAPIRIUS CARBO.

Prætor in Spain. — P. FONTEÏUS BALBUS.

Curule Ædiles. M. Claudius Marcellus.
Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. Titinius Nepos.
C. Fannius Strabo.

Tribunes of the People. L. Postumius Tympanus.
P. Decimius Flavus.
C. Tremellius Flaccus.
Q. Poblicius Bibulus.
Q. Ælius Tubero.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
M. Aufidius Nepos.
L. Cincius Alimentus.
Q. Lollius Nepos.
P. Claudius Asellus.

Quæstors. L. Manlius Acidinus.
L. Stertinius Nepos.
L. Valerius Flaccus.
T. Annius Luscus.
L. Marcius Censorinus.
L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus.
Q. Marcius Rex.
T. Claudius Canina.

Pro-Consul in Cisalpine Gaul. Cn. Servilius Cæpio.

Pro-Prætor in Sardinia. P. Fonteïus Capito.

Pro-Prætor in Spain. M. Claudius Marcellus.

Pro-Quæstors. L. Æmilius Lepidus.
L. Licinius Pollio.
C. Aurelius Cotta.
P. Curatius Nepos.

285. *Consulship. Year* 586. Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
M. JUNIUS PENNUS.

Prætors at Rome. Q. Cassius Longinus.
M. Juventius Thalna.

Prætor in Sicily. Ti. Claudius Nero.

Prætor in Sardinia. A. Manlius Torquatus.

Prætors in Hither *and* Further Spain. Cn. Fulvius Gillo.
C. Licinius Nerva.

Curule Ædiles. M. Cornelius Cethegus.
M. Valerius Messala.

Plebeian Ædiles. Cn. Aufidius Nepos.
L. Silius Nerva.

Tribunes of the People. M. Antonius Nepos.
M. Pomponius Matho.
Ti. Sempronius Longus.
L. Bebius Dives.
C. Apuleïus Saturninus.
M. Porcius Læca.
M. Cosconius Nepos.
A. Antonius Nepos.
P. Rutilius Rufus.
M. Curius Dentatus.

Quæstors. L. Cornelius Scipio.
Q. Fulvius Nobilior.
P. Licinius Muræna.
C. Afranius Stellio.
P. Porcius Læca.
M. Tuccius Nepos.
M. Helvius Blasio.
Q. Fulcinius Trio.

Pro-Consul in Macedon. L. Emilius Paulus. He triumphs over *Macedon*, and King *Perses*, for three Days together.

Pro-Consul in Cisalpine Gaul. C. Licinius Crassus.

Pro-Prætor on the Coast of Greece. Cn. Octavius. He obtains a Naval Triumph.

Pro-Prætor in Sardinia. P. Fonteïus Capito.

Pro-Prætor in Illyricum. L. Anicius Gallus. He triumphs over King *Gentius*, and the *Illyricans*.

Pro-Quæstors. L. Valerius Flaccus.
L. Cornelius Lupus.
Q. Aulius Cerretanus.
L. Marcius Censorinus.
C. Aurelius Cotta.

286. *Consulship. Year* 587. C. SULPICIUS GALLUS.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. He triumphs over the *Gauls* and *Ligures*.

Prætors. L. Livius Denter.
A. Licinius Nerva.
P. Quinctilius Varus.
L. Apuleïus Saturninus.
P. Rutilius Calvus.
M' Fonteïus Capito.

Curule Ædiles. M. Fulvius Nobilior.
M' Acilius Glabrio.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. Anicius Gallus.
C. Sulpicius Rufus.

Tribunes

Tribunes of the People L. AURELIUS ORESTES.
TI. SEMPRONIUS MUSCA.
C. URSANIUS NEPOS.
SEX. STATIUS NEPOS.
C. FESCENNIUS NEPOS.
C. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.
C. NÆVIUS BALBUS.
T. PÆDANIUS NEPOS.
C. NUMITORIUS PULLUS.
P. SALLONIUS SARRA.

Quæstors. L. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.
L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.
L. CORNELIUS MARULA.
M' ACILIUS GLABRIO.
Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.
M' MAMILIUS NEPOS.
C. ÆLIUS TUBERO.
SEX. DIGITIUS NEPOS.

Pro-Quæstors. M. HELVIUS BLASIO.
Q. FULCINIUS TRIO.
Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS.

287. *Consulship. Year* 588. T. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.
CN. OCTAVIUS NEPOS.

Prætors. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.
P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
SER. SULPICIUS GALBA.
M. CLAUDIUS FLAMININUS.
M. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

Curule Ædiles. SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR.
CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

Plebeian Ædiles. Q. VOCONIUS SAXA.
P. DECIMIUS FLAVUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. MAMILIUS TURINUS.
P. CURATIUS NEPOS.
C. PONTIFICIUS NEPOS.
C. TARQUITIUS FLACCUS.
P. SESTIUS NEPOS.
C. CÆDICIUS NOCTUA.
Q. SCANTIUS NEPOS.
M. URBINIUS NEPOS.
L. TUCCIUS NEPOS.
L. JULIUS SEQUETRIS.

Quæstors. M. FOSLIUS NEPOS.
SEX. POTITIUS NEPOS.
L. CALPURNIUS PISO CÆSONINUS.
CN. TREMELLIUS FLACCUS.
P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
M. MANLIUS ACIDINUS.
C. HELVIUS BLASIO.
M. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.

Pro-Prætor in Further Spain. M. FONTEÏUS CAPITO.

Pro-Quæstors. M. HELVIUS BLASIO.
Q. FULCINIUS TRIO.
SEX. DIGITIUS NEPOS.

288. *Consulship. Year* 589. A. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.
Q. CASSIUS LONGINUS.
He dies during his Office.

Censors. L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.
Q. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

THE FIFTY THIRD LUSTRUM.

Prætors. M. VALERIUS MESSALA.
C. FANNIUS STRABO.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
C. TITINIUS NEPOS.
CN. AUFIDIUS NEPOS.
C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO.

Curule Ædiles. M. ANTONIUS NEPOS.
M. POMPONIUS MATHO.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. TREMELLIUS FLACCUS.
L. POSTUMIUS TYMPANUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. POMPONIUS NEPOS.
T. MINUCIUS RUFUS.
L. LICINIUS POLLIO.
C. AURELIUS COTTA.
M. SERVILIUS GEMINUS.
C. ANTONIUS NEPOS.
Q. OPIMIUS NEPOS.
Q. MINUCIUS RUFUS.
Q. AULIUS CERRETANUS.
C. ÆBUTIUS CARUS.

Quæstors. L. MUMMIUS NEPOS.
L. ATILIUS REGULUS.
M' ACILIUS BALBUS.
C. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.
CN. CORNELIUS MERENDA.
L. RUTILIUS FLACCUS.
L. FURIUS PURPUREO.
C. RUTILIUS RUFUS.

Pro-Quæstors. M. MANLIUS ACIDINUS.
M. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.
SEX. DIGITIUS NEPOS.

289 *Consulship. Year* 590. TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS, a second time.
M' JUVENTIUS THALNA.

Prætors. M. Cornelius Cethegus.
M. Fulvius Nobilior.
M. Acilius Glabrio.
L. Anicius Gallus.
C. Sulpicius Rufus.
Q. Poblicius Bibulus.

Curule Ædiles. L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus.
L. Valerius Flaccus.

Plebeian Ædiles. Ti. Sempronius Longus.
L. Aurelius Orestes.

Tribunes of the People. L. Stertinius Nepos.
L. Marcius Censorinus.
M. Minucius Fessus.
Q. Ogulnius Gallus.
M. Decius Mus.
T. Annius Luscus.
Q. Marcius Rex.
C. Terentius Culeo.
C. Oppius Cornicinus.
M. Cælius Rufus.

Quæstors. M. Porcius Cato.
A. Postumius Albinus.
T. Veturius Philo.
M. Opimius Nepos.
L. Oppius Salinator.
M. Licinius Stolo.
L. Pinarius Natta.
M. Minucius Thermus.

Pro-Quæstors. C. Rutilius Rufus.
Sex. Digitius Nepos.

290. *Consulship. Year* 591. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.
C. MARCIUS FIGULUS.
But there was some Defect in their Election; and in their room were chosen
P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.

Prætors. M. Æmilius Lepidus.
Q. Voconius Saxa.
L. Bæbius Dives.
Cn. Cornelius Dolabella.
P. Decimius Flavus.
A. Antonius Nepos.

Curule Ædiles. L. Manlius Acidinus.
L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. Mamilius Turrinus Limetanus.
L. Pompeius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People. Q. Fulvius Nobilior.
C. Afranius Stellio.
M. Tuccius Nepos.
M. Helvius Blasio.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
P. Licinius Muræna.
P. Porcius Læca.
Q. Fulcinius Trio.
Sp. Carvilius Maximus.
C. Cosconius Nepos.

Quæstors. T. Quinctius Flamininus.
C. Livius Drusus.
Sp. Postumius Albinus.
C. Aurelius Scaurus.
A. Gabinius Nep[illegible]
L. Æmilius Re[illegible]
C. Cosconius N[illegible]
L. Fabricius Luscinus.

Pro-Consul in Sardinia. Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.

Pro-Prætor in Sicily. M' Acilius Glabrio.

Pro-Quæstors. M. Opimius Nepos.
L. Pinarius Natta.
L. Oppius Salinator.
M. Minucius Thermus.

291. *Consulship. Year* 592. M. VALERIUS MESSALLA.
C. FANNIUS STRABO.

Prætors. M' Pomponius Matho.
Sex. Julius Cæsar.
C. Tremellius Flaccus.
L. Postumius Tympanus.
P. Sextius Nepos.
M. Antonius Nepos.

Plebeian Ædiles. Q. Opimius Nepos.
C. Antonius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People. L. Licinius Lucullus.
M' Acilius Glabrio.
M' Mamilius Nepos.
C. Ælius Tubero.
Q. Marcius Philippus.
Sex. Pomponius Nepos.
Ti. Sempronius Rutilus.
Sex. Digitius Nepos.
L. Flavius Nepos.
L. Atilius Bulbus.

Quæstors. C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
C. Titius Nepos.
Q. Ælius Pætus.
M. Junius Silanus.
Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
P. Sempronius Blæsus.
M. At-

M. ATTILIUS SERRANUS.
C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.

Pro-Quæstors. M. MINUCIUS THERMUS.
L. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS.

292. *Conſulſhip.* L. ANICIUS GALLUS.
Year 593. M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.

Prætors. L. AURELIUS ORESTES.
T. SEMPRONIUS LONGUS.
L. JULIUS SEQUESTRIS.
L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS LUPUS.
T. MINUCIUS RUFUS.
L. TUCCIUS NEPOS.

Curule Ædiles. Q. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.
L. MARCIUS CENSORINUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. T. ANNIUS LUSCUS.
L. STERTINIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People. CN. TREMELLIUS FLACCUS.
SEX. POTITIUS NEPOS.
L. CALPURNIUS PISO CÆSONIUS.
M. FOSLIUS NEPOS.
M. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS.
L. ANTISTIUS LABEO.
C. ALBIUS CARRINUS.
C. HELVIUS BLASIO.
Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS.
P. PETILLIUS GEMINUS.

Quæſtors. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
P. JUVENTIUS THALNA.
C. VETILLIUS NEPOS.
C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS.
C. ATINIUS LABEO.
CN. HELVIUS BLASIO.
L. AURUNCULEIUS COTTA.
M. ABURIUS GEMINUS.

Pro-Quæſtors. C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
L. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS.

293. *Conſulſhip.* CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.
Year 594. M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.

Cenſors. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.
M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.

THE FIFTY FOURTH LUSTRUM.

Prætors. L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
L. POMPEIUS NEPOS.

L. MANLIUS ACIDINUS.
C. MAMILIUS TURINUS.
L. LICINIUS POLLIO.

Curule Ædiles. Q. MARCIUS REX.
P. LICINIUS MURENA.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. AFRANIUS STELLIO.
L. PORCIUS LÆCA.

Tribunes of the People. L. ATILIUS REGULUS.
M. ACILIUS BALBUS.
C. RUTILIUS RUFUS.
C. APUSTIUS FULLO.
C. CENTENIUS PENULA.
L. MEMMIUS NEPOS.
L. RUTTILIUS FLACCUS.
L. RUFRIUS PURPUREO.
A. BÆCULONIUS NEPOS.
Q. FICTORIUS NEPOS.

Pro-Prætor in Further Spain. M. TUCCIUS NEPOS.

Quæſtors. L. AURELIUS COTTA.
SER. SULPICIUS GALBA.
C. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS.
CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
SP. MUMMIUS NEPOS.
A. TERENTIUS VARRO.
Q. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.
C. APUSTIUS FULLO.

Pro-Quæſtors. M. ABURIUS GEMINUS.
C. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS.
C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.

294. *Conſulſhip.* M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
Year 595. C. POPILIUS LÆNAS, a ſecond time.

Prætors. Q. OPIMIUS NEPOS.
L. CORNELIUS MERULA.
C. ANTONIUS NEPOS.
L. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.
M' ACILIUS GLABRIO.
Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS.

Curule Ædiles. A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.
TI. VETURIUS PHILO.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.
M. MANILIUS NEPOS.

Tribunes of the People. M. PORCIUS CATO.
M. OPIMIUS NEPOS.
M. LICINIUS STOLO.
M. NÆVIUS CRISPUS.
M. URBINIUS NEPOS.
C. SEMPRONIUS RUTILUS.
L. OPPIUS SALINATOR.
CN. NÆVIUS CRISPINUS.

C. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS.
C. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA.

Quæſtors. M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.
Q. NÆVIUS MATHO.
L. JULIUS CÆSAR.
Q. FABIUS BUTEO.
CN. SICINIUS NEPOS.
Q. CATIUS NEPOS.
Q. COTIUS ACHILLES.
C. NUMISIUS NEPOS.

Pro-Conſul in Liguria. M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR. He triumphs over the *Ligures*.

Pro-Quæſtors. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
C. APUSTIUS FULLO.
Q. CATIUS NEPOS.
C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.

295. *Conſulſhip.* SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR.
Year 596. L. AURELIUS ORESTES.

Prætors. L. STERTINIUS NEPOS.
M. TUCCIUS NEPOS.
M. HELVIUS BLASIO.
T. ANNIUS LUSCUS.
Q. FULCINIUS TRIO.
SP. CARVILIUS MAXIMUS.

Curule Ædiles. T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.
SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS MAGNUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. CN. TREMELLIUS FLACCUS.
L. CALPURNIUS PISO CÆSONIUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. LIVIUS DRUSUS.
C. AURELIUS SCAURUS.
T. VILLIUS TAPPULUS.
C. SILIUS NERVA.
C. LÆTORIUS MERGUS.
A. GABINIUS NEPOS.
M. MINUCIUS THERMUS.
L. FABRICIUS LUSCINUS.
T. MÆNIUS NEPOS.
Q. PAPIRIUS TURDUS.

Quæſtors. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS ÆMILIANUS.
CLAUDIUS UNIMANUS.
L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CALVUS.
Q. FABIUS PICTOR.
M. AURELIUS SCAURUS.
L. VALERIUS TAPPUS.
L. CORNELIUS BLASIO.

Pro-Prætor in Further Spain. Q. OGULNIUS GALLUS.

Pro-Quæſtors. Q. CATIUS NEPOS.
C. APUSTIUS FULLO.
Q. COTIUS ACHILLES.

296. *Conſulſhip.* *Year* 597. L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS LUPUS.
C. MARCIUS FIGULUS, a ſecond time.

Prætors. Q. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.
Q. MARCIUS REX.
P. PORCIUS LÆCA.
P. LICINIUS MURENA.
C. AFRANIUS STELLIO.
SEX. DIGITIUS NEPOS.

Curule Ædiles. L. MUMMIUS NEPOS.
L. ATTILIUS REGULUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. M' ACILIUS BALBUS.
L. RUTILIUS FLACCUS.

Tribunes of the People. Q. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
M. FUFIUS NEPOS.
C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
C. TITIUS NEPOS.
Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
M. ATTILIUS SERRANUS.
C. COSCONIUS NEPOS.
M. JUNIUS SILANUS.
P. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS.
C. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.

Quæſtors. CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
C. LÆLIUS NEPOS.
L. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.
C. NIGIDIUS FIGULUS.
C. VALERIUS TAPPUS.
SER. FABIUS PICTOR.
P. CORNELIUS SYLLA.
L. POSTUMIUS TYMPANUS.

Pro-Quæſtors. Q. FABIUS PICTOR.
L. CORNELIUS BLASIO.
L. VALERIUS TAPPUS.

297. *Conſulſhip.* *Year* 598. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, a ſecond time.

The former triumphs over the *Dalmatians*; the latter over the *Ligures*.

Prætor in Further Spain. M' MANILIUS NEPOS.

Curule Ædiles. M. PORCIUS CATO.
C. SEMPRONIUS RUTILUS.

Plebeian

Plebeian Ædiles. L. Oppius Salinator.
M. Licinius Stolo.

Tribunes of the People. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
P. Juventius Thalna.
C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
Cn. Helvius Blasio.
C. Atinius Labeo.
A. Aurunculeius Cotta.
M. Aburius Geminus.
C. Veturius Nepos.
C. Sempronius Blæsus.
T. Numicius Nepos.

Quæstors. Q. Servilius Cæpio.
Ap. Claudius Pulcher.
Q. Pompeius Nepos.
M. Titius Nepos.
T. Juventius Thalna.
L. Cæcilius Denter.
C. Aurunculeius Cotta.

Pro-Prætor in Sardinia. P. Porcius Læca.

Pro-Quæstors. C. Valerius Tappus.
Ser. Fabius Pictor.
L. Postumius Tympanus.

298. Consulship. Year 599. Q. OPIMIUS NEPOS.
L. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.
The latter died in his Office; and in his room was chosen
M' ACILIUS GLABRIO.

Censors. M' Valerius Messala.
C. Cassius Longinus.

THE FIFTY FIFTH LUSTRUM.

Prætor in Further Spain. L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsonius.

Curule Ædiles. Ser. Sulpicius Galba.
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. Livius Drusus.
A. Gabinius Nepos.

Tribunes of the People. L. Aurelius Cotta.
C. Plautius Hypsæus.
A. Terentius Varro.
C. Apustius Fullo.
M. Porcius Licinus.
Cn. Pupius Nepos.
Sp. Mummius Nepos.
Q. Bæbius Tamphilus.
Q. Aulius Cerretanus.
Sex. Roscius Nepos.

Quæstors. C. Terentius Varro.
L. Calpurnius Piso.
L. Scribonius Libo.
Cn. Calpurnius Piso.
M. Popilius Lænas.
A. Licinius Nerva.
L. Lollius Nepos.
Sex. Ælius Pætus Catus.

Pro-Quæstors. L. Cæcilius Denter.
Ser. Fabius Pictor.
L. Postumius Tympanus.

299. Consulship. Year 600. Q. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.
T. ANNIUS LUSCUS.

Prætor in Further Spain. L. Mummius Nepos.

Curule Ædiles. C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
M. Fufius Nepos.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. Titius Nepos.
Q. Ælius Pætus.

Tribunes of the People. M. Junius Brutus.
C. Numisius Nepos.
Cn. Sicinius Nepos.
C. Claudius Canina.
M. Claudius Marcellinus.
Q. Cotius Achilles.
Q. Nævius Matho.
Q. Catius Nepos.
Sex. Tullius Nepos.
C. Flavius Fimbria.

Quæstors. P. Licinius Crassus.
Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus.
D. Junius Brutus.
M. Pinarius Posca.
C. Ælius Tubero.
P. Ælius Ligus.
L. Acilius Glabrio.
L. Flaminius Nepos.

Pro-Quæstors. L. Cæcilius Denter.
Ser. Fabius Pictor.

300. Consulship. Year 601. M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, the third time.
L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
He died in his Office.

Prætor. Marcus Porcius Cato. He died in his *Prætorship*.

Prætor in Further Spain. M. Attilius Serranus.

Curule Ædiles. Q. Fabius Æmilianus.
Q. Fabius Pictor.

Plebeian

Plebeian Ædiles. C. VETURIUS NEPOS.
P. JUVENTIUS THALNA.

Tribunes of the People. M. SCATINIUS ARICINUS.
M. ATTILIUS SERRANUS.
CLAUDIUS UNIMANUS.
L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CALVUS.
M. AURELIUS SCAURUS.
L. VALERIUS TAPPUS.
TI. SEMPRONIUS BLÆSUS.
C. PETILLIUS SPURINUS.
Q. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
M. ATILIUS BULBUS.

Quæstors. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO AFRICANUS ÆMILIANUS.
L. HOSTILIUS TUBULUS.
M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
C. LUTATIUS CERCO.
C. CLUVIUS SAXULA.
C. ATTILIUS SERRANUS.
SEX. ANTISTIUS NEPOS.
SEX. ALBINUS CARRINAS.

Pro-Quæstors. L. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.
L. CÆCILIUS DENTER.
L. MUMMIUS. *Appian* only affirms that he triumphed over the *Lusitanians*.

301. *Consulship. Year* 602. L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.
A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

Prætor in Further Spain. SER. SULPICIUS GALBA.

Curule Ædiles. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
L. AURELIUS COTTA.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.
C. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. LÆLIUS NEPOS.
C. NIGIDIUS FIGULUS.
L. POSTUMIUS TYMPANUS.
M. FULCINIUS NEPOS.
M. PLÆTORIUS NEPOS.
M. STATILIUS NEPOS.
C. VALERIUS TAPPUS.
M. CINCIUS ALIMENTUS.
C. MULVIUS NEPOS.
C. RACILIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors. L. FURIUS PHILUS.
D. JUNIUS SILANUS MANLIANUS.
C. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.
SER. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
SEX. ATILIUS SERRANUS.
L. DURONIUS NEPOS.
C. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
Q. PETILIUS SPURINUS.

Pro-Consul in Hither Spain. C. AURELIUS SCAURUS.

Pro-Quæstors. C. CLUVIUS SAXULA.
SEX. ALBINUS CARRINAS.
SEX. ATTILIUS NEPOS.
L. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.

302. *Consulship. Year* 603. T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS.
M' ACILIUS BALBUS.

Prætors. C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.
O. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
M. ALBINUS GEMINUS.
M. FUFIUS NEPOS.
C. TITIUS NEPOS.
L. AURUNCULEÏUS COTTA.

Curule Ædiles. CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.
Q. COTIUS ACHILLES.

Tribunes of the People. Q. POMPEÏUS NEPOS.
M. FURIUS CRASSIPES.
C. AURUNCULEÏUS COTTA.
L. CÆCILIUS DENTER.
C. TREBONIUS ASPER.
M. TITIUS NEPOS.
M. TORANIUS NEPOS.
T. JUVENTIUS THALNA.
M. TURPILIUS NEPOS.
A. TREBIUS GALLUS.

Quæstors. L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.
C. TERENTIUS VARRO.
C. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
Q. CALPURNIUS PISO.
P. MANILIUS NEPOS.
P. GALLONIUS NEPOS.
M. ATINIUS LABEO.
Q. STERTINIUS NEPOS.

Pro-Prætor in Macedon. C. COSCONIUS NEPOS.

Pro-Quæstors. C. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
SEX. ALBIUS CARRINAS.
Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS.

The third *Punic* War.

303. *Consulship. Year* 604. L. MARCIUS CENSORINUS.
M' MANLIUS NEPOS.

Prætor in Further Spain.	C. VETILIUS NEPOS.
Prætor in Macedon.	P. JUVENTIUS THALNA.
Other Prætors.	Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS ÆMILIANUS. A. TERENTIUS VARRO. Q. FABIUS PICTOR. Q. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.
Curule Ædiles.	AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER. SER. FABIUS PICTOR.
Plebeian Ædiles.	L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS. CLAUDIUS UNIMANUS.
Tribunes of the People.	L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO. L. CALPURNIUS PISO FRUGI. CN. CALPURNIUS PISO. A. LICINIUS NERVA. SEX. ÆLIUS PÆTUS CATUS. SP. MÆCILIUS TULLUS. M. POPILIUS LÆNAS. L. LOLLIUS NEPOS. SP. ANTIUS RESTIO. C. URBINIUS NEPOS.
Quæstors.	M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS. CN. SERVILIUS GEMINUS. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA. CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO HISPALLUS. M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS PORCINA. P. FURIUS PHILUS. C. FULVIUS FLACCUS. C. CALPURNIUS PISO.
Pro-Prætor in Sardinia.	M. ABURIUS GEMINUS.
Pro-Quæstors.	P. MANILIUS NEPOS. Q. STERTINIUS NEPOS. SEX. ALBIUS CARRINAS. P. GALLONIUS NEPOS. Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS.
	The *Secular Games* celebrated the fourth time.
304. *Consulship.* *Year* 605.	SP. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS. L. CALPURNIUS PISO CÆSONIUS.
Prætors.	L. AURELIUS COTTA. Q. NÆVIUS MATHO. C. NUMISIUS NEPOS.
Prætor on Board the Fleet ordered for Africa.	L. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.
Prætor in Further Spain.	C. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS.
Prætor in Macedon.	Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
Curule Ædiles.	Q. FABIUS MAX. SERVILIANUS. M. PINARIUS POSCA.
Plebeian Ædiles.	C. LÆLIUS SAPIENS. C. NIGIDIUS FIGULUS.
Tribunes of the People.	D. JUNIUS BRUTUS. C. ÆLIUS TUBERO. L. ACILIUS GLABRIO. M. POMPONIUS NEPOS. Q. APRONIUS NEPOS. P. LICINIUS CRASSUS. P. ÆLIUS LIGUS. L. VOLUMINIUS FLAMMA. C. FUNDANIUS FUNDULUS. M. SEXTILIUS NEPOS.
Quæstors.	SER. SULPICIUS GALBA. L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS. P. LICINIUS CRASSUS MUCIANUS. T. DIDIUS NEPOS. P. RUPILIUS NEPOS. P. POPILIUS LÆNAS. AP. CLAUDIUS CENTHO. M. SERGIUS SILUS.
Pro-Consul in Africa.	M. MANILIUS NEPOS.
Pro-Prætors in Sicily, *and* Hither Spain.	Q. FABIUS PICTOR. Q. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS.
Pro-Quæstors.	CN. CORNELIUS SCIPIO HISPALLUS. P. MANILIUS NEPOS. P. FURIUS PHILUS. Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS. P. GALLONIUS NEPOS. Q. STERTINIUS NEPOS.
305. *Consulship.* *Year* 606.	P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO AFRIC. ÆMILIANUS. C. LIVIUS MAMILIANUS DRUSUS.
Censors.	L. CORNEL. LENTULUS LUPUS. L. MARCIUS CENSORINUS.

THE

THE FIFTY SIXTH LUSTRUM.

Prætors. M. JUNIUS BRUTUS.
L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CALVUS.
AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
Q. COTIUS ACHILLES.

Prætor on Board the Fleet designed for Africa. M. ATILIUS SERRANUS.

Prætor in Further Spain. CLAUDIUS UNIMANUS.

Curule Ædiles. SP. MUMMIUS NEPOS.
Q. POMPEÏUS NEPOS.

Plebeian Ædiles. M. TITIUS NEPOS.
M. FURIUS CRASSIPES.

Tribunes of the People. L. FLAMINIUS NEPOS.
L. LUTATIUS CERCO.
C. ATTILIUS SERRANUS.
C. GENUCIUS NEPOS.
C. MÆNIUS NEPOS.
L. HOSTILIUS TUBULUS.
C. CLUVIUS SAXULA.
SEX. ANTISTIUS NEPOS.
M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
TI. MEMMIUS NEPOS.

Quæstors. M. COSCONIUS NEPOS.
C. CORNELIUS SCIPIO HISPALLUS.
L. PLAUTIUS HYPSÆUS.
P. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.
T. POSTUMIUS TYMPANUS.
SER. SULPICIUS PATERCULUS.
M. TITINIUS CURVUS.
P. VIRGINIUS RUTILUS.

Pro-Consul in Africa. L. CALPURNIUS PISO CÆSONIUS.

Pro-Prætor on Board the Fleet in Africa. L. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.

Pro-Prætor in Macedon. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

Pro-Prætor in Sardinia. Q. NÆVIUS MATHO.

Pro-Quæstors. SER. SULPICIUS GALBA.
P. RUPILIUS NEPOS.
AP. CLAUDIUS CENTHO.
M. SERGIUS SILUS.

P. MANILIUS NEPOS.
Q. STERTINIUS NEPOS.

306. *Consulship.* *Year* 607. CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
L. MUMMIUS ACHAICUS. He triumphs over the *Achaians*, and *Corinthians*.

Prætor in Hither Spain. C. NIGIDIUS FIGULUS.

Prætors in several other Places. Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS SERVILIANUS.
CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.
C. VALERIUS TAPPUS.
SER. FABIUS PICTOR.
L. POSTUMIUS TYMPANUS.

Curule Ædiles. M. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
A. LICINIUS NERVA.

Plebeian Ædiles. L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO.
CN. CALPURNIUS PISO.

Tribunes of the People. SEX. ATILIUS SERRANUS.
C. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.
SEX. ALBIUS CARRINAS.
C. POPILIUS LÆNAS.
M. FURIUS LUSCUS.
SER. FULVIUS FLACCUS.
D. JUNIUS SILANUS MANLIANUS.
L. DURONIUS NEPOS.
A. VIRGINIUS NEPOS.
C. FURIUS ACULEO.

Quæstors. C. ATILIUS SERRANUS.
L. RUPILIUS NEPOS.
P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
L. CORNELIUS SULLA.
L. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.
M. TITINIUS NEPOS.
C. LICINIUS NERVA.

Pro-Consul in Africa. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO AFRICANUS ÆMILIANUS. He triumphs over *Africa*, *Carthage*, and *Asdrubal*.

Pro-Prætor on Board the Fleet in Africa. M. ATILIUS SERRANUS.

Pro-Prætor in Macedon. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS MACEDONICUS. He triumphs over *Macedon*, and the false *Philip*.

Pro-Prætor in Sicily. L. Cæcilius Metellus Calvus.

Pro-Quæstors. Ser. Sulpicius Galba.
L. Plautius Hypsæus.
T. Postumius Tympanus.
M. Sergius Silus.
Ap. Claudius Centho.
P. Virginius Rutilus.

Carthage and *Corinth* destroyed by the *Romans*

The End of the *FASTI CONSULARES*, to the Year of *Rome* 607, inclusive.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM